

US POLICY ON TAIWAN 2002–2018

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Abstract. The Taiwan issue has always been the most sensitive and difficult in China – US relations. This article examines the US policy on Taiwan from 2002 to 2018 in the context of the Sino – US relations related to China’s territorial unification and sovereignty integrity. The article also concerns the global strategic interests of the United States. In particular, after the Trump administration came to power it frequently touched China’s bottom line of maintaining adherence to the One China policy, which led to a rise of the Taiwan issue and aggravated the turmoil in the Taiwan Strait. The US policy toward Taiwan has changed not only on the issue of peace and stability across Taiwan Strait but also related to the increased risk of Sino – US military conflict.

Therefore, it is very important to consider the US policy toward Taiwan during outlined period. The author adopts historical analysis and literature research methods, and based on a significant number of the scientific research results of Chinese and American scholars. The research content covers the Taiwan policy of the administration Bush, Obama, and Trump. The author attempts to expose the strategic essence behind the US policy toward Taiwan, focusing on analyzing the relationship between US policymaking and the China and Taiwan’ relationship factors. The article finds that the US Taiwan policy can be generally regarded as subordination to the China strategy, but there are some cases different from it. On this basis, this article discovers variables of China – US relations, US – Taiwan relations, the United States Congress and Taiwan politics to prove the hypothesis that US Taiwan policy follows the China’s policy in the majority of cases.

Key words: Taiwan; US dual–regulation policy; China strategy; democratic values; U.S. Congress; “One China” principle.

For citation: Bingliang Y. (2021). US policy on Taiwan 2002–2018. In: *Actual problems of international relations and global development collection of scientific papers*. Minsk. Vol. 9. P. 181–196. <https://doi.org/10.33581/2311-9470-2021-9-181-196>

Introduction. For a long time, the US factor has been difficult to fade out of the Taiwan issue. The root cause is that the Taiwan issue involves the strategic interests of US, in particular containing China’s rise and maintain, and strengthen its hegemony in the Asia–Pacific region. However, the Taiwan issue also concerns China’s national sovereignty and territorial integrity, as well as national rejuvenation and the rise of the country. Therefore, the Taiwan issue carries the contradiction between policies of both US and China.

After the Cold War, the Taiwan issue has always been an important means for the United States to prevent and contain China's rise, and the focus of the Sino – US game as well. The US does not want to be involved in a war with China because the defense of Taiwan, which would affect US – China cooperation in global and regional affairs. However, the US also does not want to stand aside in the event of a military conflict between China and Taiwan, so it has been seeking a balance between relationship with China and Taiwan.

The Bush and Obama administrations have continued the “double regulation policy” of US policy toward Taiwan. That is, US policy toward Taiwan needs to take into account Sino – US relations while strengthening US – Taiwan relations. Since Trump took office, the United States has used the Taiwan issue to constantly provoke China. This behavior severely damaged Sino – US relations and threatened the peace and stability of the Taiwan Strait.

China's leaders do not want Taiwan's issue to delay further, and the goal of reunification is becoming clearer. In particular, taking into consideration Xi Jinping's statement in the Communist Party's 19th National Congress report on October 18, 2017, stating that “Never allow anyone, any organization, any political party, at any time, in any form, to split any piece of Chinese territory from China”, which shows that China's firm stance on safeguarding national sovereignty and territorial integrity. At this time, the US has increased its support for Taiwan, with constant US – Taiwan military exercises and arms sales to Taiwan, which has gradually eroded the “One China” policy¹.

The purpose of the article. Through studying the US policy on Taiwan from 2002 to 2018, we cannot only see clearly that the US strategy on Taiwan issue has gradually changed from vagueness to clarity, which helps to grasp the essence of the US policy and promote the development of Sino – US relations.

Review of References. At present, regarding the research on the issue of US policy toward Taiwan, Chinese and American scholars hold different views on this issue. In general, these views can be divided into three perspectives. Firstly, on the issue of the purpose of policy toward Taiwan

¹台湾问题专家点赞十九大报告对台内容：彰显实现祖国统一的高度信心 [Taiwan experts praise the 19th National Congress report's content on Taiwan] // China International Online News [Electronic resource]. 2017. URL: <http://news.cri.cn/20171020/dc39da52-2206-119b-1ab7-33b773068227.html> (accessed: 08.04.2021). (In Chin.)

American scholars Richard Bush and Alan Romberg² argue that the goal of US policy toward Taiwan is not maintaining a balance of power in favor of the United States and Taiwan against China. Rather, it is to maintain peace and stability in the region. Chinese scholars He Jie, Zhang Wei [1] and Zhang Lichang, Luan Xuefei [2] argue that the purpose of US policy toward Taiwan is to hinder China's reunification and to use Taiwan strategically to contain China.

