

An Uncertainty of Cross-Straits Relations and Its Implication Towards ASEAN

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Abstract

The objective of this paper is to analyse the relationships between China and Taiwan in the Tsai Ing-wen Era from 2016-2020 and their implications towards ASEAN with a realism approach and secondary data through qualitative method. Relations between Beijing and Taipei itself began in 1949, after Communist Mao Zedong took power in Beijing and Nationalist Kuomintang (KMT) led by Chiang Kai-Shek formed Taiwan. After that, relations between both of them experienced ups and downs, and even China strived on his policy called “One China Policy”. However, the current relationship between the two heats up when Tsai Ing Wen was elected as President of Taiwan in 2016 and encouraging Taiwan to maintain Status Quo with its New Southbound Policy. Furthermore, ASEAN as a cooperation partner with Beijing and Taipei has long been influenced by the two countries. With China, ASEAN started its relationship in 1991, while with Taiwan, ASEAN began its relationship through the south policy which was adopted by the Taiwan government in 1990. However, this paper concludes that Beijing and Taipei relationship towards ASEAN have made them have their own strategies and ways to work together with ASEAN countries.

Keywords: China and Taiwan Relationship, One China Policy, Tsai Ing-wen, New Southbound Policy, Status Quo, ASEAN

Introduction

The relationship between Beijing (China) and Taipei (Taiwan) started when Communist Mao Zedong took power in Beijing in October 1949, after defeating the Kuomintang (KMT) nationalist Chiang Kai-shek in a civil war. The KMT fled to the island of Taiwan and formed their own government in Taipei in December, cutting off contact with mainland China. Then, Mao Zedong officially formed the People's Republic of China (PRC) which was declared in the Tiananmen Square, Beijing (Hung, 2011). Afterwards the relations between the two regions became very complicated. Taiwan and China both still consider themselves as one country and both refer to themselves as "China" but in practice have been separated since 1949. Until 1971, Taiwan held the seat of China's representative at the United Nations before losing the influence of the Communist Party in Beijing. The United States, which has opposed the Chinese communist government for years, has only opened a representative office in Taiwan. In 1979, the era of normalization relations with Beijing, Washington moved the embassy to China and closed diplomatic representation in Taiwan. However, both of them still maintain its relation through Taiwan Relation Act (TRA) which was signed in 1979. Technically, China and Taiwan are still considered one country by the Kuomintang and the Communist Party. The same thing is also applied through diplomatic relations, or what is known as the "One China Policy". This policy makes many countries must choose, diplomatic relations with Taiwan or China, which is usually won by Beijing. Despite, it does not dampen diplomatic cooperation even with other forms. Taiwan's still has trade and economic offices in other countries, which function like embassies.

In its history, China-Taiwan relations have been dreadful, tinged with small conflicts which are feared to be an open war. Moreover, many parties in Taiwan are urging the declaration of independence. Followed by, China issued a regulation in 2005, containing threats of military action if Taiwan declared independence. It is said that Chinese missiles are now also heading towards Taiwan, ready to be fired at any time. In the past 20 years, relations have begun to improve. Although diplomatically hostile, but in the economic field the two were close, especially after Ma Ying-Jeou took the lead in 2008. The conflict reheated when Tsai Ing-wen won Taiwan's Presidential election and became Taiwan's seventh President in 2016. China does not approve the results of the election because it considers Taiwan's Tsai Ing-wen Pro Independence and can disrupt China's stability. Thus, the conflict between Taiwan and China heats up again, plus the involvement of the United States (US) in the conflict which further heated it up.

Countries in Southeast Asia who are members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) often have diplomatic relations with Beijing (China) or non-diplomatic relations with Taipei (Taiwan). This resulted in, all matters relating to relations between Beijing and Taipei will affect ASEAN relations with the two countries. These countries are often faced with unpleasant "*this or that?*" situations,

one of which is the “One China” policy adopted by Beijing that there is only one sovereign state under the name China, as opposed to the idea that there are two states, so that inevitably ASEAN countries that diplomatic relations with Beijing must adopt the policy. Even so, it does not mean that ASEAN countries no longer renounce relations with Taipei, the ASEAN countries remain in non-diplomatic and non-official relations with Taipei in various fields, from economy, trade and investment to tourism. There are at least seven ASEAN Member State (AMS) who made the relations, while others choose not to do it or do not have access to it. However, the current relations between ASEAN-Beijing and ASEAN-Taipei are getting better and closer, then with the “heated” relations between Beijing and Taipei in the Tsai Ing-wen era, has ASEAN been affected or its implications? **Based on this background, this paper interested in discussing the dynamics of Beijing-Taipei relationship and its implications towards ASEAN.**

