

中國統一白書



統一政策研究室
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본 資料는 '93. 8. 31(화) 14:00 中華人民共和國
國務院에서 『臺灣問題與中國的統一(The Taiwan
Question and Reunification of China)』 題目으로
발표한 中國의 統一白書を 完譯한 것입니다.

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1993. 9. 13

統一政策室

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대만문제와 중국의 통일

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前 文

국가통일과 영토 보전을 수호하는 것은 모든 주권국가의 신성한 권리이며 국제법상의 기본원칙이기도 함. UN헌장에는 UN회원국이 다른 회원국의 영토보전이나 정치독립을 침해할 수 없으며 본질적으로 他國의 관할권에 속하는 어떠한 사건에 대해서도 간섭할 수 없다고 규정하고 있음.

UN은 『각국이 UN헌장에 의거 우호·협력관계를 수립하는 국제법 원칙에 관한 선언』에서 국가통일·영토보전·정치독립의 일부 혹은 완전 파괴를 목적으로 하는 행위는 모두 UN헌장의 정신에 위배된다고 지적하고 있음.

中國근대사는 침략·분할·능욕의 歷史인 동시에 中國인민이 민족독립 쟁취, 국가주권, 영토보전, 민족존엄을 수호하기 위해 영웅적으로 투쟁해 온 歷史임. 臺灣문제 발생 및 진전과정은 모두가 이러한 歷史와 매우 밀접한 관계를 갖고 있음.

몇가지 이유로 臺灣이 아직도 대륙과 분리상태에 있는 바, 이 상태는 하루이틀에 매듭지어질 것도 아니며 中華民族이 겪고 있는 상처 또한 하루이틀에 치유될 수도 없으며 中國인민의 국가통일과 영토보전을 위한 투쟁도 하루에 끝나는 것이 아님.

臺灣문제 실태와 문제점은 어디에 있는가? 臺灣문제의 해결을 위한 中國정부의 입장과 주장은 무엇인가? 국제사회로 하여금 이를 분명히 이해할 수 있도록 아래 문제에 대해 記述할 필요가 있음.

1. 臺灣은 中國의 불가분의 一部

臺灣은 中國대륙의 동남편에 놓여 있는 中國 제1의 큰 섬으로서 대륙과 불가분의 관계에 있음.

臺灣은 古代부터 中國에 歸屬

臺灣의 옛명칭은 『夷州』 또는 『流求』로 불려 왔으며 많은 史書와 문헌에는 中國인이 일찌기 臺灣을 개발한 사실을 기록하고 있음. 1700여 년전 3국시대 吳나라의 沈瑩이 지은 『臨海水土誌』 등에 이러한 사실을 기록하고 있는 바, 이는 臺灣歷史에 관한 세계최초의 기록임. 서기 3세기와 7세기 3국시대의 孫吳정권과 隋나라 朝廷에서는 만여명을 臺灣에 파견시켰으며, 17세기이후에 들어서는 中國인의 臺灣에 대한 개척규모가 대폭 확대 되었음.

17세기말에는 10만명이상의 대륙인이 臺灣에 파견되었으며 서기 1893년 (淸朝 光緒19년) 臺灣의 總家口數는 50만 7,000여호, 人口는 254만명에 달했음. 즉 200년간 臺灣人口가 25배 증가했음. 그들은 선진 생산기술을 도입해 臺灣 전지역에 대한 개발속도를 크게 가속시켰음.

이러한 역사적 설명은 中國의 기타 省과 마찬가지로 臺灣도 中國 민족이 개척·定住했다는 사실을 입증해 주고 있음. 臺灣의 사회발전은 시종 中華文化 전통을 이어 왔으며 비록 日帝 50년간의 침략시기에도 이러한 기본전통은 변하지 않았음. 臺灣개척의 歷史는 당시 원주민과 中國인의 피와 땀 및 지혜가 응집되어 있음.

中國의 歷代政府는 臺灣에 행정기구를 조직해 관할해 왔으며 12세기 중엽 宋나라는 군대를 澎湖에 파병, 주둔시켰으며 澎湖구역을 복건성 泉州 보강縣의 관할하에 두었음. 元나라 시대에는 澎湖에 『巡檢司』라는 행정관리기구를 두었고 明나라 시대에는 16세기중엽에 일시 폐지되었던 『巡檢司』제도를 부활하고 외적의 침입을 막기 위해 澎湖에 군대를 증파 했음.

1662년(淸 康熙元年)에 鄭成功이 臺灣에 『承天府』를 설치한 후 점차 행정기구를 확대 설치해 臺灣을 통치해 왔음. 1684년(康熙 23년)에 『分巡臺廈兵備道』 및 『臺灣府』를 설치하고 그 아래에 臺灣(현 臺南), 鳳山(현 高雄), 緒羅(현 嘉義)의 3개縣을 두고 이를 복건성 관할내에 두었음.

1714년 淸나라는 측량기술자를 파견하여 臺灣 地圖를 만들어 섬의 크기를 계산했으며 1721년에는 『巡視臺灣監察御史』를 증설하였고 『彰化縣』과 『淡水府』를 증설했음. 1727년 淸나라 雍正五年에 『分巡臺廈道』를 『分巡臺灣道』(후일에 다시 『分巡臺灣兵備道』로 고침)로 고치고 『澎湖府』를 증설한 후 『臺灣』을 공식 명칭으로 정했음.

1875년 淸 정부는 臺灣통치를 더욱 강화하기 위해 『臺北府』 및 『淡水』, 『新竹』, 『宜蘭』 등 3개縣과 『基隆廳』을 두었음.

1885년 淸朝는 臺灣을 1개 省으로 승격, 劉銘傳을 초대 巡撫로 임명하고 행정구역을 3부 1주 11현 5청으로 확대했음. 劉銘傳은 임기중 철도 부설, 광산개발, 전선 설치, 선박 건조, 학교건설 등으로 臺灣의 사회·경제·문화 발전을 크게 진전시켰음.

1945년 中國인민의 항일전쟁 승리후 中國정부는 臺灣省의 행정관리기구를 다시 회복시켰음.

海峽兩岸 中國人은 외국의 臺灣점령에 반대, 장기간 투쟁해 왔음

15세기말부터 서구 식민주의자가 식민지를 대거 약탈하였으며, 1624년 네덜란드가 臺灣 남부를 점령했고 1626년에는 스페인이 臺灣북부를 침략했으며 1642년에는 네덜란드가 스페인이 점령하고 있던 북부를 점령하였음. 兩岸 동포는 외국의 臺灣점령에 반대, 장기간 무장봉기를 비롯 각종 방식의 투쟁을 전개했음.

1661년 鄭成功이 臺灣을 공략하여 이듬해 臺灣을 괴롭혀 온 네덜란드를 몰아냈음. 1894년 일본이 中國을 침략한 『甲午戰爭』이 발발하였고 다음 해 淸나라가 패배, 굴욕적인 시모노세끼조약에 의해 강제적으로 臺灣을 日本에 할양하자 전국이 분노했음.

北京에서 臺灣을 포함한 18개성 1,000여명의 과거시험 응시자들이 臺灣 할양을 반대하는 上書を 발표하였고, 臺灣省内에서는 방성대곡으로 省 전체가 떠들썩했음. 臺灣에 주둔해 있던 淸나라 장군인 劉永福은 臺灣 동포와 함께 일본 주둔군에 대항해 목숨을 걸고 싸웠음.

中國대륙 동남부지역 주민들도 자금지원과 무장인원 파견 등을 통해 反日투쟁에 참여했음. 일본의 臺灣 강점기간에 臺灣동포는 용감히 항쟁하였는 바, 초기에는 의용군과 무장유격대를 조직해 7년간 日軍에 대항했음. 이어 辛亥革命으로 淸나라가 막을 내린후 大陸·臺灣 동포들이 전후 10차례 걸쳐 무장궤거를 했는 바, 1920-30년대에 걸쳐 臺灣의 반일항쟁운동은 극에 달했음.

1937년 中國인민이 전국적인 항일전쟁을 개시하였으며 中國정부는 對日 선전포고를 통해 中·日간에 체결된 일체의 조약·협정·계약을 모두 파기한다고 선포했음. 이로써 시모노세끼조약은 폐지되었음. 이 포고문에는 또 中國은 장차 『臺灣. 澎湖. 東北 4省을 수복한다』고 엄숙히 선언했음. 中國인민은 8년동안의 항일전쟁을 통해 1945년 최후의 승리를 얻었고 잃었던 臺灣을 수복했음. 臺灣동포는 축포를 터트리며 축제행사와 함께 조상에게 제사를 지내는 등 臺灣이 조국의 품으로 돌아 온 위대한 승리를 경축했음.

國際社會는 臺灣이 中國의 一部임을 公認

中國의 항일전쟁은 세계의 반파쇼투쟁의 한 부분으로서 세계인민의 광범한 지지를 얻었음. 제2차 세계대전에서 독일, 일본, 이태리 등 파시즘 국가들에 대항하기 위해서 中國은 미국, 소련, 영국, 프랑스 등과 동맹을 결성했음. 1943년 12월 1일 중, 미, 영 3국이 『카이로선언』을 발표하였는 바, 이는 일본이 1914년 1차세계대전 이후 태평양에서 점령한 모든 島嶼를 반환하고 中國에서 강점한 滿洲, 臺灣, 澎湖열도 등도 中國에 반환하도록 규정하고 있음.

1945. 7. 26 미. 영. 중. 소련이 참가한 『포츠담선언』에서 다시 『카이로 선언』의 약속을 즉시 이행할 것을 요구했음. '45. 8. 15 일본이 항복을 선언하면서 『카이로선언』과 『포츠담선언』을 받아 들일 것을 대내외에 공표하였음. '45. 10. 25 동맹국은 臺灣省内 일본군의 降伏接收樣式을 臺北에서 거행하였음.

中國정부는 그날부터 臺灣 및 澎湖열도를 정식으로 中國영토로 편입시켰으며 토지. 인민. 政務를 모두 中國 주권하에 둔다고 선언했음. 이에 따라 臺灣. 澎湖는 中國 주권의 관할하에 되돌아 왔음.

中華人民共和國 성립이래 157개 국가가 中國과 국교를 맺고 있으며, 이들 모두가 中國은 하나이며 中華人民共和國 정부가 中國의 유일합법 정부이며 臺灣은 中國의 일부임을 인정하고 있음.

2. 臺灣問題의 由來

臺灣은 2차대전후 법률적으로나 실질적으로 이미 中國에 복귀되었음. 臺灣문제의 발생은 中國 국민당이 일으킨 內戰과 관계가 있으나 더 중요한 것은 외세개입 문제임.

臺灣問題와 國共 內戰

항일전쟁기간중 中國공산당과 기타 애국역량의 지지하에 中國 국민당과 中國공산당이 『항일민족통일전선』을 구축해 일본 제국주의 침략에 공동 대항하였으며, 항일전쟁 승리후 兩黨은 계속 제휴하여 中華民族의 대업을 이루었어야 했으나 蔣介石을 수반으로 한 국민당 집단이 美國의 지원을 등에 업고 전국 인민의 평화염원과 독립, 민주, 부강한 『新中國』건설의 강렬한 희망을 저버리고 國·共양당이 체결한 『雙十協定』을 파기하고 전국 규모의 反人民的 內戰을 일으켰음. 국민당 집단이 이러한 반역조치를 취함에 따라 전국 인민이 南京의 中華民國政府를 마침내 전복시켰음.

1949. 10. 1 中華人民共和國이 中國의 유일합법정부로 성립되었으며 국민당 집단의 일부 軍.政 要人이 臺灣으로 패주하였음. 그들은 美國의 지지 밑에서 臺灣海峽兩岸의 분단상태를 조성했음.

臺灣問題와 美國政府의 責任

제2차대전후 당시 東西 양대진영 대치하에서 美國정부는 그들의 전세계 전략 및 自國 이익을 고려해 자금과 무력, 인원을 동원, 국민당 집단의 內戰을 전력 지지함으로써 中國인민의 혁명사업을 방해했음. 그러나 美國은 끝내 그들의 목적을 달성치 못하였음.

