



**12th Annual Conference on
“The Taiwan Issue in China-Europe Relations”**

Shanghai, China

September 21-22, 2015

A workshop jointly organised by the German Institute for International and Security Affairs / Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP), Berlin and the Shanghai Institutes for International Studies (SIIS), Shanghai. With friendly support of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (Shanghai Office).

Discussion Paper

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**Cross-Straits Relations after Taiwan's “Nine-in-One” Election
and Future Trends**

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After Taiwan's "nine-in-one" election, peaceful development of cross-Straits relations kept unfolding but progressed more slowly, mainly because the "nine-in-one" election had a great after-effect and because the evolution of Taiwan's domestic political situation exerted greater influence on the peaceful development of cross-Straits relations. Taiwan's upcoming 2016 "two-in-one" election will exert a direct and obvious influence on cross-Straits relations. Different election results will bring about different prospects and development levels to the peaceful development of cross-Straits relations.

I. New progress in cross-Straits relations after Taiwan's "nine-in-one" election

In summary, new progress has been made in the following five aspects:

New progress has been made in KMT-CPC interaction, manifested in four aspects

First, Xi Jinping and Eric Chu interacted by exchanging messages. On January 17, 2015, Eric Chu was elected Chairman of the Kuomintang of China. On the evening, General Secretary Xi Jinping sent a congratulatory message to Eric Chu: "On the occasion of your election as Chairman of the Kuomintang of China, I would like to express sincere congratulations. In recent years, KMT, CPC and both sides of the Taiwan Straits made joint efforts and brought about a good situation of peaceful development of cross-Straits relations together, benefiting compatriots on both sides of the Taiwan Straits greatly and resulting in higher expectations for future development of cross-Straits relations. I hope the two parties, for the cardinal interest of the Chinese nation, can consolidate the common political foundation of upholding the '1992 Consensus' and opposing 'Taiwan independence', strengthen communication and deepen mutual trust to carry on the peaceful development of cross-Straits relations, benefit people on both sides of the Taiwan Straits and jointly complete the great cause of the Chinese nation's renaissance." On January 18, Eric Chu sent a reply message to express his thanks: "Your congratulatory message of January 17 has been received. I would like to sincerely express my thanks. Over the past more than six years, on the basis of the '1992 Consensus', the two parties actively promoted exchange and cooperation at various levels, brought about a new historical situation of peaceful development

on both sides of the Taiwan Straits, established a good interaction model between the two parties, and consolidated mutual trust.”

Second, KMT and CPC jointly held an activity to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the release of *Shared Vision of Cross-Straits Peace and Development*. On April 25, this activity was jointly held by the Research Center for Relations across the Taiwan Straits under the Taiwan Work Office of the CPC Central Committee and the National Politics Research Fund of Kuomintang of China in Nanjing. Vice Chairman of the Kuomintang Hau Lung-pin, Director of the Taiwan Work Office of the CPC Central Committee Zhang Zhijun and nearly 100 representatives of various circles attended. The representatives spoke highly of the historical and realistic significance of *Shared Vision of Cross-Straits Peace and Development*, summarized achievements and experience in peaceful development of cross-Straits relations from the perspective of political, economic, cultural and social exchange, and put forward forward-looking suggestions on future development of cross-Straits relations. During the symposium, an exhibition was held to showcase the abundant achievements made in the development of cross-Straits relations from 2005 to 2015.