Conceptual Framework

Realism is a school of thought that emphasises the competitive and conflictual side of international relations. Realism’s roots are often said to be found in some of humankind’s earliest historical writings, particularly Thucydides’ history of the Peloponnesian War, which raged between 431 and 404 Before the Current Era (BCE). Thucydides, writing over two thousand years ago, was not a ‘realist’ because IR theory did not exist in named form until the twentieth century. However, when looking back from a contemporary vantage point, theorists detected many similarities in the thought patterns and behaviours of the ancient world and the modern world. They then drew on his writings, and that of others, to lend weight to the idea that there was a timeless theory spanning all recorded human history. That theory was named ‘realism’. Here are the basic assumptions of realism, namely, first assumption of realism is that the nation-state (usually abbreviated to ‘state’) is the principle actor in international relations. Other bodies exist, such as individuals and organisations, but their power is limited. Second, the state is a unitary actor. National interests, especially in times of war, lead the state to speak and act with one voice. Third, decision-makers are rational actors in the sense that rational decision-making leads to the pursuit of the national interest. Here, taking actions that would make the state weak or vulnerable would not be rational. Realism suggests that all leaders, no matter what their political persuasion, recognise this as they attempt to manage their state’s affairs in order to survive in a competitive environment. Finally, states live in a context of anarchy – that is, in the absence of anyone being in charge internationally. The often-used analogy of there being ‘no one to call’ in an international emergency helps to underline this point. Within our own states that typically have police forces, militaries, courts and so on. In an emergency, there is an expectation that these institutions will ‘do something’ in response. Internationally, there is no clear expectation of anyone or anything ‘doing something’ as there is no established hierarchy. Therefore, states can ultimately only rely on themselves (Antunes & Camisão, 2018).

Regarding the topic, Realism views the state as the main actor and believes that a country will compete with other countries to achieve its national goals, especially in the field of power and security. China with its "One China policy" forces countries wishing to establish diplomatic relations with China to admit that there is only one China in the world, called Beijing (China) and must not have diplomatic relations with Taipei (Taiwan). This policy certainly seeks to limit Taipei from conducting diplomatic relations with other countries, up till now Taipei has only had diplomatic relations with 15 countries. Although, Taipei does not remain silent, this country maintains non-official and non-diplomatic relations with other countries. These relations are not inter-governmental nor are they officially diplomatic or political. This relationship is a form of cooperation between a country and Taipei in various fields ranging from economy (Trade and Investment), Social and Culture (Education and Cultural Exchange) through the Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office. Competition between Beijing and Taipei also affects the relationship between Southeast Asian countries and the two. Beijing's domination in Southeast Asia cannot be denied, therefore Tsai Ing-wen with the new southbound policy seeks to develop cooperation between Taipei and Southeast Asian countries, and especially Southeast Asia is a very profitable region and has a bright long-term prospect.

Cross-Straits Relations

Relations between Beijing and Taipei also called the Cross-Straits Relations, began in 1949, Mao Zedong's communists subdued the power in Beijing in October 1949 after defeating Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang (KMT) nationalists in a civil war. The KMT decided to flee to the island of Taiwan and formed their own government in Taipei in December, cutting off contacts with mainland China. In 1950, Taiwan built an alliance with the United States, during the Korean War. The United States deployed a fleet in the Taiwan Strait between the two to protect its ally from possible attack from the mainland. In October 1971, Beijing took over China's seat at the United Nations (UN), previously held by Taipei. In 1979, the United States established diplomatic relations with China but also committed to assisting the defence of Taiwan. The United States supported the "One China" policy, with Beijing as the legitimate government, while establishing trade and military ties with Taipei. In late 1987, Taiwanese residents permitted to visit China, allowing families to reunite and leading to a boom in trade. In 1991, Taiwan has lifted an emergency rule, unilaterally ending a state of war with China. The first direct talks between the two sides held in Singapore two years later in 1993. In 1995, Beijing suspended talks in protest at a visit by Taiwanese President Lee Teng-hui to the United States. In 1996, China tested missiles off Taiwan to deter voters in the island's first democratic Presidential election. In 2000 elections, the KMT defeated in Taiwan for the first time and over the next five years trade links between the two sides has improved, first by sea and then via air.

In March 2005, Beijing has adopted a law, contains the succession by Taiwan illegal at the risk of military action. Followed in April 2005, the first meeting of the leaders of the KMT and Communist Party of China took places. In 2008, Taiwan and China resumed high-level talks after the KMT's Ma Ying-jeou was elected President on a Beijing-friendly platform. In 2010, the KMT-Communist Party of China signed a sweeping Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement. In 2014, they held the first government-to-government talks since separation. In 2015, the leaders of both sides held a formal meeting in Singapore, shaking hands and waving enthusiastically to a huge press throng but refraining from any joint statement. In January 2016, opposition candidate Tsai Ing-wen, from the traditionally pro-independence Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), won elections to become Taiwan's first female President. In her victory speech, Tsai said the result shows democracy was ingrained in the Taiwanese people and she strived to maintain the stability with China. The day of her inauguration in May 2016, China addressed that peace would be "impossible" if she made any moves to formally break away. In June 2016, China suspended all communications with Taiwan after the island's new government failed to acknowledge "One China Policy". In December 2016, President Donald Trump broke with decades of the United States diplomatic policy by speaking directly, by telephone, with Tsai. In 2017, Trump's administration approved US\$1.4 Billion worth of arms sales to Taiwan, prompting anger from Beijing. In March 2018, the United States adopted a law reinforcing ties with Taiwan, infuriating China. In September 2018, the US State Department allowed the sale to Taiwan of spare parts for F-16 fighter jets and other military aircraft worth up to US\$330 Million, drawing a warning from China that the move jeopardised cooperation between Beijing and Washington (Timeline: Taiwan-China relations since 1949, 2019). In a January 2019 speech, Tsai Ing-wen's declared the "One Country, Two Systems" framework advanced by Beijing unacceptable. Her rejection of the consensus, along with that of other leading voices in the governing DPP, mentioned the open the possibility of future Taiwanese independence (Albert, China-Taiwan Relations, 2020).