美 국무성이 1949년 발표한 『美·中관계』백서와 『애치슨』 국무장관이 『트루만』 대통령에 보내는 書信에서도 美國은 이를 인정하고 있음. 『애치슨』의 書信속에서는 『中國 내전의 결과가 美國의 통제능력에서 벗어난 점이 애석할 뿐 아니라 피할 수 없는 현실적 문제로 발생했는 바 이는 결코 우리들이 소극적이어서가 아니라 中國내부의 각종 역량에서 비롯된 산물임. 우리는 벌써부터 이러한 역량을 통제할 계획을 마련했으나 효과가 없었다』고 記述하고 있음.

中華人民共和國 탄생이후 당시 美國은 당초 中國內戰의 와중에서 벗어날 수 있었으나 이를 수용하지 않고 『新中國』에 대한 고립. 제재정책을 실시하였을 뿐 아니라 韓國戰爭 발발후 中國 내정문제인 海峽兩岸關係에 대해 계속 간섭해 왔음. 1950. 6. 27 美國 『트루만』 대통령은 미 7함대에 臺灣을 침략하는 어떠한 공격도 저지할 것을 명령하는 성명을 발표함으로써 미 7함대와 제13항공대가 臺灣에 진주하게 되었음. '54. 12. 美國은 臺灣 당국과 소위 『공동방위조약』을 체결하여 中國領인 臺灣省을 美國의 보호하에 두었음.

美國은 계속 中國내정에 간섭해 왔으며 臺灣해협에 장기간의 대치국면이 조성되어 왔으며 臺灣문제가 이때부터 中.美 양국간의 최대 쟁점으로 부각되었음.

臺灣해협지구의 긴장국면을 완화하기 위한 中.美간 쟁점해결 모색과정은 中國이 50年代中期부터 美國과 대화를 개시하면서부터임. '55. 8 - '70. 2 中.美 양국은 136차에 걸쳐 大使級 회담을 개최했으나 臺灣해협 긴장완화면에서는 어떠한 진전도 없었음. 60-70대초 국제정세의 변화와 新中國의 국력이 커짐에 따라 美國은 對中政策을 전환하기 시작했으며 점차 양국관계가 해빙의 추세에 접어들게 되었음.

1971년 10월, 제26차 UN총회에서 中華人民共和國이 UN의 모든 합법적 권리를 회복하고 臺灣 당국의 대표를 축출하는 제2758호 결의안을 통과시켰음. 1972년 2월 『닉슨』 美대통령이 訪中, 발표한 美.中 上海공동성명 내용에서 美國은 臺灣해협양안의 모든 중국인이 中國은 하나이며 臺灣은 中國의 일부분으로 여기고 있음을 인정한다고 한데 대해 美國정부는 어떠한 이의도 제기하지 않았음.

1978.12 美國정부는 中國정부가 제시한 美國.臺灣 단교, 공동방위조약 폐기, 臺灣내 미군철수 등의 수교3원칙을 받아 들였음. 이로써, 美.中 양국은 '79.1.1 정식 외교관계를 수립했음.

美.中 수교 공동성명에서 『아메리카合衆國은 中華人民共和國이 中國의 유일 합법정부임을 승인하며 美國인민은 臺灣과 문화.상업 및 기타 비공식관계를 유지하고 아메리카합중국정부는 中國은 하나이며 臺灣은 中國의 일부라는 中國의 입장을 인정함』으로써 美.中 관계정상화가 실현되었음.

그러나 유감스럽게도 美.中수교 3개월도 안되어 美國의회는 『臺灣관계법』을 통과시키고 美대통령이 이를 서명, 발효시켰음. 이 『臺灣관계법』은 美國 국내입법 형식으로서 美.中 수교성명 및 국제법 규정을 위반해 中國인민의 권익에 심각한 손상을 끼쳤음. 美國정부는 이 관계법을 근거로 臺灣에 무기판매와 中國 내정간섭을 계속해 中國대륙과 臺灣의 통일을 방해하고 있음.

美國의 對臺灣 무기판매 문제를 해결하기 위해 美.中 양국 정부는 '82년 협의를 통해 『8.17성명』을 발표했다. 美國정부는 이 성명에서 對臺灣 무기판매 정책을 중지하고 對臺灣 판매 무기성능 및 수량은 수교후 몇년간 제공한 수준을 초과할 수 없으며 對臺灣 무기판매를 점차 축소해 문제를 해결키로 했으나, 공동성명 규정을 충실히 이행하지 않을 뿐 아니라 공동성명 위반행위를 계속 자행하였음.

아울러 美國정부는 1992년 9월 臺灣에 F-16 고성능전투기 150대를 판매하기로 결정하는 등 美.中관계 발전과 臺灣문제 해결을 저해하는 정책을 결정한 바 있음.

위에서 보는 바와 같이 臺灣문제는 지금까지 해결되지 않고 있는데 이는 美國정부에 책임이 있음. 70년대이래 美國 朝野의 대다수 인사들이 臺灣문제를 둘러싼 美.中간의 견해차를 좁히는데 커다란 역할을 해 왔는데 上記 3개의 공동성명도 모두 그들의 노력에 의한 것임. 中國정부와 인민은 이를 크게 찬양하고 있으나, 美國은 中國의 통일을 바라지 않고 있는 것인지 갖가지 핑계를 대면서 영향력을 행사하는 등 臺灣문제 해결을 방해하고 있음.

中國정부는 美國인민과 中國인민이 우호적이라고 믿고 있음. 양국관계의 정상적 발전은 양국 인민의 장기이익에 부합되며 공동염원이기도 함. 美.中 양국 공히 어렵게 얻어 낸 양국 관계발전의 3개 공동성명을 소중하게 여겨야 함. 만약 쌍방이 모두 3개 공동성명의 원칙인 상호존중과 大勢를 중시하는 원칙이 준수된다면 歷史的 未濟로 남아있는 臺灣문제의 해결은 그리 어렵지 않을 것이며 美.中 관계도 반드시 개선되고 발전될 것임.

3. 中國정부의 臺灣문제 해결 基本方針

臺灣문제 해결과 국가통일 실현은 전체 中國인민의 장엄하고도 신성한 사명임. 中華人民共和國 성립후 中國정부는 이를 위해 꾸준한 노력을 해왔는 바 中國정부의 臺灣문제 해결 기본방침은 『平和統一, 一國兩制』임.

『平和統一, 一國兩制』방침의 형성

일찌기 50년대 中國정부는 이미 평화적 방법으로 臺灣문제를 해결할 것을 계획해 왔음. '55년 5월 周恩來총리는 全人代 常務委 會議에서 中國인민은 臺灣문제를 전쟁과 평화의 두가지 방법으로 해결할 수 있는 바 中國인민은 가능한 한 평화적인 방식으로 문제를 해결하기를 바란다고 제시했음. '56년 4월 毛澤東주석도 『평화는 고귀한 것이며 애국에는 너와 내가 따로 없으며 선후 분별이 없다』는 정책을 주장했으나 일부 외세의 간섭 등 원인때문에 이러한 주장은 실천되지 않고 있음.

70년대말부터 국제 및 국내정세에 중요한 변화가 일기 시작했음. 美.中간 국교가 수립되었으며 中國공산당 11期 3中全會에서 당과 국가의 중점업무 방향을 현대화 경제건설에 두기로 결정했음. 이와 동시에 海峽兩岸의 中國人, 홍콩·마카오 동포, 해외화교 모두가 海峽兩岸이 손을 잡고 협력해 中華民族의 발전을 이루도록 苦待해 왔음.

이러한 역사적 조건하에서 中國정부는 전체 국가민족의 이익과 앞날을 고려, 역사와 현실 존중, 實事求是 및 상호호혜의 원칙에 따라 『平和統一, 一國兩制』방침을 제시했음.

1979.1.1 中華人民共和國 全人代 常務委가 발표한 『臺灣동포에 고함』이라는 문장에는 中國정부가 臺灣문제의 평화적 해결방침을 정중히 선포했으며 兩岸간에 군사대치상태를 종식시키고 협상을 진행할 것을 호소했음. 中國은 국가통일 과정에서 臺灣의 현실과 臺灣 각계인사의 의견을 존중하며 현실에 부합되는 정책을 채택할 것을 표시했음.

1981. 9.30 全人代 常務委 위원장 葉劍英은 진일보된 臺灣문제 해결방침을 천명했는 바, 국가통일 실현후 臺灣은 特別行政區로서 高度의 自治權을 향유할 수 있다고 표시했고 兩岸 執權黨인 國·共 兩黨이 대등한 입장에서 담판을 벌일 것을 제의했음.

1982. 1. 11 中國의 지도자 鄧小平은 葉劍英이 제시한 안을 『1個國家, 2個制度』로 규정하고 국가통일 실현의 大前提하에서 中國은 사회주의 제도를 실천하고 臺灣은 자본주의제도를 실천하자는 談話를 발표하였음.

'83. 6. 26 鄧小平은 臺灣, 大陸간 평화통일 실현에 관한 구상을 발표, 中國통일과 臺灣特別行政區 설치문제에 대한 中國政府의 기본입장을 천명 하였음.

'92. 10. 12 江澤民 총서기는 『우리는 平和統一, 一國兩制의 확고한 방침에 따라 조국통일을 적극 추진하고 있다』고 언급한데 이어 『우리는 中國 공산당이 국민당과 하루빨리 접촉을 갖고 조건을 성숙시켜 兩岸의 적대관계를 청산하고 점차 평화통일 실현을 위한 담판을 실시할 것을 재차 제의하였으며 협상시 兩岸의 기타 정당, 단체, 각계대표 인사가 참가할 수 있다』고 밝혔음.

『平和統一, 一國兩制』의 基本點

『平和統一, 一國兩制』는 中國特色의 社會主義 건설이론과 실천의 중요 구성부분으로서 中國정부의 불변의 기본국책임. 이러한 방침에는 다음의 基本點을 갖고 있음.

(1) 하나의 中國

中國은 하나이며 臺灣은 中國의 불가분의 일부분으로서 중앙정부는 北京에 있음. 이것은 온세계가 인정하는 사실이며 또한 臺灣문제의 평화적 해결의 前提임.

中國정부는 中國의 주권 및 영토보전을 손상시키는 어떠한 언행에도 단호히 반대하며 『2個中國』, 『1中1臺』 혹은 『1國兩府』를 반대하고 『臺灣독립』을 초래하는 일체 행동에도 반대함. 海峽兩岸 中國인민이 모두 『하나의 中國』만을 주장하며 국가의 통일을 옹호하고 있고 臺灣이 中國의 불가분의 일부라는 사실이 확정적이고 변할 수 없는 것인 바, 소위 『自決』문제는 존재할 수 없음.

(2) 兩制共存

하나의 中國前提下에 대륙 사회주의제도와 臺灣의 자본주의제도가 장기간 공존하고 공동발전하며 누가 누구를 먹어 치우는 것이 아님. 이러한 발상이 나온 것은 臺灣의 현실과 臺灣 동포의 실제 이익을 고려한데 기초하고 있음. 이는 앞으로 통일후 中國의 국가체제가 갖는 중요한 특징임.

兩岸통일이 실현된 후 臺灣의 현 사회경제제도 및 생활방식은 불변이며 외국과의 경제·문화관계도 불변임. 예를 들면 개인재산, 주택, 토지, 기업 소유권, 합법 상속권, 화교 및 외국인 투자 등은 모두 법률의 보호를 받음.

(3) 高度自治

통일후 臺灣은 『特別行政區』가 되며 中國의 기타 省·區와 달리 高度의 自治權을 향유함. 『特別行政區』는 臺灣의 행정관리권, 입법권, 독립적 사법권 및 終審權, 당·정·군·경·재정방면 업무의 자주관리 및 자위군대 유지 등 권한을 보유하고 대륙은 군대와 행정요원을 臺灣에 파견해 주둔할 수 없음. 『特別行政區』정부는 臺灣 각계 대표인사에게 어떠한 국가기구의 職責도 맡는 것을 허용하고 전국 행정관리가 될 수 있도록 함.

(4) 平和談判

접촉과 담판을 통해 평화적 방법으로 국가통일을 실현하는 것이 전체 中國人의 희망임. 만일 中國의 주권 및 영토가 외세에 의해 분리되어 상호투쟁, 骨肉相爭으로 대처하면 兩岸 동포는 극히 불행한 것임. 전민족 대단결, 臺灣사회·경제의 안정적 발전, 全 中國의 부강을 위해 평화통일이 절실히 요망됨.