Third, the Cross-Straits Economic, Trade and Culture Forum was held. On May 3, 2015, KMT and CPC jointly held the 10th Cross-Straits Economic, Trade and Culture Forum in Shanghai. Chairman of the CPPCC Yu Zhengsheng and Chairman of the Kuomintang of China Eric Chu attended and delivered speeches. Director of the Taiwan Work Office of the CPC Central Committee Zhang Zhijun and Vice Chairman of the Kuomintang of China Huang Min Hui jointly presided over the forum. The forum focusing on people’s wellbeing and efficiency fully showed care and services for the youth and grassroots level, and put forward nine policy recommendations on the future development of cross-Straits relations: the first is to keep promoting cross-Straits economic integration and development and improving the level of institutionalization of cross-Straits economic cooperation; the second is to keep supporting large enterprises’ healthy development while more actively establishing platforms for cooperation among medium and small enterprises on both sides of the Taiwan Straits; the third is to strengthen cross-Straits agricultural and fishing cooperation, broaden access to electronic commerce and help Taiwan’s agricultural products expand in the market of mainland China; the fourth is to give more attention to the feelings of grassroots people on both sides of the Taiwan Straits and encourage more people to devote themselves to peaceful development of cross-Straits relations and benefit from them; the fifth is to enlarge the scale of cross-Straits youth exchange, enrich and innovate in contents and forms and create conditions for school enrollment, internship, employment and entrepreneurship of young students on both sides of the Taiwan Straits; the six is to further deepen cross-Straits exchange and cooperation in the culture industry and film and TV industry and discuss

negotiation on and execution of agreements on exchange and cooperation in relevant fields according to different categories and items; the seventh is to further deepen cross-Straits educational exchange and cooperation and negotiate on and execute an agreement on cross-Straits educational exchange and cooperation; the eighth is to keep pushing forward research to solve the issues of transfer of travelers from mainland China in Taiwan and more convenience for compatriots on both sides of the Taiwan Straits as soon as possible; the ninth is to establish communication platforms and pragmatically study and discuss the issues of Taiwan's participation in the building of "One Belt and One Road", regional economic cooperation and AIIB.

Fourth, Xi and Chu met for the first time. On May 4, 2015, General Secretary of the CPC Central Committee Xi Jinping met with Chairman of the Kuomintang of China Eric Chu in the Great Hall of the People. Xi Jinping pointed out that the achievements in peaceful development of cross-Straits relations were hard-won and that the experience was especially precious. Generally speaking, we should stick to the road of peaceful development of cross-Straits relations, stick to the political foundation of upholding the '1992 Consensus' and opposing 'Taiwan independence', stick to carrying out cross-Straits negotiation and promoting exchange and cooperation in various fields and stick to seeking benefit for people on both sides of the Taiwan Straits. "At present, cross-Straits relations are at an important milestone, and which road of cross-Straits relations should be followed is a major issue facing all parties and social circles on both sides of the Taiwan Straits, which bears on the future of the Chinese nation and the country, bears on the wellbeing on people on both sides of the Taiwan Straits and needs to be considered by all." General Secretary Xi Jinping put forward a five-point proposal. First, insisting on the "1992 Consensus" and "opposing Taiwan independence" is the political foundation of the peaceful development of cross-Straits relations and the core of the political foundation is to acknowledge the fact that the mainland and Taiwan belong to 'one China'. There could be no peace or development, the fundamental interests of the nation, country and people would be harmed and the cornerstone of development of cross-Straits relations would be shaken should the "1992 Consensus" be rejected or should the legal basis that the mainland and Taiwan belong to 'one China' be challenged by advocates claiming 'one state on either side' or 'one China and one Taiwan'. We always take insistence on the "1992 Consensus" as the basis of carrying out exchange with the Taiwan authority and various political parties. CPC and KMT should insist on a correct understanding of cross-Straits relations and clearly oppose any words or deeds which undermine the political foundation of cross-Straits relations, and should never lose the hard-gained fruits of peaceful development of cross-Straits relations. Second, in order to promote the peaceful development of cross-Straits relations, both sides need to deepen the integration of cross-Straits interests, create