China and ASEAN Relationship

1991 marked the beginning of China-ASEAN dialogue process. In 1996, China became a full dialogue partner of ASEAN. In 1997, the first informal ASEAN-China Summit was held in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, during which the leaders of the two sides announced their decision to establish a 21st century-oriented partnership of good neighbour and mutual trust between ASEAN and China. In 2003, among all ASEAN's dialogue partners, China took the lead in acceding to the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TAC) in Southeast Asia. The two sides decided to upgrade ASEAN-China relationship to strategic partnership for peace and prosperity. In December 2008, China appointed its first Ambassador to ASEAN. In November 2011, the ASEAN-China Centre (ACC) was established

officially. As a one-stop information and activities centre, ACC has exerted its role to promote cooperation between ASEAN and China in the areas of trade, investment, education, culture, tourism, information and media. In September 2012, China set up its Permanent Mission and began posting Ambassadors to ASEAN. 2006 marked the 15th Anniversary of the establishment of ASEAN-China dialogue relations, with the successful convening of the ASEAN-China Commemorative Summit in Nanning, Guangxi, China. 2011 marked the 20th Anniversary of ASEAN-China Dialogue Relations, the leaders of ASEAN and China exchanged congratulatory messages, and the two sides held a series of events such as the Commemorative Summit and receptions. 2013 marked the 10th Anniversary of ASEAN-China strategic partnership, both sides held celebrations including Special ASEAN-China Foreign Ministers' Meeting, Special Transport Ministers' Meeting on Connectivity, and ASEAN-China High-Level Forum.

In October 2013, Chinese President Xi Jinping paid visits to Indonesia and Malaysia, proposing jointly building a closer ASEAN-China Community with a Shared Future and the Maritime Silk Road of the 21st century. In 2014, the ASEAN-China Cultural Exchange Year, the leaders of China, Myanmar, the rotating chair of ASEAN, and Thailand, the coordinator of ASEAN-China Relations sent congratulatory letters respectively to its opening ceremony. 2016 marked The 25th Anniversary of ASEAN-China dialogue relations and the ASEAN-China Year of Educational Exchange. In 2017, the year of the 50th Anniversary of the founding of ASEAN, President Xi Jinping sent a congratulatory message to President Rodrigo Duterte, President of the Philippines, the rotating chair of ASEAN. As 2017 was also the ASEAN-China Year of Tourism Cooperation, Li Keqiang, Premier of the State Council of China, and President Duterte sent congratulatory letters respectively to its opening ceremony. The year 2018 marked the 15th Anniversary of ASEAN-China strategic partnership, and it was the ASEAN-China Year of Innovation. In 2019, the ASEAN-China Year of Media Exchanges, President Xi Jinping and Prayut Chan-o-cha, Prime Minister of Thailand, the rotating chair of ASEAN, sent congratulatory letters respectively to its opening ceremony. The year 2020 has been designated as the ASEAN-China Year of Digital Economic Cooperation. ASEAN and China have kept close coordination and cooperation on international and regional issues. China firmly supports ASEAN's centrality in regional cooperation, and playing a bigger role in developing an open and inclusive regional architecture. Both sides have jointly dedicated to promoting the sound development of regional cooperation in East Asia, and have been coping with the existing and potential challenges within the region. The two sides have also maintained good communication and collaboration within the cooperation mechanisms including ASEAN Plus China, Japan and Republic of Korea (ASEAN Plus Three), East Asia Summit, ASEAN Regional Forum, Asia Cooperation Dialogue, APEC, etc.

In the Economic and Trade Cooperation, in November 2002, ASEAN and China signed the Framework Agreement on Comprehensive Economic Cooperation, kicking off the process of building

the ASEAN-China Free Trade Area (ACFTA). In January 2010, ACFTA was fully completed. In 2014, the two sides launched the negotiations for upgrading the FTA. In November 2015, the two sides signed the Protocol to Amend the Framework Agreement on Comprehensive Economic Cooperation and Certain Agreements thereunder between ASEAN and China, marking the successful conclusion of the FTA-upgrading negotiations. In October 2019, the ASEAN-China FTA Upgrading Protocol took full effect. In November 2019, the 15 Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) participating countries (including China and 10 ASEAN Member States) concluded text-based negotiations. According to the Ministry of Commerce of China, the two-way trade between ASEAN and China reached USD641.46 billion in 2019 and China's export to ASEAN reached USD359.42 billion. China's import from ASEAN reached USD282.04 billion. China has remained ASEAN's top trading partner for 11 years consecutively, and ASEAN rose to be China's second largest trading partner. According to the Ministry of Commerce of China, at the end of December 2019, the accumulated two-way investment between ASEAN and China reached USD236.91 billion. China's investment to ASEAN reached USD112.30 billion, and ASEAN's investment to China reached USD124.61 billion. The two-way investment has maintained a substantial growth. In 2019, China's non-financial direct investment to ASEAN reached USD9.39 billion and ASEAN's investment to China reached USD7.88 billion.