敵對狀態 해소와 平和統一 실현을 위해 兩岸은 조속한 시일내에 접촉 담판을 해야 함. 하나의 中國 前提下에 담판방식을 포함, 참가당파, 단체 및 각계 대표인사 및 臺灣측에서 관심을 갖고 있는 기타 모든 問題 등 어떠한 問題도 담판할 수 있음. 兩岸이 대좌하여 담판하면 쌍방이 모두 수용할 수 있는 방안을 찾을 수 있을 것임.

兩岸의 현실적 상황에 비추어 볼 때 中國정부는 통일이전에 쌍방이 상호존중, 상호보완, 상호이익의 원칙에 따라 兩岸 경제협력 등 각 방면의 교류를 적극 추진하고 직접 通郵, 通商, 通航을 실시하고 국가의 평화통일을 위한 분위기를 조성할 것을 주장함.

平和統一은 中國정부의 기존방침이나, 모든 주권국가는 軍事手段을 포함해 자기가 필요하다고 생각되는 모든 수단으로 自國의 주권과 영토보전을 보호할 권리가 있음. 中國정부는 自國 内部問題를 처리하는데 어느방식을 채택해야 하는가에 대해 어떤 나라 또는 中國분열을 기도하는 자의 승락을 받을 의무가 없음.

臺灣問題는 中國 内政問題이며 제2차세계대전 이후 국제협의를 거쳐 형성된 獨逸問題와 韓國問題와는 성격이 다름. 따라서 臺灣問題는 獨逸과 韓國問題와 같은 맥락으로 논의할 수 없는 것임. 中國정부는 獨逸問題와 韓國問題 처리방식을 원용해 臺灣問題를 처리하는데 대해 계속 반대해 왔음. 臺灣問題는 마땅히 兩岸간의 협상을 거쳐 『하나의 中國』테두리내에서 합리적 해결책을 구해야만 함.

4. 臺灣 海峽兩岸관계의 發展 및 障礙

臺灣 海峽兩岸의 분리상태는 中華民族의 불행임. 모든 中國人은 이러한 비통한 국면이 조속히 해결되기를 간절히 바라고 있음. 兩岸 인민의 정상적 왕래와 국가통일을 위해 中國정부는 평화적 통일을 주장하는 동시에 兩岸관계 발전을 촉진시키기 위해 일련의 조치를 취해 왔음.

정책조정을 통해 兩岸간의 정치적 적대감정을 해소했음. 최고인민법원과 최고인민검찰원은 中華人民共和國 성립 이전 臺灣人의 범죄행위에 대해서는 형사소추하지 않기로 결정했음.

군사분야에서는 능동적으로 兩岸의 군사대치상태를 완화하고 金門島 등 島嶼에 대한 포격을 중지함과 아울러 福建地域 해안의 진지·관측소를 경제개발구와 관광위락지구로 전환하였음.

경제분야에서는 개방과 교류 촉진으로 臺灣 상인의 對大陸 투자 및 무역활동을 환영하며 우대조건 제공과 함께 법률적 보호를 보장하였음.

기타 인적교류·우편통신·과학기술·문화·체육·학술·뉴스교류 등의 분야에 있어서도 中國정부는 적극적 자세로 임하고 상응하는 조치를 취했으며 兩岸간 제반 교류와 협력을 장려하였음. 또한 정부로부터 위임을 받은 민간기구인 『海峽兩岸關係協會』를 설립하여 臺灣의 『海峽交流基金會』와 접촉을 통해 兩岸 인민의 권익을 합법적으로 보호함으로써 兩岸관계 발전을 도모하였음.

中國정부의 對臺灣 정책 및 조치는 점점 더 臺灣동포, 홍콩·마카오동포, 해외동포 및 中國人으로부터 지지를 받고 있음.

많은 臺灣동포들이 兩岸관계 발전을 위해 많은 노력을 해 왔음. 臺灣 당국은 최근 수년간 이에 상응한 對大陸 정책을 조정하고 유화 조치를 취했는 바, 이는 臺灣 민중의 大陸探親 허용과 兩岸교류 제한 완화, 간접무역 확대, 간접투자허용, 兩岸동포간 通話, 通郵, 送金手續 간소화 등임.

이러한 조치는 상호왕래에 유리한 것으로, 이와 관련 최근 兩岸의 경제 무역이 급속히 발전되었으며 인적교류 및 각종교류활동이 꾸준히 확대되었음. 1993년 4월 실시된 『汪辜會談』에서 中國과 臺灣 양측대표가 4개항의 합의에 서명함으로써 兩岸관계는 역사적 의의를 갖는 중요한 一步를 내딛었음. 臺灣海峽은 40여년간 볼 수 없었던 화해분위기가 나타나고 있는 바, 이는 평화통일에 유리한 것임.

필히 지적할 것은 臺灣당국이 兩岸관계에 다소 유연해졌으나 현행 대륙 정책은 아직도 兩岸관계 발전 및 국가통일에 커다란 장애가 되고 있음. 그들은 입으로는 中國의 통일은 필수적이라고 외치고 있으나 실제로는 『하나의 中國』원칙을 위반하고, 平和統一問題를 협상하는 것을 거절하는 등 兩岸 교류의 진일보 발전을 저해하고 있음.

최근 들어 臺灣내 『臺灣獨立』주장이 나날이 확대되어 兩岸관계 발전 및 국가 平和統一에 어두운 그림자를 드리웠음. 『臺灣獨立』주장이 제기된 배경에는 복잡한 사회·역사적 근원 및 국제적 요인이 있으며 臺灣당국은 담판거절과 왕래를 제한하고 국제적으로 『二重承認』 및 『2個中國』정책을 추진하는 등 『臺灣獨立』활동에 빌미를 제공하고 있음.

臺灣동포가 요구하는 臺灣의 주체적 관리 희망은 합리적이며 정당한 것이나 이는 『臺灣獨立』과는 다른 것임. 극소수 인사들이 주장하는 『臺灣獨立』요구는 臺灣주민의 진정한 요구라고 볼 수 없음. 극소수 『臺灣獨立』분자는 臺灣독립을 부르짖으면서 심지어 외국에 의존해 臺灣을 中國으로부터 분리시키려는 망상을 갖고 있음. 이는 臺灣동포를 포함한 전체 中國인의 근본이익에 위배되는 행위임.

中國정부는 이런 움직임에 비상한 관심을 갖고 주시하고 있으며 臺灣 독립을 조장하는 어떠한 행동도 좌시하지 않을 것임.

일부 외부세력은 中國통일을 바라지 않고 있으며 아직도 中國內政에 백방으로 간섭하고 있고 臺灣당국의 『反共·平和交渉 拒否』정책과 臺灣내 분열세력을 지지해 中國 平和統一에 장애를 초래, 中國인민의 민족감정에 엄중한 상처를 입혔음.

中國정부는 대부분의 臺灣동포가 국가통일을 요구하고 있다고 굳게 믿고 있으며 대다수 臺灣의 朝野 정치역량 역시 국가통일을 주장하고 있음. 兩岸 인민의 공동노력하에 以上에서 밝힌 장애와 저항이 반드시 제거되어야만 兩岸관계가 진전을 이룰 수 있을 것임.

5. 國際關係에서의 臺灣關係 問題

앞에서 말한 바와 같이 세계에는 하나의 中國만이 있으며 臺灣은 中國의 불가분의 一部分임. 中華人民共和國정부는 전 中國인민을 대표하는 유일 합법정부로서 UN 및 세계 각국의 보편적 승인을 얻었음.

국가주권 유지와 국가통일 실현을 위해 中國정부는 국제업무중 臺灣과 관련된 문제를 처리할 때 시종일관 『1個中國』原則을 지켜왔으며 臺灣동포의 이익을 일관되게 보호해 왔음. 中國정부는 이러한 中國의 입장이 각국 정부와 인민의 존중을 받을 것이라고 굳게 믿고 있음.

여기에서 中國정부는 아래의 몇가지 입장과 정책을 다시 밝힐 필요가 있다고 생각함.

(1) 中國 修交國과 臺灣간 關係問題

현재 세계에 中國과 수교한 나라는 모두 국제법과 『1個中國』원칙을 준수하며 中國정부와 臺灣문제를 정식 협의와 양해를 통해 해결하고 臺灣과는 정부간의 어떠한 공식적인 관계도 갖지 않을 것을 수락했음.

국제법에 의하면 一個 주권국가에는 하나의 중앙정부만이 존재할 수 있음. 따라서 中國의 일부분인 臺灣이 국제적으로 中國을 대표할 권한이 없으며 외국과 외교관계 수립 및 공식관계를 유지할 수 없음.

그러나 臺灣 경제발전의 필요성과 臺灣동포의 실제 이익을 고려해 臺灣 외국간의 민간경제, 문화왕래에 대해서는 中國정부가 이의를 갖지 않음.

최근 몇년간 臺灣당국이 국제적으로 강력히 추진하고 있는 『實務外交』는 中國과 수교한 일부 국가와 공식관계를 발전시켜 나가면서 『二重承認』을 추진하여 『2個中國』, 『1中1臺』의 목적 달성을 도모하고 있는데 대해 中國정부는 단호히 반대함.

세계의 절대다수 국가가 中國과의 우호관계를 소중히 여겨 臺灣문제와 관련 中國과 합의한 협의 및 양해를 각별히 준수하고 있다고 확신하며 中國정부는 이에 대해 찬사를 보냄.

그러나 어떤 국가는 국제적 신망을 저버리고 中華人民共和國와 修交時 맺었던 약속을 위반, 臺灣과 공식관계를 발전시킴으로써 中國통일사업에 장애를 낳게 했다고 지적하지 않을 수 없음.

中國정부는 有關 국가정부가 이러한 행동을 바로잡는 조치를 취해 줄 것을 간절히 희망함.

(2) 國際組織과 臺灣간 關係問題

각 국가의 주권은 완전한 것으로 분할할 수도 없으며 나누어 가질 수도 없는 것임. 中華人民共和國정부는 中國의 유일 합법정부로서 국제조직에서 국가주권 행사와 전체 中國을 대표할 권리와 의무를 갖음. 臺灣당국이 일부 주권국가들만이 참가하는 국제조직에서 소위 『1國兩席』을 주장하고 있는 것은 『2個中國』을 조성하는 것인 바, 中國정부는 이와 같은 작태를 단호히 반대함.

이러한 원칙과 입장은 臺灣동포 및 해외교포를 포함한 전체 中國人の 근본이익과 완전 부합되는 것임.

하나의 中國 원칙을 견지하는 조건하에서만 中國정부는 有關 국제조직의 성질·규정·규약 및 실제정황에 근거해 中國정부가 동의·접수한 방식으로서 일부 국제조직 활동에 臺灣이 참가하는 문제를 고려할 수 있음.

UN산하의 모든 기구는 주권국가 대표자격으로 참가하는 정부간 국제조직임. 中華人民共和國이 UN에서 합법적 권리를 회복한 후에 UN산하 모든 기구도 中華人民共和國이 향유하는 합법적 지위를 회복시키고 臺灣당국의 代表權을 박탈키로 하는 정칙 결의를 통과시켰음. 이로써 UN조직에서 中國 代表權 문제는 이미 완전히 해결되었으며 근본적으로 臺灣의 再加入 문제가 다시 존재하지 않게 되었음.

지적하고 싶은 것은 최근들어 臺灣당국의 일부 인사가 다시 UN에 복귀할 것을 호소하고 있는 것임. 분명한 것은 이것이야말로 국가주권분열을 기도하는 일종의 망상적 행동으로 법리상이나 실제상으로나 모두 통하지 않는 것임. 中國정부는 각국 정부와 UN산하조직이 이러한 기도를 간파해 中國의 주권에 손해를 끼치는 일을 하지 않을 것이라고 믿고 있음.