Secondly, concerning the perspective of Sino – US relations, American scholars Shirley A. Kan, Wayne M. Morrison [3] believe that the United States' long-term policy includes means to balance relations with Taiwan and China, and to balance US – Taiwan relations itself, rather than treating Taiwan as Part of Sino – US relations. However, Chinese scholars Xu Anjie [4], Tong Liqun [5] believe that the US policy toward Taiwan is subordinate to the US strategy toward China, affected by Sino – US relations.

Thirdly, there are different views on Taiwan itself. American scholar Susan Thornton³ believes that Taiwan is a valuable strategic and economic partner for the United States. Thus, not only the US – Taiwan relationship itself will bring direct benefits to the United States, but also indirectly affect the credibility of the United States in its allies system and regional leadership. However, Chinese scholar Zhong Houtao [6] believes that Taiwan has belonged to Chinese territory since ancient times. It is because of American factor that China has not achieved national reunification. Therefore, Taiwan is the issue of internal affairs for China.

Research method:

1. Historical analysis method. This article does not only focus on the Trump administration's Taiwan policy but expands the scope of analysis by considering the Taiwan policy of the administrations of Bush and Obama. It is more scientific and reliable to find out the commonalities and differences of policy changes from the historical development and perspective, to explore the rules of interaction between US policy toward Taiwan and strategic relations with China.

2. Literature research method. The article analyzes certain number of Chinese and American scholarly writings on US policy toward Taiwan,

² Cross-Strait Moderation and the United States – A Response to Robert Sutter // CSIS Pacific Forum [Electronic resource]. 2009. URL: <https://www.brookings.edu/opinions/cross-strait-moderation-and-the-united-states-a-response-to-robert-sutter/> (accessed: 25.09.2020).

³Taiwan: A Vital Partner in East Asia // Official website of U.S. Department of State Diplomacy In Action. [Electronic resource]. 2015. URL: <https://2009-2017.state.gov/p/eap/rls/rm/2015/05/242705.htm> (accessed: 01.09.2019).

which can reveal the differences between Chinese and American studies, and on this basis, it combines different perspectives of Chinese and American scholars to make some conclusions.

Research result. In 2002–2018, the US has been adopting a “dual-regulation” policy toward Taiwan, which takes into account both strategy toward China and its own interests and relationship with Taiwan. The US policy on Taiwan is strongly influenced by the US – China relationship, but is also influenced by the US Congress and the democratization of Taiwan. In general, to summarize, the US policy towards Taiwan is subordinate to the China strategy but independent of China strategy.

The formation of US intervention in Taiwan policy

Taiwan has belonged to Chinese territory since ancient times. Later, due to the 1894 Sino – Japanese War, China was forced to forfeit its sovereignty in the “Shimonoseki Treaty” which is ceded Taiwan and the Penghu Islands to Japan. After the World War II, Japan was defeated. According to the 1943 Cairo Declaration and 1945 Potsdam Proclamation, published by the representatives of Great Britain, the United States and China, the Chinese government recovered its sovereignty over Taiwan and the Penghu Islands⁴. Later, due to the civil war between the Chinese Kuomintang and the Communist Party, the Kuomintang Chiang Kai-shek government failed to retreat to the territory of Taiwan. After the Korean War broke out, the United States sent troops to Taiwan by the Seventh Fleet, which prevented the Chinese Communist government from reunifying Taiwan. In December 1954, the United States signed an agreement with the Taiwan authorities. The so-called “Mutual Defense Treaty” places China’s Taiwan Province under the “protection” of the United States⁵. The military intervention of the United States threatened and obstructed the returning of Taiwan by Chinese Communist Party. In this way the Taiwan issue rose from the internal affairs of the Communist Party and the Kuomintang to the most important and sensitive issue between China and the United States. After the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and the United States in 1979, the United States recognized the “One China” principle. In addition, the ‘Three Sino – American Joint Communiqués’ also stated that the United States recognized China’s posi-

⁴ The One-China Principle and the Taiwan Issue (2000) // Taiwan Affairs Office and the Information Office of the China State Council. [Electronic resource]. URL: <http://www.china.org.cn/english/7956.htm> (accessed: 01.06.2021).