The people-to-people exchanges and cooperation between ASEAN and China have enjoyed quite a boom along with many highlights. In forms of ministerial-level meetings, forums and seminars, personnel training, cultural dialogues, art exhibitions and performances, theme years, the two sides have conducted cooperation and exchanges that enhanced mutual understanding and appreciation of each other's culture, and forged the bond of friendship among the peoples. China has signed agreements on educational exchanges and cooperation with the 10 ASEAN Member States, and the agreements on mutual recognition of higher education qualification and degrees with Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Thailand and Vietnam. The two-way flow of students now exceeds 200,000. Chinese universities have opened majors covering the official languages of all ASEAN Member States. 38 Confucius institutes are running in ASEAN countries (as of November 2019). Since 2008, the China-ASEAN Education Cooperation Week (CAECW) has been held for 12 consecutive editions, and it has gradually developed into an important platform for educational cooperation and people-to-people exchanges between ASEAN and China. All the 10 ASEAN Member States have signed cultural cooperation documents with China, and a memorandum of understanding on cultural cooperation between ASEAN and China was signed in 2005. Since 2006, the China-ASEAN Cultural Forum has been successfully held for 14 times, which expanded space for dialogue and cooperation in the fields of cultural industries, art creation, cultural heritages, public service, festival activities and art education. All the 10 ASEAN Member States have signed agreements with China in the field of education.

The Philippines, Malaysia, Vietnam and Thailand have signed bilateral agreements with China on mutual recognition of academic degree and diploma. China has set up 7 cultural centres in ASEAN Member States. China and ASEAN are each other's important source of inbound tourists and travel destination. In 2019, the mutual visits exceeded 65 million in total, and around 4,500 flights travelled between China and ASEAN Member States per week. China is implementing a pilot project of people-to-people exchanges called China-ASEAN Young Leaders Scholarship Program. China has also carried out the "Bridge of the Future" China-ASEAN Young Leaders Training Program, aimed at training 1,000 young talents from ASEAN in China. China also plans to train 1,000 ASEAN administrative and specialized personnel in the health sector under the China-ASEAN Human Resources Training Program of Health Silk Road from 2020 until 2022 (ASEAN-China Relations, 2020).

Taiwan and ASEAN Relationship

In the 1990s, Taiwan advocated its first Go South Policy as a strategic move to construct regional links with Southeast Asian countries. Since President Tsai Ing-wen came to power in 2016, Taiwan has begun to redefine itself as well as its relations with regional neighbours. In the past, public discourse paid close attention to Taiwan's interaction with Southeast Asia. In the present, Taiwanese society is more concerned with its role and networks in Southeast Asia and its contributions to the region. This shift reflects the fact that the multiple existing linkages between Taiwan and neighbouring societies have already matured, and that prior iterations of the New Southbound Policy acted as a catalyst for these linkages (Hsiao & Yang, 2018).

Nowadays, Taiwan has non-diplomatic and informal government relations with 7 countries in Southeast Asia, such as: Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam. These relations are not between governments and are neither diplomatic nor political. This non-diplomatic and informal relationship occurs because 7 countries have diplomatic relations with China so they obey and recognize One-China policies. **First, Brunei**, Taiwan cooperates in trade and investment, in 2019 the value of bilateral trade between Taiwan and Brunei Darussalam is US \$ 173 Million. **Second, Indonesia**, in 1971, Taiwan and Indonesia agreed to mutually establish a representative office in Taipei and Jakarta. In 1989 the "Chinese Chamber of Commerce to Jakarta" renamed to "Taipei Economic and Trade Office in Indonesia". Bilateral relations have been closed in various fields. At the end of 2015, it opened a representative office in Surabaya with the name "Taipei Economic and Trade Office in Surabaya".

Indonesia is Taiwan's 14th largest trading partner in 2018, is the 10th largest source of import for Taiwan and the 16th largest export market. Taiwan's main export products to Indonesia are oil products, iron and steel products, textile raw materials, machinery parts, chemicals and other products;

Main imports from Indonesia are natural gas, coal, copper and gold, timber and rubber and other raw materials. Taiwan's state oil company CNPC and Indonesia's state company BUMN have signed a long-term contract for the supply of natural gas. To enhance the promotion of trade between Taiwan and Indonesia, the Minister of Economic Affairs of Taiwan together with the non-commercial organization established the "Taiwan External Trade Development Council (TAITRA) and in Indonesia established the "Taiwan Trade Center, Jakarta". According to the Indonesian Investment Coordinating Board (BKPM), until the end of December 2018, the number of Taiwan's investment in Indonesia reached USD 17,854,000,000, consist of 3,320 investments cases. Type of investment mainly the furniture industry, textile industry, footwear industry, non-metal mining industry, metal industry, tire industry, service trade, agriculture, etc. According to data from the Indonesian Immigration, the current number of Taiwanese businessman and Taiwanese technicians who work in Indonesia are about 10,000 people, the number of Taiwanese enterprises more than 2,000. Taiwanese businessman established the Taiwan Business Club in Jakarta, Bandung, Surabaya, Semarang, Cirebon, Batam, Medan and Bali.