기타 정부간 국제조직에는 원칙적으로 臺灣이 참가할 권리가 없음. 臺灣의 아시아개발은행(ADB), 아·태경제협력각료회의(APEC) 등 지역경제조직 가입은 中國정부가 각 유관분야와 협의·양해하에 가능하였으며, 中華人民共和國가 주권국가로 참가하고 臺灣은 단지 中國의 일개지구로서 『中國臺北』(영문: TAIPEI, CHINA; 아·태경제협력각료회의에는 CHINESE TAIPEI)의 명칭으로 참가활동을 한다는 명확한 규정에 따른 것임. 이러한 경우는 특수한 경우로서 기타 정부간에 구성된 국제조직 및 국제활동에서 본받아야 할 모델이 될 수 없음.

中國의 전국적 조직이 中國의 명의로 참가한 민간성격의 國際組織에서 中華人民共和國의 상응하는 조직이 유관부서와 협의·양해를 얻었을 경우 臺灣의 상응하는 조직은 『中國臺北』(TAIPEI, CHINA) 혹은 『中國臺灣』(TAIWAN, CHINA)의 명칭으로 참가할 수 있음.

(3) 中國 수교국과 臺灣간 通航問題

한 국가의 영공은 그 나라 영토의 주요 구성부분임. 1919년 공포한 『파리항공협정』과 1944년 서명한 『시카고협정』에서 모든 국가는 영공에 대해 완전하고도 배타적인 주권원칙이 있다고 밝혔음.

이로서 中國 수교국가의 모든 항공공사는 비록 개인항공사일지라도 臺灣과 通航하는 것은 모두 中國주권에 관계되는 政治問題이며 일반적 민간 관계가 아님. 中國 수교국가의 국영항공사는 당연히 臺灣과 通航이 불가하며 필히 中國정부의 협의를 거쳐야 함.

中國정부의 동의를 얻은 후에 민간항공공사는 臺灣의 민간항공공사와 상호 운항할 수 있음. 실제로 上記 원칙에 근거 中國정부는 이미 영국, 독일, 캐나다 등의 민간항공공사와 臺灣의 민간항공사간의 通航을 동의했음.

中華人民共和國과 수교전에 臺灣에 통항한 일부 국가는 中國정부와 협의를 거쳐 臺灣과 정부성격의 통항을 민간 상업차원으로 계속 운항할 수 있음.

(4) 中國 수교국의 對臺灣 武器販賣 問題

中國정부는 어떤 국가든지 臺灣에 대해 어떤 종류의 무기·장비를 판매하거나 무기 생산기술을 제공하는데 단호히 반대함.

中國과 수교한 국가는 주권존중, 영토보전, 상호 내정불간섭 원칙을 지켜야 하며 어떤 형식이나 핑계로도 臺灣에 무기를 공급해서는 안됨. 그렇지 않으면 국제관계준칙 위반이 되며 中國 내정에 간섭하는 것임. 세계 각국 특히 세계평화사업에 중책을 맡고 있는 大國은 UN안보리 5개 상임이사국이 재래식 무기판매 확산 제한 원칙을 지켜 세계평화와 안전을 유지하는데 공헌해야 함.

그러나 臺灣海峽 兩岸관계가 날로 완화되는 추세하에서 일부 국가는 스스로 국제협약을 위배해 中國정부를 고려치 않고 臺灣에 무기를 판매, 海峽兩岸간에 긴장국면을 조성하고 있음. 이는 中國안정에 엄중한 위협일뿐 아니라 中國 통일사업에도 역행하는 일이며 아시아 및 세계평화와 안정에도 불리한 것임. 中國인민은 당연히 강력하게 반대함.

국제업무중에서 中國정부는 일관되게 독립·자주적 평화외교정책을 추구하고 상호 주권존중 및 영토보전, 상호불가침, 상호내정불간섭, 호혜평등, 평화공존 등 5개 원칙을 견지하며 세계 각국과 우호관계를 적극 발전시켜 다른 나라 이익에 손상을 가하지 않고 타국 내정에 간섭하지 않음. 똑같이 中國정부도 각국 정부가 中國의 이익에 손상을 가하지 않고 中國 內政에 간섭하지 않으며 臺灣관계 문제를 정확히 처리해 줄 것을 요구함.

結 論

中國통일은 中華民族의 근본 희망임. 中國통일이 실현된 후 兩岸은 합작, 상호 보조, 경제발전, 中華發展을 이룩하기 위해 공동으로 노력해야 함.

줄곧 곤란을 겪고 있는 臺灣의 각종 문제는 모두 하나의 中國 테두리내에서 합리적 해결을 얻을 수 있음.

臺灣동포는 장차 조국의 기타 지역 인민과 함께 하나의 위대한 국가로서의 존엄과 영예를 향유함. 장기간동안 臺灣문제는 계속 아시아·태평양지역에서 불안정 요소의 하나로 작용하여 왔음.

中國의 통일은 中國 자신의 안정과 발전에도 유익할뿐 아니라 中國과 각국간 우호협력관계의 진일보 증진에도 유익하며 亞·太지역 및 전세계 평화와 발전에도 도움을 줄 것임.

中國정부는 스스로의 국가주권 및 영토보전을 유지·보호하기 위한 정의로운 사업에서 반드시 세계각국 정부와 인민의 이해와 지지를 얻을 수 있을 것이라고 믿고 있음.

(譯者: 民族統一研究院 責任研究員 申相振)

日,美国总统杜鲁门发表声明宣布:“我已命令第七舰队阻止对台湾的任何攻击”。美国第七舰队侵入了台湾海峡,美国第十三航空队进驻了台湾。1954年12月,美国又与台湾当局签订了所谓《共同防御条约》,将中国的台湾省置于美国的“保护”之下。美国政府继续干预中国内政的错误政策,造成了台湾海峡地区长期的紧张对峙局势,台湾问题自此亦成为中美两国间的重大争端。

为了缓和台湾海峡地区的紧张局势,探寻解决中美两国之间争端的途径,中国政府自50年代中期起,即开始与美国对话。1955年8月至1970年2月,中美两国共举行了136次大使级会谈,但在缓和与消除台湾海峡地区紧张局势这个关键问题上,未取得任何进展。及至60年代末70年代初,随着国际局势的发展变化和新中国的壮大,美国开始调整其对华政策,两国关系逐步出现解冻的形势。1971年10月,第26届联合国大会通过2758号决议,恢复中华人民共和国在联合国的一切合法权利,并驱逐台湾当局的“代表”。1972年2月,美国总统尼克松访问中国,中美双方在上海发表了联合公报。公报称:“美国方面声明:美国认识到,在台湾海峡两边的所有中国人都认为只有一个中国,台湾是中国的一部分。美国政府对这一立场不提

出异议”。

1978年12月,美国政府接受了中国政府提出的建交三原则,即:美国与台湾当局“断交”、废除《共同防御条约》以及从台湾撤军。中美两国于1979年1月1日正式建立外交关系。中美建交联合公报声明:“美利坚合众国承认中华人民共和国政府是中国的唯一合法政府。在此范围内,美国人民将同台湾人民保持文化、商务和其他非官方联系”;“美利坚合众国政府承认中国的立场,即只有一个中国,台湾是中国的一部分”。自此,中美关系实现正常化。

但遗憾的是,中美建交不过三个月,美国国会竟通过了所谓《与台湾关系法》,并经美国总统签署生效。这个《与台湾关系法》,以美国国内立法的形式,作出了许多违反中美建交公报和国际法原则的规定,严重损害中国人民的权益。美国政府根据这个关系法,继续向台湾出售武器和干涉中国内政,阻挠台湾与中国大陆的统一。

为解决美国售台武器问题,中美两国政府通过谈判,于1982年8月17日达成协议,发表了有关中美关系的第三个联合公报,简称“八·一七公报”。美国政府在公报中声明:“它不寻求执行一项长期向台湾出售武器的政策,它向台湾出售的武器在性能和数量上将不超过中美建交后

近几年供应的水平，它准备逐步减少它对台湾的武器出售，并经过一段时间导致最后的解决。”然而，十多年来美国政府不但没有认真执行公报的规定，而且不断发生违反公报的行为。1992年9月，美国政府甚至决定向台湾出售150架F—16型高性能战斗机。美国政府的这一行动，给中美关系的发展和台湾问题的解决增加了新的障碍和阻力。

由上可见，台湾问题直到现在还未得到解决，美国政府是有责任的。自70年代以来，美国朝野许多有识之士和友好人士，曾经为促使中美之间在台湾问题上的分歧的解决做了大量有益的工作，上述三个联合公报就包含着他们的努力和贡献。中国政府和人民对此十分赞赏。然而也不能不看到，美国确也有人至今仍不愿看到中国的统一，制造种种借口，施加种种影响，阻挠台湾问题的解决。

中国政府相信，美国人民与中国人民是友好的。两国关系的正常发展，是符合两国人民的长远利益和共同愿望的。中美两国都应珍视来之不易的指导两国关系发展的三个联合公报。只要双方都能恪守三个公报的原则，相互尊重，以大局为重，历史遗留下来的台湾问题就不难得到解决，中美关系就一定能不断获得改善和发展。

三、中国政府解决台湾问题的基本方针

解决台湾问题，实现国家统一，是全体中国人民一项庄严而神圣的使命。中华人民共和国成立后，中国政府为之进行了长期不懈的努力。中国政府解决台湾问题的基本方针是“和平统一、一国两制”。

“和平统一、一国两制”方针的形成。早在 50 年代，中国政府就曾设想以和平方式解决台湾问题。1955 年 5 月，周恩来总理在全国人民代表大会常务委员会会议上即提出：中国人民解决台湾问题有两种可能的方式，即战争的方式和和平的方式，中国人民愿意在可能的条件下，争取用和平的方式解决问题。1956 年 4 月，毛泽东主席又提出：“和为贵”、“爱国一家”、“爱国不分先后”等政策主张。但由于某些外国势力的干预等原因，这些主张未能付诸实践。

自 70 年代末开始，国际国内形势发生了一些重要变化：中美建立外交关系，实现了关系正常化；中国共产党召

开十一届三中全会，决定把党和国家的工作中心转移到现代化经济建设上来。与此同时，海峡两岸的中国人、港澳同胞以及海外侨胞、华人，都殷切期望两岸携手合作，共同振兴中华。在这样的历史条件下，中国政府出于对整个国家民族利益与前途的考虑，本着尊重历史、尊重现实、实事求是、照顾各方利益的原则，提出了“和平统一、一国两制”的方针。

1979年1月1日，中华人民共和国全国人民代表大会常务委员会发表《告台湾同胞书》，郑重宣告了中国政府和平解决台湾问题的大政方针，呼吁两岸就结束军事对峙状态进行商谈。表示在实现国家统一时，一定“尊重台湾现状和台湾各界人士的意见，采取合情合理的政策和办法”。

1981年9月30日，全国人民代表大会常务委员会委员长叶剑英发表谈话，进一步阐明解决台湾问题的方针政策。表示“国家实现统一后，台湾可作为特别行政区，享有高度的自治权”，并建议由两岸执政的国共两党举行对等谈判。

1982年1月11日，中国领导人邓小平就叶剑英的上述谈话指出：这实际上就是“一个国家、两种制度”，在国家实现统一的大前提下，国家主体实行社会主义制度，台湾

实行资本主义制度。

1983年6月26日,邓小平进一步发挥了关于实现台湾与大陆和平统一的构想,指出,问题的核心是祖国统一。他还就两岸统一和设置台湾特别行政区问题,阐明了中国政府的政策。

1992年10月12日,中共中央总书记江泽民指出:“我们坚定不移地按照‘和平统一、一国两制’的方针,积极促进祖国统一。”“我们再次重申,中国共产党愿意同中国国民党尽早接触,以便创造条件,就正式结束两岸敌对状态、逐步实现和平统一进行谈判。在商谈中,可以吸收两岸其他政党、团体和各界有代表性的人士参加。”

“和平统一、一国两制”的基本点。“和平统一、一国两制”是建设有中国特色的社会主义理论和实践的重要组成部分,是中国政府一项长期不变的基本国策。这一方针,有以下基本点:

(一)**一个中国**。世界上只有一个中国,台湾是中国不可分割的一部分,中央政府在北京。这是举世公认的事实,也是和平解决台湾问题的前提。

中国政府坚决反对任何旨在分裂中国主权和领土完整的言行,反对“两个中国”、“一中一台”或“一国两府”,反

对一切可能导致“台湾独立”的企图和行径。海峡两岸的中国人民都主张只有一个中国，都拥护国家的统一，台湾作为中国不可分割的一部分的地位是确定的、不能改变的，不存在什么“自决”的问题。

