# FACTS ABOUT THE "1992 CONSENSUS"

# 【關於九二共識的真相】

Contemporary reports debunking Fake News

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A **WONDERFUL TAIWAN FORUM** publication

By Tilman Aretz

Taipei 2020

# Facts about the "1992 Consensus"

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## BACKGROUND

Since 1949 the relations between China and Taiwan have been characterized by constantly strong tensions. Territory controlled by the Republic of China (ROC) had been shelled for two decades after 1958 by the People's Republic of China (PRC). Before the early 1990s, no direct negotiations between the two sides took place. On Nov. 21, 1990 the ROC founded the Straits Exchange Foundation (*haixia jiaoliu jijinhui* 海峽交流基金會, abbrev. *haijihui* 海基會 in Chinese and SEF in English), on Dec. 16, 1991 the PRC followed suit with the establishment of the Association for Relations Across the Taiwan Straits (*haixia liang'an guanxi xiehui* 海峽兩岸關係協會, abbrev. *haixiehui* 海協會 in Chinese and ARATS in English). Representatives of SEF and ARATS first met March 22–27, 1992 in Beijing and have been conducting talks on behalf of their respective government ever since.

⇦ SEF logo

ARATS logo ⇨

## THE TERM "1992 CONSENSUS"

In the years after political power in the ROC was handed over from the Chinese Nationalist Party (KMT) to the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) in May 2000, the term "1992 Consensus" (*jiuer gongshi* 九二共識) kept popping up in Taiwanese media, and it has played an important role in the debate about the Cross-Strait relations since then. According to the term's proponents, it refers to a tacit agreement that was supposedly reached when representatives

of Taiwan's SEF and China's ARATS met in Hong Kong in 1992 (Oct. 28–30), the SEF delegation being led by Shi Hwei-yow and the ARATS delegation by Zhou Ning. The term suggests that both sides reached an understanding in Hong Kong about "one China, with each side having its own Interpretation" (*yige Zhongguo, ge zi biaoshu* 一個中國,各自表述, abbrev. *yi Zhong gebiao* 一中各表).

On Feb. 21, 2006 Su Chi 蘇起 (b. 1949, Taiwan) admitted that he had in fact invented the term in 2000. In 1992, Su had been deputy director of the KMT's Department of Mainland Affairs, between February 1999 and May 2000 he headed the ROC's Mainland Affairs Council (MAC), and between 2005 and 2008 he was member of the ROC Legislative Yuan.

## FCJ COVERAGE

The 1992 Hong Kong meeting between SEF and ARATS was covered by The Free China Journal (FCJ), a newspaper published by the ROC's Government information Office (GIO). The relevant articles give no indication whatsoever that a concensus on the One China issue was achieved. The following table lists the headlines of those articles which are shown with their full text below.

| *Date in 1992* | *FCJ headline* | *FCJ page* |
|---|---|---|
| Oct. 28 (Wed) | [News Briefs] | 1 |
| Oct. 30 (Fri) | SEF, ARATS make slow headway | 2 |
| Nov. 3 (Tue) | 'One China' issue derails talks | 2 |
| Nov. 6 (Fri) | Mainland intransigence halts progress between SEF, ARATS | 2 |
| Nov. 10 (Tue) | Mainland wrecks document talks | 2 |

It should be noted that an SEF-ARATS summit between SEF Chairman Koo Chen-fu 辜振甫 (1917-2005, Taiwan) and ARATS Chairman Wang Daohan 汪道涵 (1915-2005, Anhui) took place in 1993 (April 27–29) in Singapore. That meeting was covered by FCJ as well, and in its articles the paper reported the breakthrough that was indeed reached during the 1993 summit.

