

## *The Cross-strait Policy Between Tsai Ing-wen and Ma Ying-jeou - A Rational Option of the Taiwanese People*

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### 1. The Fundamental Difference on Taiwan's Sovereignty

Ma Ying-jeou, the presidential candidate of Chinese Nationalist Party (KMT), has never considered that Taiwan is a sovereign State, instead, Taiwan is merely a part of China; whereas, Tsai Ing-wen, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP)'s presidential candidate, clearly expresses that Taiwan has its own sovereignty and hence the difference between two candidates is obvious. According to Ma's stance on Taiwan's status, he has never questioned the one-China principle, and hence accepted the 1992 Consensus and Hu Jintao's Six Points which aimed at mapping out the future cross-strait relation and even make China become the representative of Taiwan in the international society. Moreover, Ma never opposes or even says a word to China's international propaganda that China is the sole representative of Taiwan; in Ma's view, even the promulgation of the policy concerning the military and national security are only lip services. Furthermore, only during the period of election, Ma would announce hypocritically that "Taiwan's future should be determined by the Taiwanese people" in order to garner the vote.

In the contrary, on the topic of sovereignty, Tsai begins her stance from DPP's Resolution on Taiwan's Future which stands firmly on Taiwan's own sovereignty, and then engages diplomatic relation with China and the international society. According to Tsai's previous experience participating in negotiation of cross-strait affairs, Taiwan's sovereign status will never be conceded.

### 2. The Difference on the Attitude and Approach Toward China

China is closed to Taiwan and both sides share same origin of culture and blood. Despite China is one of Taiwan's trade partner, it is also the main source of threat to Taiwan's national security; therefore, one cannot ignore the necessity in developing relationship with China. However, relations with China affair become the most important goal of Ma's government. Under Ma's ruling, domestic affairs involving education, culture, economic, social order and even nuclear security must be linked with China. No matter what kind of problem occurs, China would always be the only solution. In fact, the attitude of Ma in dealing with the cross-strait relation has fallen into the trap proposed by Hu's Six Points. Ma's position toward China not only makes Taiwan become part of China in terms of sovereignty, but also jeopardizes Taiwan's autonomy when implementing policies and interactions.

On the flip side, in her proposal, Tsai regards China as one of the countries in the world and therefore should develop DPP's China policy through the cooperation of international society, she would not fall into the myth of the mentality of "China only." The uniqueness of Taiwan's democracy is the standing point for Taiwan to participate in the international society. Therefore, if Taiwan develops relation with other countries, China shall not be the representative thereof; on the other hand, when dealing with China, one must realize its potential side effects toward Taiwan and find the most appropriate method to balance the adverse effects of coping with China affairs.

### 3. The Difference on the Government Governance

The government should be viewed as an integral entity. When dealing with cross-strait affairs actions and policy declared by responsible agency must be decided under the assessment of the effect by related agencies and be executed through the integration of policy by the Mainland Affairs Council and the National Security Council. To safeguard national interest, supervise and track the execution are needed after the finalization of policy. However, Ma's personal preference is always superior to the assessment and the discussion of government agencies. This phenomenon makes the Cabinet and policy-making agencies lose its original functions and the policy making process are up to Ma's will. For example, there is one time that the Mainland Affairs Council was kept in the dark when the Financial Supervisory Commission conducted the negotiation with China. Besides, after the policy being finalized, Ma apparently neglects the results of the execution thereof; for instance, the tourism policy bragged by Ma has resulted in serious problems. Furthermore, as to the problem of the embedded marketing on Taiwan's media conducted by China, nobody in Ma's office would dare to take the responsibility

During Tsai served in the National Security Council and Mainland Affairs Council, she was famous for her persistence on the policy assessment and policy-making. One could barely see the inconsistency among government agencies or the lack of tracking or monitoring of the policy execution occurred while she was in office. Being strict to the important task is one of the distinctive characteristic of Tsai in terms of governing capacity.

### 4. The Integration of the Domestic Diversified Opinions

It is not surprised that there are diversified opinions when it comes to cross-strait policy in Taiwan society. Thus, when making cross-strait policy, the intensive debate and process of integration are needed for a better standing of Taiwan toward external world. Facing China's threat and menace, a divided Taiwan would not have any advantage. Ma's track-record shows that, when encountering domestic opposite opinion, he aggravates the conflicts among people instead of seeking reconciliation on the opposite opinion and hence again widen social division.

On the other hand, Tsai has participated in the formation of a bi-partisan Committee on cross-strait affairs in 2000, the National Economic Development Meeting in 2001 and Economic and Sustainable Development Conference in 2006, which are all purported to integrate all diversified opinions across the domestic society in order to make the cross-strait policy a united national policy. During Tsai's tenure as the MAC head, she oversaw an Act governing cross-strait interaction. Her ability in reconciling the diversified opinions among Executive Yuan and Legislative Yuan and between the ruling and the opposition parties are well-known. In addition, Tsai's experience of participating in the National Security Council further forms her unique vision toward the affair related to national security affairs. She proposes that national security affair is an inherited profession which is totally distinguishable to Ma's approach that cuts off the policy coherence from its connection toward previous Chen's government. **BT**