⁵ White Paper on Taiwan and China’s Reunification (2005) // Official website of China Government [Electronic resource]. URL: http://www.gov.cn/zhengce/2005-05/25/content_2615735.htm (accessed: 01.10.2020).

tion that there is only one China in the world. That is the People's Republic of China, and Taiwan is a part of China. Subsequently, diplomatic relations with Taiwan were severed⁶. However, in fact, the United States did not completely give up its relations with Taiwan. In March 1979, the United States passed the "Taiwan Relations Act" and maintained unofficial relations with Taiwan.⁷ This act is still in force to this day. Although the successive Chinese government has strongly opposed it and made clear China's position to the United States on many occasions, the United States has always placed the "Taiwan Relations Act" above the three Sino – US joint communiqués. This situation has led to the continuous struggle between China and the United States over this issue.

The US "Dual Regulation Policy" and Strategic Intentions toward Taiwan

Successive US administrations have adhered to the "One China" principle and took a prudent approach when it comes to Taiwan because of the Sino – US relationship. However, in recent years, with China's economic and military rise, the overall US strategy has adjusted to the "Asia – Pacific" and "Indo – Pacific" strategies. In addition, China's increased military power has led to an imbalance in the military power of China and Taiwan. From 2002 to 2018, the US has continuously adjusted its policy toward Taiwan, varying from period to period but largely continuing the 'dual-track' policy toward Taiwan. Despite its "One China" policy, the US has continued to sell arms to Taiwan and provide Taiwan with military technology. At the same time, Washington is unwilling to transfer certain technology to the China mainland. The US 'dual track' policy of arms sales and technology transfer to both sides of the Taiwan Strait has maintained a strategic balance by developing closer relations with Beijing while maintaining the security of the Republic of China on Taiwan. Washington's objectives are to enhance Sino – American relations and to maintain Taiwan's security while not unsettle the generally positive Sino – American relationship. While this policy has caused tensions in US – China relations, this "unbalanced balance" has served US interests in maintaining Taiwan's security and has not strained Washington – Beijing relations to

⁶ 中美关系与台湾问题 [Sino-U.S. Relations and Taiwan Issues] (2012) // 中国和平统一 – 促进会 // Website of China council for the promotion of peaceful reunification [Electronic resource]. URL: http://www.zhongguotongcuhui.org.cn/tylt/2012ndlq/201301/t20130106_3517977.html (accessed: 01.12.2020). (In Chin.)

⁷ U.S. Relations with Taiwan (2018) // Website of United States Department of State [Electronic resource]. URL: <https://www.state.gov/u-s-relations-with-taiwan/> (accessed: 01.10.2020).

the breaking point⁸. The United States policy towards Taiwan seeks to maintain a long-term cross-strait “no unification, no independence, no military” situation, in order to seek the maximum strategic interests [1, p. 72]. The successive Chinese governments have always pursued the ‘one country, two systems’ approach to a peaceful resolution of the Taiwan issue, but the Chinese government is not committed to abandoning its policy of force. However, the US government continues to sell arms to Taiwan. Both US and Taiwan continue military exercises while US’ warplanes and warships across the Taiwan Strait to test and provoke China’s determination to maintain unification. Thus, the essence of the Taiwan issue can be described as a game between China and the US. The strategic goal of US intervention in the Taiwan issue is to “control Taiwan, hinder China’s unification, and use Taiwan as a pawn to contain China” [2, p. 111].

US policy on Taiwan is based on China’s strategic relations

The Bush Junior administration’s policy on Taiwan from 2002 to 2008 changed from “firmly assisting in the defense of Taiwan” to “opposing unilateral changes to Taiwan’s status”. George W. Bush positioned China as a “strategic competitor” during the election campaign and after taking office showed a tough attitude on the Taiwan issue. In particular, he promised help to defend Taiwan at all costs. However, after the ‘September 11’ attacks and the escalation of the situation on the Korean Peninsula, the United States realized the importance of cooperation with China, and the United States readjusted its strategy based on maintaining contact with China. The United States expressed hope that a rising China would become a “responsible stakeholder” in the international system, helping to solve common security and economic problems and reducing regional and global tensions⁹. During this period, the United States dealt with the Taiwan issue in a low-key manner. The United States initially established a constructive and cooperative relationship with China. In particular, China and the United States looked for cooperation on the issue of Taiwan independence. Nevertheless, the security promises and arms sales actions of the US at the beginning of the Bush administration’s rise to power gave

⁸ US ‘Dual Track’ Policy: Arms sales and technology transfer to China mainland and Taiwan // Taylor Francis Online Database. [Electronic resource]. URL: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/10670560123882?needAccess=true&journalCode=cjcc20> (accessed: 01.04.2021).