(二)两制并存。在一个中国的前提下，大陆的社会主义制度和台湾的资本主义制度，实行长期共存，共同发展，谁也不吃掉谁。这种考虑，主要是基于照顾台湾的现状和台湾同胞的实际利益。这将是统一后的中国国家体制的一大特色和重要创造。

两岸实现统一后，台湾的现行社会经济制度不变，生活方式不变，同外国的经济文化关系不变。诸如私人财产、房屋、土地、企业所有权、合法继承权、华侨和外国人投资等，一律受法律保护。

(三)高度自治。统一后，台湾将成为特别行政区。它不同于中国其他一般省区，享有高度的自治权。它拥有在台湾的行政管理权、立法权、独立的司法权和终审权；党、政、军、经、财等事宜都自行管理；可以同外国签订商务、文化等协定，享有一定的外事权；有自己的军队，大陆不派军队也不派行政人员驻台。特别行政区政府和台湾各界的代表人士还可以出任国家政权机构的领导职务，参与全国事务

的管理。

(四)和平谈判。通过接触谈判,以和平方式实现国家统一,是全体中国人的共同心愿。两岸都是中国人,如果因为中国的主权和领土完整被分裂,兵戎相见,骨肉相残,对两岸的同胞都是极其不幸的。和平统一,有利于全民族的大团结,有利于台湾社会经济的稳定和发展,有利于全中国的振兴和富强。

为结束敌对状态,实现和平统一,两岸应尽早接触谈判。在一个中国的前提下,什么问题都可以谈,包括谈判的方式,参加的党派、团体和各界代表人士,以及台湾方面关心的其他一切问题。只要两岸坐下来谈,总能找到双方都可以接受的办法。

鉴于两岸的现实状况,中国政府主张在实现统一之前,双方按照相互尊重、互补互利的原则,积极推动两岸经济合作和各项交往,进行直接通邮、通商、通航和双向交流,为国家和平统一创造条件。

和平统一是中国政府既定的方针。然而,每一个主权国家都有权采取自己认为必要的一切手段包括军事手段,来维护本国主权和领土的完整。中国政府在采取何种方式处理本国内部事务的问题上,并无义务对任何外国或图谋

分裂中国者作出承诺。

这里还应指出，台湾问题纯属中国的内政，不同于第二次世界大战后经国际协议而形成的德国问题和朝鲜问题。因此，台湾问题不能和德国、朝鲜问题相提并论。中国政府历来反对用处理德国问题、朝鲜问题的方式来处理台湾问题。台湾问题应该也完全可以通过两岸的协商，在一个中国的架构内求得合理的解决。

四、台湾海峡两岸关系的发展及其阻力

台湾海峡两岸目前的分离状态,是中华民族的不幸。所有中国人无不殷切盼望早日结束这种令人痛心的局面。

为了实现两岸人民正常往来和国家统一,中国政府在提出和平统一主张的同时,也采取了一系列推动两岸关系发展的措施:

政治方面,调整有关政策措施,化解敌对情绪。最高人民法院、最高人民检察院决定不再追诉去台人员在中华人民共和国成立前的犯罪行为。

军事方面,主动缓和海峡两岸军事对峙状态,停止对金门等岛屿的炮击,并把福建沿海一些前沿阵地、观察所开辟为经济开发区和旅游点。

经济方面,敞开门户,促进交流,欢迎台商来大陆投资和从事贸易活动,并为之提供优惠条件和法律保障。

其他如人员往来、邮电交通以及科技、文化、体育、学术、新闻等方面,中国政府亦持积极态度,采取了相应措

施,鼓励发展两岸在各个领域的交流与合作。还成立了得到政府授权的民间团体“海峡两岸关系协会”,同台湾“海峡交流基金会”及有关民间团体建立联系,维护两岸人民的合法权益,推动两岸关系的发展。

中国政府的对台政策和措施,得到了越来越多的台湾同胞、港澳同胞和海外侨胞、华人的理解和支持。广大台湾同胞为发展两岸关系作出了很大的努力。台湾当局近几年也相应调整了对大陆的政策,采取了一些松动措施,诸如开放岛内民众赴大陆探亲,逐步放宽对两岸民间交流交往的限制,扩大间接贸易,开放间接投资,简化两岸同胞通话、通邮、通汇的手续。这些都是有利于相互交往的。近年来,两岸的经济贸易迅速发展,人员往来及各项交流活动不断扩大。1993年4月举行的“汪辜会谈”签订了四项协议,迈出了两岸关系上具有历史意义的重要一步。台湾海峡出现了40余年来前所未有的缓和气氛,这是有利于和平统一的。

必须指出,台湾当局虽对两岸关系作了某些松动,但其现行大陆政策仍严重阻碍着两岸关系的发展和国家的统一。他们口头上虽声称“中国必须统一”,但行动上却总是背离一个中国的原则,继续维持与大陆分离的局面,拒

绝就和平统一问题进行商谈,甚至设置障碍,限制两岸交往的进一步发展。

近年来,台湾岛内“台独”活动日形嚣张,给两岸关系的发展和国家和平统一投下了阴影。“台独”的产生有着复杂的社会历史根源和国际背景,而台湾当局拒绝和谈、限制交往、在国际上推行“双重承认”和“两个中国”的政策,又实际上为“台独”活动提供了条件。应当说,台湾同胞要求当家作主管理台湾的愿望是合情合理的、正当的,这不同于“台湾独立”,更与极少数坚持要走“台独”道路的人有着根本的区别。极少数“台独”分子鼓吹“独立”,甚至投靠外国,妄图将台湾从中国分裂出去,这是违背包括台湾同胞在内的全中国人民的根本利益的。中国政府严重关注这一事态的发展,对任何制造“台湾独立”的行径绝不会坐视不理。

某些国际势力不希望中国统一,仍千方百计插手中国内政,支持台湾当局的“反共拒和”政策和岛内的分裂势力,为中国的和平统一制造障碍,严重伤害了中国人民的民族感情。

中国政府坚信,广大台湾同胞是要求国家统一的;台湾朝野政治力量的大多数也是主张国家统一的。在两岸人

民共同努力下,上述障碍和阻力一定可以排除,两岸关系一定可以获得更好的发展。

五、国际事务中涉及台湾的几个问题

如前所述,世界上只有一个中国,台湾是中国不可分割的一部分。中华人民共和国政府作为代表全中国人民的唯一合法政府,得到了联合国及世界各国的普遍承认。为维护国家主权和实现国家的统一,中国政府在国际事务中处理涉及台湾的问题时,始终坚持一个中国的原则,一贯维护台湾同胞的利益。中国政府相信,这一立场必能赢得各国政府和人民的尊重。

在此,中国政府认为有必要就以下几个问题重申自己的立场和政策。

(一)与中国建交国同台湾的关系问题。目前,世界上凡与中国建交的国家,均遵照国际法和一个中国的原则,与中国政府就台湾问题达成正式协议或谅解,承诺不与台湾建立任何官方性质的关系。按照国际法,一个主权国家只能有一个中央政府代表这个国家。台湾作为中国的一部分,它在国际上无权代表中国,不能与外国建立外交关系

和发展具有官方性质的关系。但考虑到台湾经济发展的需要和台湾同胞的实际利益,对台湾同外国的民间经济、文化往来,中国政府不持异议。

近几年,台湾当局在国际上竭力推行所谓“务实外交”,谋求同一些与中国建交的国家发展官方关系,推行“双重承认”,达到制造“两个中国”、“一中一台”的目的。对此,中国政府坚决反对。

应该指出,世界上绝大多数国家都能珍视同中国的友好关系,恪守在台湾问题上和中国达成的协议和谅解,中国政府对此表示赞赏。但也不能不指出,有的国家竟不顾国际信誉,违反与中华人民共和国建交时所作的承诺,同台湾发展官方关系,从而给中国统一事业设置障碍。中国政府衷心希望,有关国家的政府能够采取措施,纠正这一做法。

(二)国际组织与台湾的关系问题。每个国家的主权是完整的,既不能分割,也不能分享。中华人民共和国政府作为中国的唯一合法政府,有权利也有义务在国际组织中行使国家主权,代表整个中国。台湾当局企图在某些只有主权国家才能参加的国际组织中搞所谓“一国两席”,就是要制造“两个中国”。中国政府坚决反对这种行径。这一原则

立场完全符合包括台湾同胞和海外侨胞在内的全中国人民的根本利益。只有在坚持一个中国原则立场的前提下，中国政府才可以考虑，根据有关国际组织的性质、章程规定和实际情况，以中国政府同意和接受的某种方式，来处理台湾参加某些国际组织活动的问题。

联合国系统的所有机构，是由主权国家代表参加的政府间国际组织。在恢复中华人民共和国在联合国的合法权利后，联合国系统的所有机构都已通过正式决议，恢复中华人民共和国享有的合法席位，驱逐了台湾当局的“代表”。自此，在联合国组织中的中国代表权问题已获得了彻底的解决，根本不存在台湾再加入的问题。需要指出的是，近一个时期来，台湾当局的某些人又为“重返联合国”而大肆鼓噪。十分明显，这是一种妄图割裂国家主权的行径，它无论在法理上或实际上都是行不通的。中国政府相信各国政府和联合国系统的组织会识破这一图谋，不做有损于中国主权的事情。

其他政府间国际组织，原则上台湾也无权参加。至于亚洲开发银行(ADB)、亚太经济合作组织(APEC)等地区性经济组织，台湾的加入系根据中国政府与有关方面达成的协议或谅解，明确规定中华人民共和国作为主权国家参

加,台湾只作为中国的一个地区以“中国台北”(英文在亚行为 TAIPEI, CHINA; 在亚太经济合作组织为 CHINESE TAIPEI)的名称参加活动。这种做法属于特殊安排,不能构成其他政府间国际组织及国际活动效仿的“模式”。

在民间性质的国际组织中,中华人民共和国的相应组织同有关方面达成协议或谅解,在中国的全国性组织以中国的名义参加的情况下,台湾的相应组织可以以“中国台北”(TAIPEI, CHINA)或“中国台湾”(TAIWAN, CHINA)的名称参加。

(三)与中国建交国同台湾通航问题。一个国家的领空是该国领土不可分割的组成部分。1919年公布的《巴黎航空公约》和1944年签署的《芝加哥公约》均确认,每个国家对其领空具有完全的、排他性的主权的原則。因此,凡是同中国建交国家的任何航空公司,即使是私营航空公司与台湾通航,都是涉及中国主权的政治问题,而不是一般的民间关系。与中国建交国家的官方航空公司当然不可与台湾通航,而其民间航空公司如欲同台湾通航,则须由其政府与中国政府磋商。在征得中国政府同意后,其民间航空公司始可同台湾的私营航空公司互飞。实际上,根据上述原

则,中国政府已经同意英、德、加拿大等国的民间航空公司与台湾的私营航空公司通航。

有的国家在与中华人民共和国建交前就同台湾通航的,则可通过与中国政府谈判,改变其同台湾通航的官方性质后继续其民间商业运输安排。

(四)与中国建交国向台湾出售武器问题。中国政府一贯坚决反对任何国家向台湾出售任何种类的武器装备或提供生产武器的技术。凡与中国建交的国家,都应遵循互相尊重主权和领土完整、互不干涉内政的原则,而不以任何形式或借口向台湾提供武器,否则就是违反国际关系准则,干涉中国内政。

世界各国,尤其是对世界和平事业负有重大责任的大国,理应严格遵守联合国安理会五常任理事国关于限制常规武器扩散的指导原则,为维护和促进地区的和平与安全作出贡献。然而,在目前台湾海峡两岸关系日益缓和的形势下,有的国家竟违背自己在国际协议中的承诺,置中国政府的一再严正交涉于不顾,向台湾出售武器,在海峡两岸之间制造紧张局势。这不仅是对中国安全的严重威胁,为中国的和平统一事业设置障碍,也不利于亚洲和世界的和平与稳定。中国人民当然要强烈反对。

在国际事务中,中国政府一贯奉行独立自主的和平外交政策,坚持“互相尊重主权和领土完整、互不侵犯、互不干涉内政、平等互利、和平共处”五项原则,积极发展同世界各国的友好关系,从不损害别国利益,不干涉别国内政。同样,中国政府也要求各国政府,不做损害中国利益、干涉中国内政的事情,正确处理与台湾的关系问题。