Ministry of Education Republic of China (Taiwan) provides "Taiwan Scholarship" for excellent international student to study in Taiwan to get a degree (bachelor, master or PhD). Other than that, each year also provides "Mandarin Scholarships" for Indonesian students to learn Mandarin in Taiwan. Each year Taiwan government provides "Taiwan Scholarship" and "Mandarin Scholarships" for around 50 Indonesian students. Since 2004 until today, there are about 200 Indonesian students who have received the scholarship and study in Taiwan. In addition, universities in Taiwan provide free education, free accommodation and a variety of scholarships to increase internationalization and attract more international students to study in Taiwan. Currently, the numbers of Indonesian students studying in Taiwan are 6,811 students, including 4,000 students of Bachelor, Master and Doctoral degree, 317 exchange students and 1,626 students studying Mandarin. Indonesia ranks third as the number of foreign students studying in Taiwan, after Malaysia and Japan. Indonesian students in Taiwan founded the "Indonesian Students Association in Taiwan" in May 2010. According to Taiwan's Ministry of Education statistics, between the period of 2000-2016, Taiwan and Indonesia have signed 256 memoranda of agreement on education cooperation inter-university, which shows the increasing exchange of educational cooperation between the two sides. In 2011, the two sides signed "MoU on higher education cooperation. In 2016, there are around 200,000 Taiwanese tourists coming to Indonesia and around 190,000 Indonesian tourists visited Taiwan, an increase of 6.18% from 2015.

On December 17, 2004, Taiwan and Indonesia signed an agreement on labour cooperation. From there, the number of Indonesian workers in Taiwan arises. In January 2018, the number of Indonesian workers in Taiwan has reached 268,576 workers making Indonesia the largest source of foreign labour in Taiwan and Indonesia was ranked first in the Southeast Asia. To help Indonesia

develops agriculture and to increase agricultural cooperation between Taiwan and Indonesia, in 1976 Indonesia and Taiwan conducted an agriculture technical cooperation agreement signed by both parties. According to the agreement, Taiwan ICDF (International Cooperation and Development Fund) will send a technical mission to Indonesia to provide assistance. Taiwan Technical Mission in Indonesia currently has 4 experts in the field of agronomy, horticulture, and agriculture marketing. Its office is located in Jakarta. Currently, the cooperation program between Taiwan Technical Mission and Indonesia include Taiwan Alumni or ICDF Alumni Association – Indonesia, Strengthening the Agribusiness Incubator with Development of Human Resources in Bandung, The One Village One Product (OVOP) Agribusiness Project, Agribusiness Project and others. This cooperation is appreciated and has a positive response from the Indonesian society. In 1976, Taiwan and Indonesia signed a technical cooperation agreement in the field of agriculture, and since then has been dispatching a technical mission to East Java and Central Java. In 1995 signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) in the field of agriculture, in 1996 sent a technical mission to West Java. In 2006 Taiwan and Indonesia signed a technical cooperation agreement in the field of agriculture. In January 2010 Taiwan and Indonesia signed the MoU “One Village One Product (OVOP)”, and then Taiwan Technical Mission established two work stations in Bali. In 2016 Taiwan and Indonesia signed a cooperation agreement in the field of agriculture. On April 13, 2004 Taiwan and Indonesia signed the “MoU on Marine and Fisheries Cooperation” (Taiwan-Indonesia Relations, 2019).

Third, Malaysia, Taiwan have long had many close interactions in the areas of diplomacy, economy, tourism, education, and humanitarian aid. The two countries communicate through institutions like the Taipei Economic and Cultural Office in Kuala Lumpur, and a trade centre office from Malaysia in Taipei. On the economic front, Taiwan was Malaysia’s fourth-largest source of foreign investment in 2017, while Malaysia served as Taiwan’s seventh-largest trading partner in 2019. In the Tourism sector, Malaysia has long been recognized as a popular tourism spot for Taiwanese longing to experience a tropical, and exotic lifestyle. In the education sector, there are two Taiwanese international schools in Malaysia, while the number of Malaysian students has always accounted for a large proportion of foreign students in Taiwan. In the entertainment industry, many Malaysian-Chinese singers come to Taiwan to further their entertainment career (Lu, Taiwan Through Malaysian Eyes & Vice-Versa, 2020).

Fourth, the Philippines, Taiwan maintain close cooperation not only in economics and trade, investment, technology, agriculture, fishery, law enforcement and labour affairs, but also in tourism, education, culture, and frequent people-to-people engagement. Among these collaboration areas, tourism is an important element in promoting people-to-people understanding. In 2019, visitor arrivals from the Philippines reached 509,519 and visitor arrivals from Taiwan to the Philippines reached 331,792 (Taiwan-Philippines Relations, 2020).