⁹ 从冷战后美台关系演变看美对台政策实质 [Viewing the Essence of US Policy towards Taiwan from the Evolution of US-Taiwan Relations after the Cold War] // 国际安全研究 [International Security Research Journal website]. [Electronic resource]. URL: http://gjaqyj.cnjournals.com/gjaqyj/ch/reader/view_abstract.aspx?file_no=200305003&flag=1 (accessed: 01.04.2021). (In Chin.)

Taiwan a very big boost. Taiwan's leader, Chen Shui-bian, has continued to campaign for Taiwan's independence, including the "One Side, One Country Theory" in 2002, the "Taiwan referendum to amend the constitution" in 2003, and the application to "join the United Nations as a sovereign state under the name of Taiwan" in 2007. The "Taiwan independence" movement is an attempt to divide Taiwan from China. In response to the actions of the Taiwan independence activists, China promulgated the "Anti-Secession Law" in 2005 and issued a war warning in the face of Chen Shuibian's "Taiwan independence" initiative¹⁰. The United States has been extremely worried about the outbreak of war in the Taiwan Strait, which threatens the core interests of the US global strategy. The US changed its previous policy of favoring the Taiwan authorities and instead took the initiative to pressure the Chen Shui-bian administration to oppose "Taiwan independence" and "oppose any party to unilaterally change the Taiwan status or even work with China to control Taiwan independence". At the same time, in order to ease tensions in the Taiwan Strait, the Bush administration suspended arms sales to Taiwan and supported dialogue between China and Taiwan [4, p. 52]. The Obama Administration 2008–2016 not only encouraged the peaceful development of Taiwan and China but also called for maintaining the current status of Taiwan. Although the US strategy of "engagement" with China is still the mainstream, with the rapid development of Sino – US relations and the rise of China the negative aspects of US strategy towards China are also increasing. After the Obama administration, the US strategy towards China has changed from "strategic reassurance" to "Asia – Pacific rebalancing". On the Taiwan issue, in 2008, there was another change of political parties in Taiwan, and cross-strait relations ushered in a new turning point after Ma Ying Jiu came to power. In 2009, Obama visited China and expressed support for peaceful development across Taiwan Strait and dialogue to solve problems. After Ma Ying Jiu came to power, he recognized 'One China' and actively engaged in peace negotiations with China, which led to direct "postal, commercial and air links" between the two sides of the Taiwan Strait. Economic and cultural exchanges between China and Taiwan have reached an unprecedented level of closeness. However, US' support for the peaceful development of cross-strait relations is limited. The US only stands for maintaining cross-strait discussions on economic issues, but not

¹⁰ China issues war warning in face of Chen Shui-bian's "Taiwan independence" adventure (2003) // Daily Gansu news. [Electronic resource]. 2003. URL: <http://lzcb.gansudaily.com.cn/system/2003/11/26/000093617.shtml>. (accessed: 01.12.2020).

on political, military, or future reunification issues. Therefore, cross-strait consultations must “emphasize the economy and despise politics” under US control¹¹. Although the Obama administration’s “Asia – Pacific Re-balance” strategy does not emphasize Taiwan’s strategic status or propose a new policy toward Taiwan, US – Taiwan relations were still in tension. The Obama administration approved three arms sales to Taiwan in 2010, 2014 and 2015, while promoting the development of US – Taiwan economic and trade relations and supporting Taiwan’s expanded international participation. In 2012, Taiwan was added to the US Visa Waiver Program system. Susan A. Thornton, deputy assistant secretary of state at the time, believed that the US – Taiwan interaction maintained a “low-key, zero-accident” relationship during this period, and US – Taiwan relations reached the best level in history¹². In the Obama administration’s view, the United States has not taken the sacrifice of US – Taiwan relations as contacts cooperation with China. Instead, the United States has established parallel relations with Beijing and Taipei. Overall, the Obama administration’s Taiwan policy required the maintenance of the relations across the Taiwan Strait. At that time, it was felicitous to see the peaceful development of cross-strait relations without harming the interests of the United States, at the same time, maintaining a more balanced relationship with both sides of China and Taiwan¹³.

From 2017 to 2018, the Trump administration lifted unofficial restrictions on contacts between the United States and Taiwan, breaking the China – US “One China” principle consensus.

After Trump took office, especially with the outbreak of trade frictions between China and the United States in March 2018, there has been a fundamental shift in US policy toward China from the previous “engagement-based, containment-supplemented” to “containment-based, engage-

¹¹ 奥巴马政府时期对台政策 [The Policy towards Taiwan in the Obama Administration] (2019) // 中国国际友好联络会 [Official website of China Association for International Friendly Contact]. [Electronic resource]. URL: <http://www.caifc.org.cn/index.php?m=content&c=index&a=show&catid=11&id=601> (accessed: 01.03.2021). (In Chin.)