cross-Straits mutual-benefits and win-win situations, and promote the welfare of the people on both sides of the Taiwan Straits. Taiwan expressed interest in joining the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB), which the Mainland welcomes. Third, in the final analysis, cross-Straits exchanges are people-to-people exchanges, and the most important facet is a meeting of the minds. Compatriots on both sides of the Taiwan Straits should carry out heart-to-heart communication, respect differences, enhance understanding and keep strengthening ethnic recognition, cultural recognition and national recognition. Fourth, the two parties and the two sides of the Taiwan Straits should look at the big picture on the basis of mutual respect, trying to galvanize commonalities and resolve differences, and keep enhancing mutual political trust. Fifth, everybody should make efforts for the great renaissance of the Chinese nation. As long as the people across the Taiwan Straits and Chinese around the world unite together with one mind and make concerted efforts, the great renaissance of the Chinese nation can be achieved soon. Eric Chu said: Taiwan's Straits Exchange Foundation (SEF) and the Mainland's Association for Relations Across the Taiwan Straits (ARATS) had reached a consensus in 1992 that the Mainland and Taiwan belonged to "one China", but the content and interpretations of that one China were different, i.e. the "1992 Consensus". Based on this foundation, the two sides of the Straits had held talks on many occasions and transformed cross-Straits confrontations and disputes into conciliation and exchanges, thus forming the common foundation for cross-Straits exchanges. Both sides of the Taiwan Straits belonging to the Chinese nation are a community of shared destiny. I hope both sides of the Taiwan Straits can cooperate on the basis of the "1992 Consensus" and jointly face regional peace, regional environmental protection or economic cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region. Taiwan's younger generations all hope to participate in regional economic consolidation including AIIB, "One Belt and One Road" and RCEP... All of us can put forward common ideals and contributions, which will contribute to deepening the "1992 Consensus" and promoting cross-Straits cooperation.

2. Cross-straits high-level exchange has continued

On March 28, General Secretary Xi Jinping met with a delegation headed by Vincent Siew attending the Boao Forum in Boao, Hainan. Vincent Siew expressed Taiwan's wish to join the AIIB.

3. The chiefs of cross-Straits affairs met.

At the end of May, the third "Meeting of the Heads of Cross-Straits Affairs" was held. It was originally scheduled to be held on February 7 and 8 in Jinmen. The themes were topics related to transfer of travelers from mainland China, joint participation in regional economic integration by both sides of the Taiwan Straits,

mutual establishment of working bodies by SEF and ARATS, fishing beyond the boundary by fishing boats from mainland China, garbage drifting on the sea, illegal sea sand excavation and promotion of tourism in Jinmen and the Matsu Islands. The Zhang-Hsia meeting was postponed for various reasons and was held in Jinmen on May 23 and 24. Both sides fully exchanged opinions on the current trend of cross-Straits relations and policies and the relevant issues in promoting development of cross-Straits relations, and reached a positive consensus. Both sides made achievements in ten aspects including enhancement of exchange and communication between the two departments, continuous promotion of cross-Straits institutionalized negotiation and promotion of negotiation on mutual establishment of working bodies by SEF and ARATS as soon as possible.

4. Several issues in cross-Straits relations have been handled properly.

The two main issues are as follows. The first is the issue of the M503 air route. On January 12, 2015, mainland China's civil aviation department announced the M503 air route. Taiwan had doubts about it. Upon communication and negotiation among many parties, Ma Xiaoguang said on February 11: The mainland has communicated with Taiwan through the civil aviation talks, explained many times and expressed good will. The mainland's aircraft will adopt the measure of westward deviation (4 li) and carry out relevant security measures. He emphasized that the route located in the Shanghai Flight Information Region had been authorized by the International Civil Aviation Organization. This air route is far enough from the Taipei Flight Information Region and will not affect the status quo of use of this region. The mainland has formulated sound technical plans and a series of emergency response measures to ensure aviation safety.

The second is the air disaster of TransAsia Airways Flight 235. On February 4, 2015 the air disaster of Taiwan's TransAsia Airways happened. 28 of the 31 passengers from mainland China died, and three were injured.