结 束 语

中国的统一是中华民族的根本利益所在。

中国实现统一后,两岸可携手合作,互补互助,发展经济,共同振兴中华。原来一直困扰台湾的各种问题,都将在一个中国的架构下得到合理解决。台湾同胞将与祖国其他地区人民一道共享一个伟大国家的尊严和荣誉。

长期以来,台湾问题一直是亚洲与太平洋地区一个不稳定的因素。中国的统一,不仅有利于中国本身的稳定和发展,也有利于中国同各国进一步加强友好合作关系,有利于亚太地区乃至全世界的和平与发展。

中国政府相信,在维护自己国家主权与领土完整的正义事业中,一定能够得到世界各国政府和人民的理解和支持。

The Taiwan Question and Reunification of China

**Taiwan Affairs Office & Information Office
State Council
The People's Republic of China**

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Foreword

It is the sacred right of each and every sovereign State and a fundamental principle of international law to safeguard national unity and territorial integrity. The Charter of the United Nations specifically stipulates that the United Nations and its Members shall refrain from any action against the territorial integrity or political independence of any of its Members or any State and shall not intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State. The United Nations Declaration on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation Among States in Accordance with the Charter of the United Nations points out that any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity, territorial integrity or political independence of a State or country is incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

The modern history of China was a record of subjection to aggression, dismemberment and humiliation by foreign powers. It was also a chronicle of the Chinese people's valiant struggles for national independence and in defense of their state sovereignty, territorial integrity and national dignity. The origin and evolution of the Taiwan question are closely linked with that period of history. For various reasons Taiwan is still separated from the mainland. Unless and until this state of affairs is brought to an end, the trauma on the Chinese nation will not be healed and the Chinese people's struggle for national reunification and territorial integrity will continue.

What is the present state of the Taiwan question? What is the crux of the problem? What are the position and views of the Chinese Government regarding the settlement of this issue? In order to facilitate a better understanding by the international community, it is necessary to elucidate the following points.

I. Taiwan -- an Inalienable Part of China

Lying off the southeastern coast of the China mainland, Taiwan is China's largest island and forms an integral whole with the mainland.

Taiwan has belonged to China since ancient times. It was known as Yizhou or Liuqiu in antiquities. Many historical records and annals documented the development of Taiwan by the Chinese people in earlier periods. References to this effect were to be found, among others, in *Seaboard Geographic Gazetteer* compiled more than 1,700 years ago by Shen Ying of the State of Wu during the period of the Three Kingdoms. This was the world's earliest written account of Taiwan. Several expeditions, each numbering over ten thousand men, had been sent to Taiwan by the State of Wu (third century A.D.) and the Sui Dynasty (seventh century A.D.) respectively. Since early seventeenth century the Chinese people began to step up the development of Taiwan. Their numbers topped one hundred thousand at the end of the century. By 1893 (19th year of the reign of Qing Emperor Guangxu) their population exceeded 2.54 million people in 507,000 or more households. That was a 25-fold increase in 200 years. They brought in a more advanced mode of production and settled the whole length and breadth of Taiwan. Thanks to the determined efforts and hard toil of the pioneers, the development of the island as a whole greatly accelerated. This was the historical fact of how Taiwan, like the other parts of China, came to be opened up and settled by the Chinese people of various nationalities. From the very beginning the Taiwan society derived from the source of the Chinese cultural tradition. This basic fact had not changed even during the half century of Japanese occupation. The history

of Taiwan's development is imbued with the blood, sweat, and ingenuity of the Chinese people including the local ethnic minorities.

Chinese governments of different periods set up administrative bodies to exercise jurisdiction over Taiwan. As early as in the mid-12th century the Song Dynasty set up a garrison in Penghu, putting the territory under the jurisdiction of Jinjiang County of Fujian's Quanzhou Prefecture. The Yuan Dynasty installed an agency of patrol and inspection in Penghu to administer the territory. During the mid- and late 16th century the Ming Dynasty reinstated the once abolished agency and sent reinforcements to Penghu in order to ward off foreign invaders. In 1662 (first year of the reign of Qing Emperor Kangxi) General Zheng Chenggong (known in the West as Koxinga) instituted Chengtian Prefecture on Taiwan. Subsequently, the Qing government expanded the administrative structure in Taiwan, thereby strengthening its rule over the territory. In 1684 (23rd year of the reign of Emperor Kangxi) a Taiwan-Xiamen Patrol Command and a Taiwan Prefecture Administration were set up under the jurisdiction of Fujian Province. These in turn exercised jurisdiction over three counties on the island: Taiwan (present-day Tainan), Fengshan (present-day Gaoxiong) and Zhuluo (present-day Jiayi). In 1714 (53rd year of the reign of Emperor Kangxi) the Qing government ordered the mapping of Taiwan to determine its size. In 1721 (60th year of the reign of Emperor Kangxi) an office of imperial supervisor for inspecting Taiwan was created and the Taiwan-Xiamen Patrol Command was renamed Prefecture Administration of Taiwan and Xiamen, incorporating the subsequently-created Zhanghua County and Danshui Canton. In 1727 (5th year of the reign of Emperor Yongzheng) the administration on the island was reconstituted as the Prefecture Administration of Taiwan (which was later renamed Prefecture Command for Patrol of Taiwan) and incorporated the new Penghu Canton. The territory then became officially known as Taiwan. In order to upgrade the administration of Taiwan, the Qing government created Taibei Prefecture, Jilong Canton and three counties of Danshui, Xinzhu and Yilan in 1875 (1st year of the reign of Emperor Guangxu). In 1885 (11th year of the reign of Emperor Guangxu), the government formally made Taiwan a full province covering three prefectures and one sub-

prefecture and incorporating 11 counties and 5 cantons. Liu Mingchuan was appointed first Governor of Taiwan. During his tenure of office, railways were laid, mines opened, telegraph service installed, merchant ships built, industries started and new-style schools set up. Considerable social, economic and cultural advancement in Taiwan was achieved as a result.

After the Chinese people's victory in the war against Japanese aggression in 1945, the Chinese government reinstated its administrative authority in Taiwan Province.

Chinese on both sides of the Taiwan Straits carried out a prolonged, unremitting struggle against foreign invasion and occupation of Taiwan. Since the late 15th century Western colonialists started to grab and conquer colonies in a big way. In 1624 (4th year of the reign of Ming Emperor Tianqi) Dutch colonialists invaded and occupied the southern part of Taiwan. Two years later Spanish colonialists seized the northern part of Taiwan. In 1642 (15th year of the reign of Ming Emperor Chongzhen) the Dutch evicted the Spaniards and took over north Taiwan. The Chinese people on both sides of the Straits waged various forms of struggle including armed insurrections against the invasion and occupation of Taiwan by foreign colonialists. In 1661 (18th year of the reign of Qing Emperor Shunzhi) General Zheng Chenggong (Koxinga) led an expedition to Taiwan and expelled the Dutch colonialists from the island in the following year.

Japan launched a war of aggression against China in 1894 (20th year of the reign of Qing Emperor Guangxu). In the ensuing year, as a result of defeat the Qing government was forced to sign the Treaty of Shimonoseki, ceding Taiwan to Japan. This wanton betrayal and humiliation shocked the whole nation and touched off a storm of protests. A thousand or more candidates from all 18 provinces including Taiwan who had assembled in Beijing for the Imperial Examination signed a strongly-worded petition opposing the ceding of Taiwan. In Taiwan itself, people wailed and bemoaned the betrayal and went on general strikes. General Liu Yongfu and others of the garrison command

stood with Taiwan compatriots and put up a fierce fight against the Japanese landing forces. To support this struggle, people on the mainland, particularly in the southeastern region, showed their solidarity by generous donations or organizing volunteers to Taiwan to fight the Japanese forces. Taiwan compatriots never ceased their dauntless struggle throughout the Japanese occupation. Initially, they formed insurgent groups to wage guerrilla warfare for as long as seven years. When the Revolution of 1911 overthrew the Qing monarchy they in turn lent support to their mainland compatriots by staging more than a dozen armed insurrections. The 1920s and 1930s witnessed surging waves of mass action sweeping across the island against Japanese colonial rule.

In 1937 the Chinese people threw themselves into an all-out war of resistance against Japanese aggression. In its declaration of war against Japan, the Chinese Government proclaimed that all treaties, conventions, agreements, and contracts regarding relations between China and Japan, including the Treaty of Shimonoseki, had been abrogated. The declaration stressed that China would recover Taiwan, Penghu and the four northeastern provinces. After eight years of grueling war against Japanese aggression the Chinese people won final victory and recovered the lost territory of Taiwan in 1945. Taiwan compatriots displayed an outburst of passion and celebrated the great triumph of their return to the fold of the motherland by setting off big bangs of fireworks and performing rites to communicate the event to their ancestors.

The international community has acknowledged the fact that Taiwan belongs to China. The Chinese people's war of resistance against Japanese aggression, being part of the world-wide struggle against Fascism, received extensive support from people all over the world. During the Second World War China, the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, France and others formed an alliance to oppose the Axis of Germany, Japan and Italy. The Cairo Declaration issued by China, the United States and Great Britain on 1 December 1943 stated: "It is the purpose of the three great Allies that Japan shall be stripped of all the islands in the Pacific which she has seized or occupied since the beginning of the First World War in 1914, and that all the

territories Japan has stolen from the Chinese, such as Manchuria, Formosa [Taiwan] and the Pescadores [Penghu], shall be restored to China." The Potsdam Proclamation signed by China, the United States and Great Britain on 26 July 1945 (subsequently adhered to by the Soviet Union) reiterated: "The terms of the Cairo Declaration shall be carried out." On 15 August of the same year, Japan declared surrender. The instrument of Japan's surrender stipulated that "Japan hereby accepts the provisions in the declaration issued by the heads of the Governments of the United States, China and Great Britain on July 26, 1945 at Potsdam, and subsequently adhered to by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics." On 25 October the ceremony for accepting Japan's surrender in Taiwan Province of the China war theater of the Allied powers was held in Taipei. On the occasion the chief officer for accepting the surrender proclaimed on behalf of the Chinese government that from that day forward Taiwan and the Penghu Archipelago had again been incorporated formally into the territory of China and that the territory, people, and administration had now been placed under the sovereignty of China. From that point in time forward, Taiwan and Penghu had been put back under the jurisdiction of Chinese sovereignty.

Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, 157 countries have established diplomatic relations with China. All these countries recognize that there is only one China and that the Government of the People's Republic of China is the sole legal government of China and Taiwan is part of China.

II. Origin of the Taiwan Question

Taiwan was returned to China *de jure* and *de facto* at the end of the Second World War. It became an issue only as an aftermath of the ensuing anti-popular civil war started by Kuomintang, and more especially because of intervention by foreign forces.

Taiwan question and civil war launched by Kuomintang. During the war of resistance against Japanese aggression the Chinese Communist Party and other patriotic groups pressed Kuomintang into a national united front with the Communist Party to fight Japanese imperialist aggression. After victory of the war the two Parties should have joined hands to work for the resurgence of China. But the Kuomintang clique headed by Chiang Kai-shek flouted the people's fervent aspirations for peace and for building an independent, democratic and prosperous new China. Relying on U.S. support, this clique tore up the 10 October 1945 agreement between the two Parties and launched an all-out anti-popular civil war. The Chinese people were compelled to respond with a people's liberation war which was to last more than three years under the leadership of the Communist Party. Since the Kuomintang clique had already been spurned by the people of all nationalities for its reign of terror, the government of the "Republic of China" in Nanjing was finally overthrown by the Chinese people. The People's Republic of China was proclaimed on 1 October 1949 and the Government of the new People's Republic became the sole legal government of China. A group of military and political officials of the Kuomintang clique took refuge in Taiwan and, with the support of the then U.S. administration, created the division between the two sides of the Straits.

Taiwan question and responsibility of the United States.