¹² See 3

¹³ 奥巴马政府的两岸关系政策 [The Obama Administration’s Cross-Strait Relations Policy] // 上海交通大学台湾研究中心 [Shanghai Jiao Tong University Taiwan Studies Center]. [Electronic resource]. URL: <http://taiwan.sjtu.edu.cn/2010> 奥巴马政府的两岸关系政策 .pdf (accessed: 01.10.2019).

ment-supplemented”¹⁴. In December 2017 and January 2018, the Trump administration positioned China as a “strategic competitor” and a “revisionist state” through the National Security Strategy Report and the National Defense Strategy Report, which made the competitive element of the US strategy toward China more prominent and broke years of diplomatic practice on Taiwan policy. The unprecedented move to speak directly with Taiwan’s leader Cai Ying Wen by phone during the presidential transition was the first break in practice in the 37 years of US – China diplomatic relations, and unprecedented in the history of US – China relations¹⁵. The US has continued to increase its deviation from the “One China” principle, even though Trump quickly changed its position and adhered to the ‘One China policy’ after taking office, and the number, frequency, and intensity of Taiwan-related actions have increased compared to the past. However, the US deviation from the ‘One China’ principle continues to the Taiwan issue, whether in terms of quantity, frequency, or intensity, compared to the past has increased [5, p. 10]. In March 2018, Trump personally signed the “Engagement with Taiwan Act” (also known as the “Taiwan Travel Act”), the implementation of which signifies that the restrictions on unofficial relations between the United States and Taiwan will be completely broken and official relations will be fully opened¹⁶. As the US – China trade dispute heated up further, the United States has begun to show its intention to try forcing China to make concessions on trade issues through the Taiwan issues by signing The National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2019 (signed by President Donald Trump on August 13, 2018). A typical example of the act requires the government and the military:

- to submit a report on Taiwan’s military strength within one year of the bill’s enactment;

- to help Taiwan improving its defense capabilities;

- to expand high-level US – Taiwan military exchanges and joint military training;

¹⁴ The Trump Administration’s Role Impact on Taiwan under the Background of Indo-Pacific Strategy // China Sohu news website. [Electronic resource]. 2019. URL: https://www.sohu.com/a/360521380_619333 (accessed 01.10.2020).

¹⁵ Taiwan calling – Trump’s first signal to China // German Wave News. [Electronic resource]. 2020. URL: <https://www.dw.com/en/taiwan-calling-trumps-first-signal-to-china/a-36734554> (accessed: 01.07.2021).

¹⁶ Experts: Trump’s signing of the Taiwan Travel Act is the most serious “legislative upgrade” in 40 years, China needs strong countermeasures // Global Times news. [Electronic resource]. 2018. URL: <https://taiwan.huanqiu.com/article/9CaKrnK6YIY> (accessed: 01.10.2020).

to provide Taiwan with the required military sales in a timely manner;

to agree to regular calls by US warships to Taiwan's Gao Xiong port or other appropriate ports; and

to allow the US Indo-Pacific Command to accept Taiwan's requests for warships to enter the port, which is considered the most representative, specific, and 'powerful' move of the Trump administration¹⁷.

According to the three communiqués signed between the United States and China, high-level military exchanges and joint military training between the United States and Taiwan are prohibited. In addition, since the withdrawal of US forces from Taiwan, mutual visits between US and Taiwan warships have been prohibited as a matter of course, while the Act advocates and encourages such behavior, which is already a serious violation of the 'three joint communiqués' with the US – China¹⁸. In response to frequent US military provocations on China's sovereignty and the rise of Taiwan independence forces, the Chinese People's Liberation Army (PLA) has been regularly drill around Taiwan with military aircraft since 2016¹⁹. China's military aircraft has frequently flown over the first island chain.

To summarize, the US – China relationship was once tense. Put succinctly, US policy toward Taiwan and cross-strait issues has a profound impact on the peace and stability of the region. Any actions by the parties in the China – Taiwan – US triangular relationship will set off a chain of different reactions, for better or for worse. Therefore, determining whether strategic ambiguity or clarity can best maintain peace and stability in the region is of vital importance²⁰. The Trump administration continued to break the bottom line of the "One China" principle, which made US – Taiwan relations closer to substantive official relations, while US – China relations continue to deteriorate²¹. With the presence of warships and air-

¹⁷National defense authorization act for fiscal year 2019 // U.S. Congress. [Electronic resource]. 2020. URL: <https://www.congress.gov/115/crpt/hrpt676/CRPT-115hrpt676.pdf> (accessed: 01.06.2021).