Fifth, Singapore, Taiwan cooperates in the military, trade and investment fields. Since 1975, Taiwan has allowed the Singapore armed forces to train in Taiwan and provide services to Taiwanese citizens called the starlight program. Starlight Force has participated in rescue missions after disasters such as the 921 Earthquake and Eight-Eight Flood (Taiwan to continue military relations with Singapore, 2019). In the trade and investment sector, in 2013, Taiwan signed a free trade agreement with Singapore called The Economic Partnership Agreements, the first with a Southeast Asian country (AFP, Taiwan, Singapore sign free trade agreement, 2013).

Sixth, Thailand, Taiwan established economic relations in 3 fields, such as trade, investment and industrial cooperation. In 2018, bilateral trade between the two countries under the New Southbound Policy to US\$10.75 billion. Thus, Thailand is Taiwan's 12th largest trading partner while Taiwan is Thailand's 11th largest. According to Board of Investment (BOI) of Thailand statistics, Taiwan's cumulative investment in Thailand between 1959 and 2018 amounted to US\$14.6 billion, making Taiwan the 3rd largest investor in Thailand after Japan and the United States. The Chinese National Federation of Industries (CNFI) of Taiwan and the Federation of Thai Industries (FTI) held the 2018 Taiwan-Thailand Industrial Collaboration Summit in Taipei in June, 2018 to discuss collaboration in the fields of Bio Food, Textile, Automation and Smart City (Taiwan-Thailand Economic Relations, 2020).

And the last one is Vietnam, Taiwan established economic relations in 3 fields, such as trade, investment and industrial cooperation. Bilateral trade between Taiwan and Vietnam totalled US\$16 billion in 2019, making Vietnam as Taiwan's 7th largest trading partner. According to statistics from the Ministry of Planning and Investment in Vietnam, from 1988 to February 2020, Taiwan's FDI to Vietnam amounted to US\$32.44 billion, making Taiwan Vietnam's 4th-largest source of FDI while Vietnam has invested around US\$63 million in Taiwan in 2019. The Chinese National Federation of Industries (CNFI) of Taiwan and the Vietnam Chamber of Commerce and Industry (VCCI) held the 2019 Taiwan-Vietnam Industrial Collaboration Summit in Vietnam, on July, 2019 to discuss collaboration in the fields of textiles, smart city and basic light industry technologies (Taiwan-Vietnam Economic Relations, 2020).

An Uncertainty of Beijing-Taipei Relationship in the Tsai Ing-wen Era

On January 16, 2016, in the Taiwanese Presidential Election, Tsai Ing-wen the opposition leader of the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) won the Presidential Election and succeeded in becoming the first female and seventh President of Taiwan, after defeating Eric Chu the representative of the Kuomintang party (KMT) who famous for being "a good friend" to China. Tsai Ing-wen's victory was triggered by the anxiety, disappointment, and discomfort of the Taiwanese people over the policies carried out by the former Taiwanese President, Ma Ying-Jeou from the KMT party. The policies include increasing closeness between Taiwan and China to the signing of trade treaties with China that are considered to fail in providing benefits for the Taiwanese People.

As President, Tsai Ing-wen has big plans for Taiwan that she will lead for the next 4 years, including creating a consistent and lasting relations with China and will not be provocative in order to maintain the current status (status quo) and she hopes that China will also take the same action by not suppressing Taiwan, this is because oppression in any form will harm the stability of cross-border relations between both of them. She also confirms that in a democratic system, the distance between national and international identity must be respected. Tsai also promised to work to maintain peace and stability in relations with China, with notes that future relations must continue to reflect the will of the people, ensuring that there are no provocations or accidents between them. Tsai also voiced for freedom of navigation in the South China Sea which is now being disputed. In addition, she also intends to strengthen international relations with Japan and hopes to continue communication with the United States which has been carried out by her party.

Taiwan's Presidential election is also monitored by the Chinese Government and the Chinese People. The monitoring resulted in China's rejection of the results of the new Taiwan Presidential election. For China, Taiwan's affairs are internal affairs for the country because there is only one China in the world and that is Mainland China and the Presidential election in Taiwan will not change this reality including international recognition of the election results. Tsai's victory in the Taiwan election was responded by China by affirming the 1992 consensus, namely One China Policy. This assertion is a picture that the Chinese Government does not overreact to political changes in Taiwan and still wants the status quo. Not surprisingly, Tsai's response softened by stating that she would guarantee the status quo of Taiwan's relations with China.

In the lead up to the general election, the Chinese government has repeatedly opposed Taiwan's desire for independence. After Tsai's victory, the Taiwan Office of Chinese Affairs warned against opposing any steps towards Taiwan's independence, this was done because Taiwan's chance of independence was greater, this was due to various factors, such as: weak Taiwan's economic growth which only reached 1 percent in 2015, increasing unemployment, as well as income stagnation, could ignite Taiwan's pro-independence movements more quickly in the next four years. Not to mention the Taiwanese public who were not satisfied with Taiwan's close relations with China in the era of the previous President which were considered to cause dependence and eliminate Taiwan's independence. Tsai's victory is expected to drive a new chapter in Taiwan's independence efforts from China, and could lead to instability in China.