5. Cross-Straits exchange has kept progressing.

The main manifestations include continuous deepening of cross-Straits economic cooperation and exchange and successful staging of the Straits Forum. Particularly, from July 1, the mainland will implement visa exemption for people from Taiwan to make their traveling to and from the mainland convenient.

II. Features of development of cross-Straits relations after the “nine-in-one” election

1. The mainland factor still plays an important role in promoting peaceful development of cross-Straits relations.

There are four important pieces of information:

First, the mainland maintained positive policies towards Taiwan. The Taiwan affairs conference was held on January 26 and 27, 2015. The conference proposed that Taiwan affairs bear on the overall situation of the country’s development. We should stick to examining and planning various work tasks from the strategic height of realizing the “two centennial goals” and the Chinese dream of the great renaissance of the Chinese nation. We should unswervingly stick to the central leadership’s policies on Taiwan affairs, unite Taiwan’s compatriots extensively, maintain the stability of the Taiwan Straits, resolutely contain separatist activities for “Taiwan independence”, resolutely promote peaceful development of cross-Straits relations, and keep accumulating and creating conditions to solve the Taiwan question and realize unification of the motherland. The conference required that active efforts be made to maintain the trend of peaceful development of cross-Straits relations.

Second, Xi Jinping talked about four “resolutions”. On March 4, 2015, General Secretary Xi pointed out in a speech when visiting members of the Revolutionary Committee of the Chinese Kuomintang, the Taiwan Democratic Self-Government League and the All-China Taiwanese Association at the 3rd Session of the 12th CPPCC National Committee: “Peaceful development of cross-Straits relations is a right road for maintaining cross-Straits peace, promoting common development and benefiting compatriots on both sides of the Taiwan Straits and a promising road towards peace and unification. We should resolutely take the road of peaceful development, resolutely stick to the common political foundation, resolutely seek benefit for compatriots on both sides of the Taiwan Straits, and resolutely realize the nation’s renaissance together.” Taiwan’s media think “Xi’s speech can be deemed as a manifestation of strength and confidence and a manifestation of emotions and expectations.”

Third, a white paper titled *China’s Military Strategy* was published by the State Council Information Office on May 26, 2015. It consists of seven parts including “Preface”, “National Security Situation”, “Missions and Strategic Tasks of China’s Armed Forces”, “Strategic Guideline of Active Defense”, “Building and Development of China’s Armed Forces”, “Preparation for Military Struggle” and “Military and Security Cooperation”. The section titled “National Security Situation” states: “The Taiwan issue bears on China’s reunification and long-term development, and reunification is an inevitable trend in the course of national

rejuvenation. In recent years, cross-Taiwan Straits relations have sustained a sound momentum of peaceful development, but the root cause of instability has not yet been removed, and the ‘Taiwan independence’ separatist forces and their activities are still the biggest threat to the peaceful development of cross-Straits relations.”

Fourth, on July 1, 2015, the Standing Committee of the National People’s Congress adopted the new National Security Law by an overwhelming majority. Paragraph 2 of Article 11 of the law states: “Maintenance of national sovereignty and territorial integrity is a shared obligation of all the Chinese people, including compatriots from Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan.” Taiwan’s Minister of “Mainland Affairs Council” Andrew Li-Yan Hsia said he would protest to the mainland again because “this is very impolite to us”. The Kuomintang thinks the mainland’s unilateral formulation of any law cannot influence and change the will of the people of Taiwan and cannot exert influence on Taiwan’s future. The Democratic Progressive Party thinks the mainland does not respect the feelings of the people of Taiwan and that Taiwan’s society can hardly accept it.

2. Exchange between KMT and CPC and their relationship are still the core force propelling progress in peaceful development of cross-Straits relations.