¹⁸ Zejun Y. The Trump Administration's Ultimate "Taiwan Card": Performance, Intention and Influence // Chinese Academic Thought Website. [Electronic resource]. 2020. URL: <https://www.aisixiang.com/data/121369.html> (accessed: 01.06.2021).

¹⁹ China holds military drill as US envoy visits Taiwan // BBC news. [Electronic resource]. 2020. URL: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-54200913> (accessed: 14.06.2021).

²⁰ Why US Strategic Ambiguity Is Safer for Taiwan // The website of diplomat Magazine. [Electronic resource]. 2021. URL: <https://thediplomat.com/2021/04/why-us-strategic-ambiguity-is-safer-for-taiwan/> (accessed: 15.04.2021).

²¹ Experts: Pompeo 'ending limits' on relations breaks bottom line of China-US ties, puts Taiwan in imminent danger // Global Times News. [Electronic resource]. 2021. URL: <https://www.>

craft in the Taiwan Strait, the US and China have raised military security risks and exacerbated tensions in the Taiwan Strait.

Factors restricting US policy toward Taiwan

1. The special relationship between the US and Taiwan (economic benefits and the promotion of democratic values).

The special relationship between the US and Taiwan is one of the reasons why US policy toward Taiwan is independent of its strategy toward China, on one hand, because the US and Taiwan share the same values of democracy and freedom. The US successfully contributed to the Taiwan's democratization process in the 20th century, keeping the US and Taiwan ideologically consistent. Taiwan's democratization challenged America's unqualified rhetorical support for democracy in general with America's seemingly qualified support for Taiwan's democracy in particular [6, p. 1].

Besides, the US has used Taiwan as a “model of democracy” to continue promoting American-style democracy around the world. “Taiwan democracy” began to enter mainstream US policy discourse, and the preservation of Taiwan's vibrant democracy was defined as an important US interest in addition to strategic and security interests, becoming an important factor influencing and shaping US policy toward Taiwan²². On the other hand, Taiwan is one of most important economic partners in American – 9th largest trading partner.

The United States is the largest foreign investor in Taiwan with cumulative direct investments of over \$21 billion, a 19.6% share of total foreign direct investment (FDI) in Taiwan. Taiwan's stock of foreign direct investment in the US equals \$12.2 billion, or about 19% of Taiwan's outbound FDI²³. At the same time, Taiwan is one of the military allies of the United States. The US policy towards Taiwan affects the US commitment to other allied countries, whether it is ideological leaning or overlapping interests. By supporting Taiwan, the United States sends a clear message to its other allies that it will stay committed to their security as well. Cutting off an old US ally would transform the calculus of other allies who

globalsecurity.org/wmd/library/news/china/2021/01/china-210110-globaltimes02.htm (accessed 18 May 2021).

²² 浅析美国对台政策演变及其基本特点 [An Analysis of the Evolution and Basic Features of U.S. Taiwan Policy]. 北京大学期刊网站 [Peking University Journal Website]. [Electronic resource]. URL: <http://www.oaj.pku.edu.cn/gjzzyj/CN/Y2012/V49/I2/27#1> (accessed: 01.05.2021). (In Chin.)

²³ The United States and Taiwan: An Important Economic Relationship // Official website of U.S. institutions in Taiwan. [Electronic resource]. 2010. URL: <https://www.ait.org.tw/the-united-states-and-taiwan-an-important-economic-relationship/> (accessed: 01.05.2021).

might plausibly wonder whether the US commitment to their security is flexible as it was towards Taiwan²⁴. Problems do remain and to Beijing, the continued existence of the Republic of China (Taiwan) is anathema to the “One China” ideology widely accepted by the rest of the world. The Republic of China, to Beijing is a re-minder that the civil war is not over with ‘Taiwan’ acting as a propellant encouraging domestic nationalism – mostly state sponsored [7, p. 81]. In fact, it sets limits to the US policy towards Taiwan, and makes the US unable to completely abandon Taiwan or accept the endgame in the Taiwan Strait as unilaterally proposed by China.