The Chinese Government is also determined to maintain the country's sovereignty and territorial integrity. The Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs expressed ignorance of the changes that might occur in Taiwan. However, the Chinese Government will never change its policy to oppose Taiwan's official independence and adhere to one unit, namely mainland China and Taiwan is owned by

China. The results of the Presidential election in Taiwan did not change the facts and the consensus of the international community. The Chinese government sincerely hopes that the international community will take concrete steps to support the peaceful development of relations across the Taiwan Strait. In addition, China needs to respect democracy in Taiwan. This is an affirmation to be able to ensure that both parties have a responsibility to find ways that are acceptable for the stability of regional security. Tsai's victory has indeed succeeded in writing a new history for Taiwan, but from the victory that China actually saw could trigger an escalation in relations between the two countries.

After Tsai was elected, Taiwan and China relations could not be said to be "peaceful" and "fine". President Tsai Ing-wen continued to strive to promote Taiwan's independence in various ways. Therefore, China is trying to thwart Taiwan's efforts to be able to free itself from China, and insists to continue to uphold the principle of One China Policy. China continues to claim Taiwan and insists that both parties are on one flag, but Tsai Ing-wen refuses to discuss it. Of course, China has not remained silent, China has shown a willingness to increase supervision and pressure aimed at limiting Tsai's ability to govern. In May 2016, the Taiwan Affairs Office in Beijing revealed that there was a break in communication between Taiwan's main liaison with the Mainland Affairs Council in Taipei. Not only that, the Chinese government also limits tourism to Taiwan and pressures global companies who want to cooperate with Taiwan.

China is also trying hard to build troops to be able to attack Taiwan. China strengthens the navy and air force to prevent the interruption of foreign troops in any invasion. China made a new strategy that could attack Taiwan in the future. Even like that, Tsai Ing-wen still tried hard to maintain the status quo. In the same year, China issued a law that contained threats of military action if Taiwan urged it to declare independence. China has prepared a missile that is heading to Taiwan, which is ready to be fired if Taiwan continues to rebel. In 2016 to 2017, China has held military exercises and several times showed Taiwan that China has a strong military from Taiwan.

Taiwan also does not remain silent in dealing with China. Taiwan held military exercises and strengthened the military. Taiwan has a cooperative relationship with the United States, one of which is that Taiwan continues to buy weapons from the United States. Although relations between Taiwan and China are still in conflict, this does not prevent Tsai from buying weapons from the United States. Tsai not only bought weapons but also bought F-35 fighter planes from the United States. The existence of these arms sales, adding to the tension between the United States and China. In recent decades the United States has supported a cross-strait balance. However, the United States' actions helped in Taiwan's defence affairs. This clearly makes China firmly against the sale of weapons to Taiwan. In 2017, China aimed missiles at Taiwan with medium range as part of its military threat to the Island of Taiwan. Taiwan's Defence Minister said that there were DF-16 missiles that would attack Taiwan which

had been installed by PLA rocket forces. The missiles can also hit the target precisely and quickly. China is trying hard to embrace Taiwan so that it remains a part of China, because Taiwan has significance for China. The presence of the United States helped Taiwan, hampering Chinese business. Thus, China has another strategy in making Taiwan to remain a part of China. China builds national defence and a strong army in an effort to ensure security for China. The problems of China and Taiwan that never end is certainly not without reason. The release of a small economies like Taiwan, should not be a big problem for China. However, judging by how hard China is to continue making Taiwan a part of China, it can be interpreted that the release of Taiwan is a serious threat to China.

Implications of Cross-Straits Relations Towards ASEAN

This dilemma turned out to make both of them especially Taiwan know in what field they should focus on in the region. China with its traditional cooperation and Taiwan with its non-traditional cooperation. China has a strong traditional relationship with ASEAN, both in economic and political terms. Since 2013, China has increasingly intensified its large-scale infrastructure projects through the Belt and Road Initiatives (BRI). A total of 152 countries and international organizations were involved in the initiative. So, it cannot be denied that China's influence in Southeast Asia is also getting stronger. A survey of the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS) in January 2019, showed that 73.3% of respondents considered China to have the greatest influence in ASEAN in the economic field. Greater than the influence of the United States in this region. In the political field, China also has strong bilateral and multilateral ties with 10 ASEAN countries. With the 10 ASEAN members, China already has a strong foothold in relations, among others, through the ASEAN-China Summit as well as the ASEAN plus three (China, Japan, and Republic of Korea), and which will soon be realized is the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP), involving a total of 16 countries and 30 percent of world GDP. Chinese attachment through the ASEAN mechanism means that China has the freedom to work together in various strategic fields. One of them, China and ASEAN have imposed a free trade zone (ASEAN-China Free Trade Area, ACFTA), which began running since 2010. Bilaterally, the strength of China's relations with countries in Southeast Asia is also evident.