Against the backdrop of East-West confrontation in the wake of the Second World War and guided by its conceived global strategy and national interest considerations, the U.S. government gave full support to the Kuomintang, providing it with money, weapons and advisors to carry on the civil war and block the advance of the Chinese people's revolution. However, the U.S. government never achieved its objective. The White Paper on United States Relations with China released by the Department of State in 1949 and Secretary of State Dean Acheson's letter of transmittal to President Harry S. Truman had to admit this. Dean Acheson lamented in his letter: "The unfortunate but inescapable fact is that the ominous result of the civil war in China was beyond the control of the government of the United States. ... Nothing that was left undone by this country has contributed to it. It was the product of internal Chinese forces, forces which this country tried to influence but could not."

At the time of the founding of the People's Republic of China the then U.S. administration could have pulled itself from the quagmire of China's civil war. But it failed to do so. Instead, it adopted a policy of isolation and containment of New China. When the Korean War broke out, it started armed intervention in the inter-Taiwan Straits relations which were entirely China's internal affairs. On 27 June 1950 President Truman announced: "I have ordered the Seventh Fleet to prevent any attack on Formosa." Thus the Seventh Fleet invaded the Taiwan Straits and the U.S. 13th Air Force set up base in Taiwan. In December 1954 the U.S. concluded with the Taiwan authorities a so-called mutual defense treaty placing China's Taiwan Province under U.S. "protection". The erroneous policy of the U.S. government of continued interference in China's internal affairs led to prolonged and intense confrontation in the Taiwan Straits area and henceforth the Taiwan question became a major dispute between China and the United States.

In order to ease tension in the Taiwan Straits area and seek ways of solving the dispute between the two countries, the Chinese Government started dialogues with the United States from the mid-1950s onwards.

The two countries held 136 sessions of talks at ambassadorial level from August 1955 to February 1970. However, no progress had been made in that period on the key issue of easing and removing tension in the Taiwan Straits area. It was not until late 1960s and early 1970s when the international situation had undergone changes and as New China had gained in strength that the U.S. began to readjust its China policy and the relations between the two countries started a thawing. In October 1971 the United Nations General Assembly adopted at its 26th session Resolution 2758 which restored all the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and expelled the "representatives" of the Taiwan authorities from the U.N. U.S. President Richard Nixon visited China in February 1972 in the course of which the two countries issued a joint communiqué in Shanghai stating that: "The U.S. side declared: the United States acknowledges that all Chinese on either side of the Taiwan Strait maintain there is but one China and that Taiwan is a part of China. The United States Government does not challenge that position."

In December 1978 the U.S. Government accepted the three principles proposed by the Chinese Government for the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries, namely, the United States should sever "diplomatic relations" and abrogate the "mutual defense treaty" with the Taiwan authorities and withdraw U.S. military forces from Taiwan. On 1 January 1979 China and the United States formally established diplomatic relations. The Communiqué on the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations said that: "The United States of America recognizes the Government of the People's Republic of China as the sole legal government of China. Within this context, the people of the United States will maintain cultural, commercial and other unofficial relations with the people of Taiwan The Government of the United States of America acknowledges the Chinese position that there is but one China and Taiwan is part of China." Normalization of Sino-U.S. relations was thus achieved.

Regrettably, however, scarcely three months after the event, a so-called Taiwan Relations Act was passed by the U.S. Congress and signed

into law by the President. A domestic legislation of the U.S. as it was, this Act contained many clauses that contravened the communiqué on the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and the U.S. and the principles of international law, and seriously prejudiced the rights and interests of the Chinese people. Invoking this legislation, the U.S. Government has continued its arms sales to Taiwan, interference in China's internal affairs and obstruction to Taiwan's reunification with the mainland.

In order to resolve the issue of U.S. arms sales to Taiwan, the Chinese and the U.S. governments negotiated and reached an agreement on 17 August 1982. A communiqué bearing the same date became the third joint communiqué governing Sino-U.S. relations. In that communiqué the U.S. Government stated that: "It does not seek to carry out a long-term policy of arms sales to Taiwan, that its arms sales to Taiwan will not exceed, either in qualitative or in quantitative terms, the level of those supplied in recent years since the establishment of diplomatic relations between the United States and China and that it intends gradually to reduce its sale of arms to Taiwan, leading, over a period of time, to a final resolution." Yet in the past dozen or more years the U.S. Government has not only failed to implement the communiqué in earnest, but has repeatedly contravened it. In September 1992 the U.S. Government even decided to sell 150 F-16 high-performance fighter aircraft to Taiwan. This action of the U.S. Government has added a new stumbling block in the way of the development of Sino-U.S. relations and settlement of the Taiwan question.

It is clear from the foregoing that the U.S. Government is responsible for holding up the settlement of the Taiwan question. Since the 1970s many Americans of vision and goodwill in or outside the administration have contributed much by way of helping to resolve the differences between China and the U.S. on the Taiwan question. The aforesaid three joint communiqués testify to their effort and contribution of which the Chinese Government and people are highly appreciative. On the other hand, one cannot fail to note that there are people in the U.S. who still do not want to see a reunified China. They have cooked up various

pretexts and exerted influence to obstruct the settlement of the Taiwan question.

The Chinese Government is convinced that the American and the Chinese peoples are friendly to each other and that the normal development of the relations between the two countries accords with the long-term interests and common aspiration of both peoples. Both countries should cherish the three hard-won joint communiqués guiding the development of bilateral relations. As long as both sides abide by the principles enshrined in those communiqués, respect each other and set store by their overall common interests, it will not be difficult to settle the Taiwan question that has been left over from history and Sino-U.S. relations will surely see steady improvement and development ahead.

III. The Chinese Government's Basic Position Regarding Settlement of the Taiwan Question

To settle the Taiwan question and achieve national reunification -- this is a sacrosanct mission of the entire Chinese people. The Chinese Government has persistently worked towards this end since the founding of the People's Republic. Its basic position on this question is: peaceful reunification; one country, two systems.

Peaceful reunification; one country, two systems -- how has this position been formulated? The Chinese Government conceived a peaceful settlement of the Taiwan question as early as in the 1950s. In May 1955 the late Premier Zhou Enlai said at a NPC Standing Committee meeting that two alternatives were open to the Chinese people for the solution of the Taiwan question -- by resort to war or by peaceful means. The Chinese people would strive for a peaceful solution wherever possible, he affirmed. In April 1956 the late Chairman Mao Zedong put forward thoughts for policy-making such as "peace is the best option", "all patriots are of one family" and "it is never too late to join the ranks of patriots". However, those wishes have not come to fruition for reasons such as interference by foreign forces.

Major changes took place in and outside China in the 1970s. Diplomatic ties were established and relations normalized between China and the United States. The Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China decided to shift the focus of the work of the Party and the State to the economic modernization programme. In the meantime, people on both sides of the Taiwan Straits, compatriots of Hong Kong and Macao as well as

overseas Chinese and people of Chinese descent all expressed their fervent hope that the two sides of the Straits would join hands to work for a resurgence of China. It was against this historical background that the Chinese Government formulated the position of "peaceful reunification; one country, two systems". The position takes the overall national interests and the future of the country into consideration. It respects history as well as the prevailing situation. It is realistic and takes care of the interests of all.

On 1 January 1979 the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China issued a message to compatriots in Taiwan, pronouncing the Chinese Government's basic position regarding peaceful settlement of the Taiwan question. It called for the holding of talks between the two sides of the Straits to seek an end to the military confrontation. It pledged that in the pursuit of national reunification, the Government "will respect the status quo on Taiwan and the views of people of all walks of life there and adopt reasonable policies and measures".

In a statement on 30 September 1981 the late Chairman Ye Jianying of the NPC Standing Committee further elaborated the policy and principles for the settlement of the Taiwan question. He affirmed that "after the country is reunified, Taiwan can enjoy a high degree of autonomy as a special administrative region" and proposed that talks be held on an equal footing between the ruling Parties on each side of the Straits, namely, the Chinese Communist Party and the Kuomintang.

Referring to Ye Jianying's remarks, Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping pointed out on 11 January 1982 that this in effect meant "one country, two systems", i.e., on the premise of national reunification, the main body of the nation would continue with its socialist system while Taiwan could maintain capitalism.

On 26 June 1983 Deng Xiaoping further enunciated the concept of peaceful reunification, stressing that the crucial point was national reunification. He went on to expound the Government's policy on

reunification and on the creation of a Taiwan special administrative region.

On 12 October 1992 General Secretary Jiang Zemin of the CPC Central Committee pointed out: "We shall work steadfastly for the great cause, adhering to the principles of peaceful reunification and 'one country, two systems' We reiterate that the Chinese Communist Party is ready to establish contact with the Chinese Kuomintang at the earliest possible date to create conditions for talks on officially ending the state of hostility between the two sides of the Taiwan Straits and gradually realizing peaceful reunification. Representatives from other parties, mass organizations and all circles on both sides of the Taiwan Straits could be invited to join in such talks."

Basic Contents of "peaceful reunification; one country, two systems". This position is an important component of the theory and practice of building socialism with Chinese characteristics and a fundamental state policy of the Chinese Government which will not change for a long time to come. Its basic contents are as follows:

1. Only one China. There is only one China in the world, Taiwan is an inalienable part of China and the seat of China's central government is in Beijing. This is a universally recognized fact as well as the premise for a peaceful settlement of the Taiwan question.

The Chinese Government is firmly against any words or deeds designed to split China's sovereignty and territorial integrity. It opposes "two Chinas", "one China, one Taiwan", "one country, two governments" or any attempt or act that could lead to "independence of Taiwan". The Chinese people on both sides of the Straits all believe that there is only one China and espouse national reunification. Taiwan's status as an inalienable part of China has been determined and cannot be changed. "Self-determination" for Taiwan is out of the question.

2. Coexistence of two systems. On the premise of one China, socialism on the mainland and capitalism on Taiwan can coexist and

develop side by side for a long time without one swallowing up the other. This concept has largely taken account of the actual situation in Taiwan and practical interests of our compatriots there. It will be a unique feature and important innovation in the state system of a reunified China.

After reunification, Taiwan's current socio-economic system, its way of life as well as economic and cultural ties with foreign countries can remain unchanged. Private property, including houses and land, as well as business ownership, legal inheritance and overseas Chinese and foreign investments on the island will all be protected by law.

3. A high degree of autonomy. After reunification, Taiwan will become a special administrative region. It will be distinguished from the other provinces or regions of China by its high degree of autonomy. It will have its own administrative and legislative powers, an independent judiciary and the right of adjudication on the island. It will run its own party, political, military, economic and financial affairs. It may conclude commercial and cultural agreements with foreign countries and enjoy certain rights in foreign affairs. It may keep its military forces and the mainland will not dispatch troops or administrative personnel to the island. On the other hand, representatives of the government of the special administrative region and those from different circles of Taiwan may be appointed to senior posts in the central government and participate in the running of national affairs.

4. Peace negotiations. It is the common aspiration of the entire Chinese people to achieve reunification of the country by peaceful means through contacts and negotiations. People on both sides of the Straits are all Chinese. It would be a great tragedy for all if China's territorial integrity and sovereignty were to be split and its people were to be drawn into a fratricide. Peaceful reunification will greatly enhance the cohesion of the Chinese nation. It will facilitate Taiwan's socio-economic stability and development and promote the resurgence and prosperity of China as a whole.

In order to put an end to hostility and achieve peaceful reunification, the two sides should enter into contacts and negotiations at the earliest possible date. On the premise of one China, both sides can discuss any subject, including the modality of negotiations, the question of what Parties, groups and personalities may participate as well as any other matters of concern to the Taiwan side. So long as the two sides sit down and talk, they will always be able to find a mutually acceptable solution.

Taking into account the prevailing situation on both sides of the Straits, the Chinese Government has proposed that pending reunification the two sides should, according to the principle of mutual respect, complementarity and mutual benefit, actively promote economic cooperation and other exchanges. Direct trade, postal, air and shipping services and two-way visits should be started in order to pave the way for the peaceful reunification of the country.

Peaceful reunification is a set policy of the Chinese Government. However, any sovereign state is entitled to use any means it deems necessary, including military ones, to uphold its sovereignty and territorial integrity. The Chinese Government is under no obligation to undertake any commitment to any foreign power or people intending to split China as to what means it might use to handle its own domestic affairs.