As part of the US political structure of separation of powers and system of mutual checks and balances, the US Congress plays a pivotal role in the formulation of US policy toward Taiwan. Since the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and the United States, Congress has adopted the Taiwan Relations Act as the domestic law basis for the development of unofficial US relations with Taiwan, emphasizing the US responsibility to protect Taiwan’s security and balancing the executive branch’s decisions on Taiwan. The Taiwan Relations Act assigns to the US Congress a greater role in the formulation of US policy toward Taiwan than it exercises in other areas of foreign policy [8, p. 57]. After the end of the Cold War, the support for Taiwan in the Congress was very broad and bipartisan, which had a stake in Taiwan’s success²⁵. The Congressional Taiwan Caucus, established in April 2002, currently boasts over 200 House members from both the Democratic and Republican parties. The Senate Taiwan Caucus, established in September 2003, consists of more than 30 Senators. Both caucuses are among the largest and most active in the US Congress, demonstrating their strong support for the people of Taiwan²⁶. In 2018, the number of people joining the team in the Senate and House of Representatives rose. Congress has been the basis of pro-Taiwan forces in the US. They not only demanded that the executive branch adopt a “pro-Taiwan” policy, but also expressed dissatisfaction with the executive branch’s criticism of Taiwan. The US executive branch

²⁴ The Ominous Triangle: China-Taiwan the United States relationship // Website of Research gate. [Electronic resource]. URL: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/276511720_The_Ominous_Triangle_China-Taiwanthe_United_States_relationship/fulltext/57a9b6f608ace739f2fd0d1/The-Ominous-Triangle-China-Taiwanthe-United-States-relationship.pdf (accessed: 01.05.2021).

²⁵ CSIS Press Briefing: U.S. Policy toward Taiwan // The Center for Strategic and International Studies. [Electronic resource]. URL: <https://www.csis.org/analysis/csis-press-briefing-us-policy-toward-taiwan> (accessed: 17.05.2021).

²⁶ Taiwan-U.S. Relations // Official website of Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office in the United States. [Electronic resource]. URL: https://www.roc-taiwan.org/us_en/post/24.html (accessed: 25.12.2020).

has been asked to raise the level of political and military exchanges between the US and Taiwan. In particular, after Taiwan's leader Cai Ying Wen took office, she has increased her efforts to lobby Taiwan interests with the US Congress. At the same time, the US Congress also taken the initiative to show goodwill to Taiwan in return. Since May 20, 2016, the House and Senate have made 34 Taiwan-related bills, including the "National Defense Authorization Act of 2017," the "Taiwan Travel Act". The US Congress passed proposals to support Taiwan's "meaningful" participation in the World Health Organization, the International Civil Aviation Organization, Interpol, and the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, requiring the US executive branch to substantially support Taiwan's participation in these international intergovernmental organizations to Expand Taiwan's International Space [9, p. 45].

2. Taiwan's internal political instability

Since the beginning of Taiwan's democratization in the late 1980s, identities of the island's inhabitants have fundamentally changed. Then, most citizens of the Republic of China, Taiwan's official name, considered themselves as Chinese, and only a minority considered themselves as Taiwanese. The latter segment of the society was concentrated in and around the newly formed and legalized opposition group, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) [10, p. 42]. Today, the situation has changed significantly. According to the 2016 survey conducted by the Taiwan Foundation for Public Opinion regarding Taiwan people's inclination toward unification and independence, 51% of the respondents believe that Taiwan's independence is better, 15% believe that reunification is better, and about 25% prefer maintaining the status. Regarding the national identity of the people of Taiwan, the survey shows that 81% consider themselves Taiwanese, 8% consider themselves Chinese, and 8% consider themselves both Taiwanese and Chinese²⁷. As political parties in Taiwan alternate in power the changing positions of the Taiwan authorities on the issue of "unification and independence" have caused difficulties in cross-strait relations. The conditions have changed from Chen Shuibian's independence, Ma Ying-Jeou's peaceful development across the Taiwan Strait under the One China principle, to Tsai Ingwen's refusal to recognize the One China principle, which has also made US policy toward Taiwan more uncertain. It is also difficult

²⁷ The latest poll: more than half of the people in Taiwan tend to be independent (2016). The Voice of Germany. [Electronic resource]. URL: <https://www.dw.com/zh/最新民调-过半台湾民众倾向台独/a-19290223> (accessed: 25.07.2020).

for the United States to devise a grand strategy on Taiwan-related issues that Taiwan will cooperate with²⁸.

Discussion of the results. At present, there is no unified conclusion by Chinese and American scholars on the US policy toward Taiwan in 2002–2018. In order to fill this gap, the author has referred to the academic writings of Chinese and American scholars. This article finds that the US Taiwan policy can be basically regarded as the subordination to its strategy towards China, but there are some cases different from it. It is difficult to simply consider that the adjustment of the US policy on Taiwan definitely results from changes in the US – China strategy. Moreover, importantly, more consideration should also be given to US – Taiwan relations, US politics, and Taiwan politics.