Aware of China's strength that is too strong in the Southeast Asia region and also the One China policy adopted by ASEAN countries, Taiwan tends to adopt a "ducking" attitude. Taiwan is modest in strengthening substantial relations with neighbouring countries. Taiwan also seems to realize that it is not realistic for them to expect ASEAN countries that adhere to the One China policy, to recognize Taiwan's sovereignty as a country, sooner or later. Through the One China policy, countries that have diplomatic relations with China are committed to placing the PRC as the official government of mainland China, including those of Hong Kong SAR, Macau and Taiwan. At present, Taiwan only

establishes diplomatic relations with 15 governments, which recognize it as a sovereign state. Since Tsai Ing-wen took the lead in 2016, Taiwan has experienced a severance of diplomatic relations with seven governments, which transferred their relations to China. In the eyes of Taiwan, most regional forums in Asia focused collaborative efforts on the economic, political, military, security and other traditional diplomatic fields while the problem of non-traditional social development received less attention. From that side, Taiwan tried to make a breakthrough. Taiwan's simple attitude is carried out by taking an approach that is more directed at inter-community relations with ASEAN countries, not merely on trade and investment as was the focus of the previous government.

Through the New Southbound Policy (NSP), Taiwan seeks to expand relations in a number of key sectors outside trade and the economy, such as: education, tourism, health services and agriculture. Regarding the program, the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare in 2018, among others, launched cooperation between six hospitals in Taiwan with six partner countries in the medical field, including training of medical personnel. In the same year, the Taiwan Agricultural Agency (COA) also established an agricultural demonstration zone in Indonesia to introduce more sophisticated fertilizers, agricultural machinery, nurseries and agricultural management techniques. Taiwan, through the Yushan Forum, operates a "soft power" sharing mechanism and civil society development experience with countries in Southeast Asia, such agriculture, health services, education, technology, disaster prevention and management, as well as small and medium businesses.

Taiwan feels they must know the people, culture, habits of people in ASEAN and Taiwan must respect the differences in each nation. For instances, Halal Certification and Tourism, where Taiwan seeks to give more detailed attention to the Muslim population in ASEAN, especially in Indonesia and Malaysia. Since the New Southbound Policy was implemented, two-way visits between Taiwan and NSP partner countries targeted to reach more than five million people. Earlier in 2017, the number recorded an increase to 4,758,794 people compared to 2015, which recorded as many as 3,648,133 people. After the NSP was launched, the Taiwan Government carried out various programs to attract, guide and maintain tourist visits from partner countries. The marketing strategy launched includes providing religious and cultural tourism packages for tourists from predominantly Buddhist countries and creating a Muslim-friendly tourist environment. Visa-free facilities came into force for citizens of Brunei and Thailand in July 2016 and for Filipinos in November 2017. Meanwhile, electronic visas began to apply to citizens of Indonesia, Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar and India who meet certain criteria.

Taiwan believes it can carry out efforts to increase partnerships with ASEAN countries in its own way. Taiwan has two main elements which are the power to build an environment for building relationships, namely a democratic and free society, and strong economic activities. The Taiwan government is now increasingly encouraging local companies to target the uniqueness of ASEAN

countries individually in increasing opportunities for cooperation. These differences in each country are of serious concern to the Taiwanese government now compared to before.

Conclusion

Relations between Beijing and Taipei began in 1949 when communist Mao Zedong took power in Beijing and The KMT fled to the island of Taiwan and formed their own government. Since then, relations between Beijing and Taipei have fluctuated. Beijing (China) relations with ASEAN began in 1991, in 1996 Beijing later became the full dialogue partner of ASEAN and in 1997, the first informal ASEAN-China Summit was held in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. At present, relations between Beijing and ASEAN are very close and mutually supportive of one another, both relations in traditional fields, such as economic, political, military and security. While Taipei (Taiwan) relations with ASEAN, are non-diplomatic relations and informal government relations. Taipei has established relations with 7 ASEAN countries; Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam. With these countries, Taipei cooperates in the fields of education, tourism, health services and agriculture

The dilemma of the Relationship between Beijing and Taipei in the Tsai Ing-wen Era began since the election of Tsai Ing-wen as Taiwan's seventh President. Her landslide victory was due to the Taiwan Society's disappointment at the policy of the former Taiwanese President who was considered too close and dependent on China. China which oversees the course of the Presidential election rejects the election results, Tsai is considered pro to Taiwan's independence, this is very troubling China, China is also doing various ways to dispel the Tsai government ranging from increasing surveillance and pressure on the Taiwanese government, limiting Chinese tourists, pressing companies that want to cooperate with Taiwan and even use military measures. Responding to this, Taiwan also increased its military defence by cooperating with the United States in the purchase of armed equipment. This triggered a strong warning from China. From how hard China has been to continue making Taiwan part of its country, it can be interpreted that the release of Taiwan is a serious threat to China. However, the implication of China and Taiwan's dilemmas for ASEAN has made them both have their own strategies and ways to work together and "win the hearts" of ASEAN countries.

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