It should be pointed out that the Taiwan question is purely an internal affair of China and bears no analogy to the cases of Germany and Korea which were brought about as a result of international accords at the end of the Second World War. Therefore, the Taiwan question should not be placed on a par with the situation of Germany or Korea. The Chinese Government has always opposed applying the German or Korean formulas to Taiwan. The Taiwan question should and entirely can be resolved judiciously through bilateral consultations and within the framework of one China.

IV. Relations Across Taiwan Straits: Evolution and Stumbling Blocks

The present division between the two sides of the Taiwan Straits is a misfortune for the Chinese nation. All the Chinese people are yearning for an early end to this agonizing situation.

In order to enable normal movement of people across the Straits and to achieve reunification of the country, the Chinese Government has made proposals towards this end and, at the same time, adopted measures to step up the development of inter-Straits relations.

On the political plane, policy adjustments have been made with a view to breaking down the mentality of hostility. The Supreme People's Court and the Supreme People's Procuratorate have decided respectively that people who had gone to Taiwan would no longer be prosecuted for offenses prior to the founding of the People's Republic of China.

On the military plane, initiatives have been taken to ease military confrontation across the Straits. Shelling of Jinmen and other islands have been discontinued. Some forward defense positions and observation posts along the Fujian coast have been transformed into economic development zones or tourist attractions.

On the economic plane, doors have been flung open to facilitate the flow of goods and people. Businessmen from Taiwan are welcome to invest or trade on the mainland. They are accorded preferential treatment and legal safeguards.

The Chinese Government has also adopted a positive attitude and taken measures to encourage bilateral exchanges and cooperation in areas such as two-way travels, post and communications as well as scientific, cultural, sports, academic and journalistic activities. A non-governmental Association for Relations Across the Taiwan Straits has been set up and authorized by the Government to liaise with the Straits Exchange Foundation and other relevant non-governmental bodies in Taiwan for the purpose of upholding the legitimate rights and interests of people on both sides and promoting inter-Straits relations.

Such policies and measures of the Chinese Government have won the understanding and support of more and more Taiwan compatriots, compatriots in Hong Kong and Macao as well as overseas Chinese and people of Chinese descent. On their part, Taiwan compatriots have contributed tremendously to the development of inter-Straits relations. In recent years the Taiwan authorities have in turn made readjustments in their policy regarding the mainland. They have taken steps to ease the situation, such as allowing people to visit relatives on the mainland, gradually reducing the restrictions on people-to-people exchanges and contact, expanding indirect trade, permitting indirect investment and cutting red tape in inter-Straits post, telecommunications and bank remittance services. All these are conducive to better interchanges. The past few years have witnessed rapid growth of economic relations and trade as well as increasing mutual visits and sundry exchanges across the Straits. The Wang Daohan--Koo Chen-fu Talks in April 1993 resulted in four agreements, marking a step forward of historic significance in inter-Straits relations. Thus an atmosphere of relaxation prevails in the Taiwan Straits for the first time in the past four decades. This is auspicious to peaceful reunification.

It should be pointed out that notwithstanding a certain measure of easing up by the Taiwan authorities, their current policy *vis-a-vis* the mainland still seriously impedes the development of relations across the Straits as well as the reunification of the country. They talk about the necessity of a reunified China, but their deeds are always a far cry from

the principle of one China. They try to prolong Taiwan's separation from the mainland and refuse to hold talks on peaceful reunification. They have even set up barriers to curb the further development of the interchanges across the Straits.

In recent years the clamours for "Taiwan independence" on the island have become shriller, casting a shadow over the course of relations across the Straits and the prospect of peaceful reunification of the country. The "Taiwan independence" fallacy has a complex social-historical root and international background. But the Taiwan authorities have, in effect, abetted this fallacy by its own policy of rejecting peace negotiations, restricting interchanges across the Straits and lobbying for "dual recognition" or "two Chinas" in the international arena. It should be affirmed that the desire of Taiwan compatriots to run the affairs of the island as masters of their own house is reasonable and justified. This should by no means be construed as advocating "Taiwan independence". They are radically distinct from those handful of "Taiwan independence" protagonists who trumpet "independence" but vilely rely on foreign patronage in a vain attempt to detach Taiwan from China, which runs against the fundamental interests of the entire Chinese people including Taiwan compatriots. The Chinese Government is closely following the course of events and will never condone any manoeuvre for "Taiwan independence".

Certain foreign forces who do not want to see a reunified China have gone out of their way to meddle in China's internal affairs. They support the anti-Communist stance of the Taiwan authorities of rejecting peace talks and abet the secessionists on the island, thereby erecting barriers to China's peaceful reunification and seriously wounding the national feelings of the Chinese people.

The Chinese Government is convinced that Taiwan compatriots want national reunification and that this is also true with most of the political forces in or out of office in Taiwan. The people on both sides of the Straits will overcome all the barriers and stumbling blocks by their joint efforts and ensure a better development of relations across the Straits.

V. Several Questions Involving Taiwan in International Relations

As has been elucidated in the foregoing, there is only one China in the world, of which Taiwan is an inalienable part. The Government of the People's Republic of China has been recognized by the United Nations and throughout the world as the sole legal government representing the entire Chinese people. In the interest of safeguarding state sovereignty and realizing national reunification the Chinese Government has always stood firm on the principle of one China and ensured the interests of Taiwan compatriots in international relations involving Taiwan. The Chinese Government has no doubt that its position will be respected by all other governments and people.

The Chinese Government deems it necessary to reiterate its position and policy on the following matters.

(1) Relations between Taiwan and countries maintaining diplomatic ties with China

All countries maintaining diplomatic relations with China have, in conformity with international law and the principle of one China, undertaken in formal agreement or understanding with the Chinese Government not to establish any ties of an official nature with Taiwan. According to international law, a sovereign state can only be represented by a single central government. As a part of China, Taiwan has no right to represent China in the international community, nor can it establish diplomatic ties or enter into relations of an official nature with foreign countries. Nevertheless, considering the needs of Taiwan's economic

development and the practical interests of Taiwan compatriots, the Chinese Government has not objected to non-governmental economic or cultural exchanges between Taiwan and foreign countries.

In recent years the Taiwan authorities have vigorously launched a campaign of "pragmatic diplomacy" to cultivate official ties with countries having diplomatic relations with China in an attempt to push "dual recognition" and achieve the objective of creating a situation of "two Chinas" or "one China, one Taiwan". The Chinese Government is firmly against this scheme.

It is noted that the overwhelming majority of the countries of the world cherish friendly relations with China and abide by their agreement or understanding with China on the issue of Taiwan. The Chinese Government appreciates this. On the other hand, it should be pointed out that, in disregard of their international credibility, certain countries have breached the undertaking made at the time of the establishment of diplomatic ties with the People's Republic of China by evolving official relations with Taiwan, thereby putting a spoke in the wheel of China's reunification. The Chinese Government sincerely hopes that the governments in question will take measures to rectify the situation.

(2) Relations between international organizations and Taiwan

The sovereignty of each State is an integral whole which is indivisible and unsharable. The Government of the People's Republic of China, as the sole legal government of China, has the right and obligation to exercise state sovereignty and represent the whole of China in international organizations. The Taiwan authorities' lobbying for a formula of "one country, two seats" in international organizations whose membership is confined to sovereign states is a manoeuvre to create "two Chinas". The Chinese Government is firmly opposed to such an attempt. Its principled position fully conforms to the fundamental interests of the entire Chinese people including Taiwan compatriots and overseas Chinese. Only on the premise of adhering to the principle of one China

and in the light of the nature and statutes of the international organizations concerned as well as the specific circumstances, can the Chinese Government consider the question of Taiwan's participation in the activities of such organizations and in a manner agreeable and acceptable to the Chinese Government.

All the specialized agencies and organizations of the United Nations system are inter-governmental organizations composed of sovereign states. After the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, all the specialized agencies and organizations of the U.N. system have formally adopted resolutions restoring to the People's Republic of China its lawful seat and expelling the "representatives" of the Taiwan authorities. Since then the issue of China's representation in the U.N. system has been resolved once and for all and Taiwan's re-entry is out of the question. However, it should be pointed out that recently some elements of the Taiwan authorities have been clamouring for "returning to the United Nations". Apparently, this is an attempt to split state sovereignty, which is devoid of any legal or practical basis. The Chinese Government is convinced that all governments and organizations of the U.N. system will be alert to this scheme and refrain from doing anything prejudicial to China's sovereignty.

In principle, Taiwan is also ineligible for membership in other categories of inter-governmental organizations. As to regional economic organizations such as the Asian Development Bank (ADB) and the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), Taiwan's participation is subject to the terms of agreement or understanding reached between the Chinese Government and the parties concerned which explicitly prescribe that the People's Republic of China is a full member as a sovereign state whereas Taiwan may participate in the activities of those organizations only as a region of China under the designation of Taipei, China (in ADB) or Chinese Taipei (in APEC). This is only an *ad hoc* arrangement and cannot constitute a "model" applicable to other inter-governmental organizations or international gatherings.

As regards participation in non-governmental international organizations, the relevant bodies of the People's Republic of China may reach an agreement or understanding with the parties concerned so that China's national organizations would use the designation of China, while Taiwan's organizations may participate under the designation of Taipei, China or Taiwan, China.

(3) Aviation services between Taiwan and countries having diplomatic relations with China

Airspace is an inalienable part of a country's territory. The 1919 Paris Aviation Convention and the 1944 Chicago Convention affirm the principle of complete and exclusive sovereignty of each country over its airspace. Therefore, the opening of aviation services with Taiwan by any airlines, including privately-operated ones, of countries having diplomatic relations with China is a political issue affecting China's sovereignty and cannot be regarded as a non-political transaction. State-run airlines of countries having diplomatic relations with China certainly must not operate air services to Taiwan. Privately-operated airlines must seek China's consent through consultations between their government and the Chinese Government before they can start reciprocal air services with privately-operated airlines of Taiwan. As a matter of fact, according to the afore-said principle the Chinese Government has consented to such services between privately-operated airlines of Britain, Germany, Canada, etc. and their counterparts in Taiwan.

As for countries which already had aviation services with Taiwan before the establishment of diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China, they can negotiate with the Chinese Government to change the official nature of such services so as to be able to continue the operations as privately-run commercial transportation undertakings.

(4) Arms sales to Taiwan by countries having diplomatic relations with China

The Chinese Government has always firmly opposed any country selling any type of arms or transferring production technology of the same to Taiwan. All countries maintaining diplomatic relations with China should abide by the principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, and refrain from providing arms to Taiwan in any form or under any pretext. Failure to do so would be a breach of the norms of international relations and an interference in China's internal affairs.

All countries, and especially big powers shouldering major responsibilities for world peace, are obligated to strictly abide by the guidelines laid down by the five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council to restrict the proliferation of conventional weapons so as to contribute to maintaining and promoting regional peace and security. However, at a time when relations across the Taiwan Straits are easing up, certain powers have seen fit to renege on their undertakings under international agreements and to flout the Chinese Government's repeated strong representations by making arms sales to Taiwan, thereby whipping up tension between the two sides of the Straits. This not only constitutes a serious threat to China's security and an obstacle to China's peaceful reunification, but also undermines peace and stability in Asia and the world at large. It stands to reason that the Chinese people should voice strong resentment against this conduct.

In international affairs the Chinese Government always pursues an independent foreign policy of peace and adheres to the Five Principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful CO-existence. It actively seeks to develop friendly relations with all countries of the world and will never undermine any country's interests nor interfere in its internal affairs. By the same token it expects all other governments to refrain from undermining China's interests or interfering in China's internal affairs and to correctly handle their relations with Taiwan.

Conclusion

Reunification of the country embodies the fundamental interest of the Chinese nation.

After national reunification the two sides of the Taiwan Straits can pool their resources and make common cause in economic development and work towards China's resurgence. Numerous problems that have been besetting Taiwan would be judiciously resolved within the framework of one China. Taiwan compatriots will share the pride and glory of a great nation with their kith and kin from the other parts of the motherland.

Taiwan question has long been a destabilizing factor in the Asia-Pacific region. Reunification of China will not only bolster the stability and development of the country itself, but also contribute to the further enhancement of the friendly relations and cooperation between China and other countries as well as to peace and development in the Asia-Pacific region and the world as a whole.

The Chinese Government is confident that it can count on the understanding and support of governments and people of all countries in the pursuit of its just cause of safeguarding its state sovereignty and territorial integrity.