Exchange between KMT and CPC not only is an important aspect in peaceful development of cross-Straits relations, but also propels peaceful development of cross-Straits relations. The relationship between KMT and CPC is not the entirety of cross-Straits relations of course, and KMT and CPC have never deemed their relationship as the entirety of cross-Straits relations. Only DPP and “Taiwan independence activists” always equate cross-Straits relations with the relationship between KMT and CPC. Undoubtedly, it is an indisputable fact that the relationship between KMT and CPC is the core or an important aspect of cross-Straits relations. On the one hand, KMT and CPC are ruling parties on both sides of the Taiwan Straits. Promotion of the policy of peaceful development of cross-Straits relations by the ruling parties is of course conducive to cross-Straits relations and can become an important aspect of development of cross-Straits relations, especially exchange and cooperation. On the other hand, under the situation where the DPP refuses to participate in cross-Straits exchange and marginalizes itself in cross-Straits relations, KMT and CPC are dominating and guiding progress in cross-Straits relations. This is the fact of peaceful development of cross-Straits relations in the past seven years. The relationship between KMT and CPC has become a dominant force and the backbone for peaceful development of cross-Straits relations. It can even be expected that under the situation where the DPP still stubbornly sticks to the policy of “Taiwan independence”, exchange between DPP and CPC can hardly be established. Under the situation of the DPP’s absence in cross-Straits relations, exchange between

KMT and CPC and their relationship are still the mainstay of peaceful development of cross-Straits relations.

3. Cross-Straits relations face some twists and turns, and lack momentum of development for the following reasons.

The first is Ma Ying-jeou team's lack of confidence and motivation in promoting peaceful development of cross-Straits relations. Because of difficulties in consolidation within the KMT and lack of confidence, defeatist emotions prevail within the party. It is generally thought that the DPP will assume power in 2016. The phenomenon of inaction is common, so is the hard-job mentality. The second is the DPP's interference. Tsai Ing-wen proposed that the Cross-Strait Agreement Oversight Regulations be adopted, but it is an empty promise. The third is the after-effect of the "nine-in-one" election and some Taiwan people's doubt about development of cross-Straits relations. The fourth one is lack of cross-Straits political trust.

4. New changes in Taiwan's political situation will impact future development of cross-Straits relations.

The "nine-in-one" election exerted certain influence on the development of cross-Straits relations, and the "two-in-one" election to be held on January 16, 2016 will also influence the progress and extent of development of cross-Straits relations.

III. Trends of future development of cross-Straits relations

Cross-Straits relations are likely to remain stable overall but progress slowly before 2016 mainly because:

1. The KMT is unwilling to give strong impetus to cross-Straits relations. Out of the needs of political struggle, the KMT is unwilling to strongly push for adoption of the Cross-Strait Service Trade Agreement and the Cross-Strait Trade in Goods Agreement at the "Legislative Yuan" on the ground that their adoption can hardly bring about effect and benefit the KMT before the 2016 general election. Therefore, the KMT is unwilling to give up the fruits of cross-Straits economic cooperation to the DPP that might assume power.

2. Taiwan's social recognition of cross-Straits relations' importance is weakening. Because many people blame cross-Straits relations for unfair social distribution, urged by a strong sense of deprivation, they do not deem peaceful and stable cross-Straits relations as a necessity for Taiwan's society.

3. The element of the DPP. The DPP's policy of "Taiwan independence" can hardly be abandoned. Though the mainstream of the DPP sees the importance of cross-Straits civilian exchange, it still deems cross-Straits economic cooperation

and cultural exchange as nonessential. Many people even think the mainland's interest concessions are not conducive to improvement of Taiwan's initiative. Therefore, the DPP's destructive role in the peaceful development of cross-Straits relations cannot be underestimated. The DPP's possible change of policy claims about the South China Sea is also an obstructive factor in development of cross-Straits relations.

4. Both sides of the Taiwan Straits lack mutual trust and confidence. The Sunflower Movement fully showed that Taiwan's society lacked confidence in the development of cross-Straits relations.

Different results of the "two-in-one" election on January 16, 2016 will lead to different prospects of peaceful development of cross-Straits relations in the next four years.