Conclusion. With the rise of China, the US strategy has shifted eastward in the context of the “Asia-Pacific Strategy” and “Indo-Pacific Strategy”. Taiwan, as an important pivot point in the Western Pacific, has become increasingly important as a pawn in the US strategy to contain the rise of China. Both Bush and Obama administrations as well as Trump administration have frequently provoked China by assisting Taiwan. Although the US has adjusted its policy toward Taiwan at different times, it has continued the “dual regulation policy” toward Taiwan for maintaining a balance between China and Taiwan. US policy toward Taiwan has not only a significant impact on the direction of cross-strait relations but also has important implications for US – China relations and the security situation in the Asia-Pacific region.

However, the US policy toward Taiwan is largely subordinate to the US strategy toward China. When the US strategy toward China is tough, the policy toward Taiwan is characterized by “strategic clarity” and the tension between China and the US on the Taiwan issue rises. When the US strategy toward China maintains the status quo or is moderate, the policy toward Taiwan is characterized by “strategic ambiguity” and the tension between China and the US on the Taiwan issue is low.

Nevertheless, US policy toward Taiwan has its logic, which is constrained by several factors, such as the strategic need to consider Taiwan as a part of the US ally system. As a part of internal affairs of the United States, the Taiwan issue is subject to the constraints of US domestic laws and policies, as well as being characterized by the contradictions between

²⁸ Underlying Strains in Taiwan-U.S. Political Relations // Website of Federation of American Scientists. [Electronic resource]. URL: <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL33684.pdf> (accessed: 25.10.2020).

the Administration and Congress and to the lobbying of Taiwan-related interest groups. In terms of values, the United States sees Taiwan as a partner that shares the same values. Understandably, the benefits of US – Taiwan economic cooperation cannot be ignored. In general, US policy toward Taiwan does not directly equate with US strategy concerning China. Therefore, policies of these countries are closely connected, but are affected by their independent nature.

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Received: 02.09.2021.

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ПОЛИТИКА США В ОТНОШЕНИИ ТАЙВАНЯ В ПЕРИОД 2002–2018 ГГ.

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Аннотация. Тайваньский вопрос всегда являлся довольно чувствительным и сложным в китайско-американских отношениях. В данной статье рас-

считается политика США в отношении Тайваня с 2002 по 2018 гг. в контексте китайско-американских отношений, связанных с территориальной целостностью и целостностью суверенитета Китая. В статье также затрагиваются глобальные стратегические интересы Соединенных Штатов Америки. В частности, после прихода к власти администрации Трампа, ее деятельность часто касалась главной цели Китая – сохранения приверженности политике «одного Китая», что привело к обострению тайваньского вопроса и усугубило беспорядки в Тайваньском проливе. Политика США в отношении Тайваня изменилась не только в вопросе мира и стабильности по ту сторону Тайваньского пролива, но и в связи с возросшим риском китайско-американского военного конфликта.

В данной связи очень важно рассмотреть политику США в отношении Тайваня в течение обозначенного периода. Автор использует методы исторического анализа, а также опирается на значительное количество результатов научных исследований китайских и американских ученых. Содержание исследования охватывает тайваньскую политику администрации Буша, Обамы и Трампа. Автор пытается раскрыть стратегическую сущность политики США в отношении Тайваня, сосредоточив внимание на анализе взаимосвязи между разработкой политики США и факторами взаимоотношений Китая и Тайваня. В статье делается вывод, что политику США в отношении Тайваня в целом можно рассматривать как следование китайской стратегии, при наличии некоторых отличающихся случаев. Исходя из этого, в данной статье рассматриваются переменные китайско-американских отношений, американо-тайваньских отношений, политики Конгресса Соединенных Штатов и Тайваня, с целью доказательства гипотезы о том, что политика США в отношении Тайваня в большинстве случаев следует политике Китая.

Ключевые слова: Тайвань; политика «двойных стандартов» США; политика США в отношении КНР; демократические ценности; Конгресс США; принцип «Одного Китая».

Образец цитирования: *Бин Лянь Ян.* Политика США в отношении Тайваня в период 2002–2018 гг. // Актуальные проблемы международных отношений и глобального развития: сб. науч. ст. Минск, 2021. Вып. 9. С. 181–196. <https://doi.org/10.33581/2311-9470-2021-9-181-196>

Дата поступления статьи: 02.09.2021.

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