| *Date in 1993* | *FCJ headline* | *FCJ page* |
|---|---|---|
| April 27 (Tue) | Cross-Straits Koo-Wang talks begin | 1 |
| " | SEF, ARATS begin historic meeting | 2 |
| " | DPP group in Singapore to monitor Koo-Wang talks | 2 |
| April 30 (Fri) | Historic meeting produces 4 agreements | 1 |
| " | Outcome of Koo-Wang talks | 2 |
| " | Cross-Straits conference talk of the town in Taiwan | 2 |
| " | Bridging the cross-Straits gap | 6 |
| " | Sorry, it's a little early yet for talks on unification | 6 |
| " | Shadow of politics haunts talks | 7 |
| May 4 (Tue) | Koo-Wang talks dawn of new era of negotiation | 1 |
| " | ROC mainland policy unchanged | 2 |
| " | No mainland investment accord | 3 |
| May 7 (Fri) | President Lee stresses Taipei, Peking equal | 2 |
| May 11 (Tue) | Poll indicates public is changing attitude toward cross-Straits links | 2 |
| " | Calling all mainland experts | 6 |

The contrast in the FCJ coverage of the 1992 Hong Kong meeting to the 1993 Singapore meeting is striking. As the ROC government had no reason to conceal a breakthrough in cross-strait negotiations, the FCJ coverage of the 1992 Hong Kong meeting serves as further evidence that no consensus was reached and the meeting was in fact a complete failure that yielded no results.

## FULL TEXTS OF RELEVANT ARTICLES (1992 AND 2006)

The Free China Journal

**———1992, October 28 (Wednesday)———**

Vol. IX, No. 79

News Briefs

Long-halted talks between counterpart organizations on the two sides of the Taiwan Straits are apparently on the verge of picking up once again.

Taiwan's Straits Exchange Foundation and mainland China's Association for Relations Across the Taiwan Straits will return to the discussion table Oct. 28. The two-day meeting will take place in Hong Kong, with the SEF delegation headed by Legal Services Department Director Shi Hwei-yow (許惠祐).

Cross-Straits document verification is expected to be the main focus. Negotiators are reportedly hopeful of working out the details for a future agreement on procedures for verifying the documents that Taiwan and mainland residents need to send to the opposite side.

**———1992, October 30 (Friday)———**

# SEF, ARATS make slow headway

By Tammy C. Peng

*Staff Writer*

Negotiations between Taiwan and mainland China intermediary agencies finally resumed in Hong Kong this week.

Representatives of Taiwan's Straits Exchange Foundation met with their counterparts of the mainland's Association for Relations Across the Taiwan Straits Oct. 28-29.

The second bilateral conference this year, however, has apparently reached a deadlock over the "one China" issue.

As in past meetings between SEF and ARATS, a problem emerged when the mainland representatives insisted on first discussing the principle of "one China", and including those words in all agreements to be signed between the two sides.

According to ARATS' Chou Ning (周寧), all matters between the two agencies are "internal affairs of China".

SEF has rejected the proposal, saying that the discussion of purely general affairs should not involve political principles.

Shi Hwei-yow, head of the SEF delegation, said that there is no "logical connection" between the two organizations' affairs and the political interpretation of the "one China" principle.

Besides, Shi said, President Lee Teng-hui (李登輝), Premier Hau Pei-tsun (郝柏村) and the National Unification Council have all made the ROC government's stand on the "one China" principle sufficiently clear.

The NUC in August of this year formally adopted the "one China" principle as follows: "One China refers to the Republic of China that has existed since 1912, with de jure sovereignty over all of China."

However, the ROC's current jurisdiction covers only Taiwan, Penghu, Kinmen and Matsu, said the NUC. "Taiwan is part of China, and the Chinese mainland is a part of China as well."

SEF had hoped to resume the talks that ended fruitlessly in March, when the two sides failed to reach agreement on ways of handling the verification of documents and indirect registered mail. SEF had also hoped to reach an agreement with ARATS at the Hong Kong meeting on a framework for handling similar cases in the future.

The two-day conference, however, made little progress in formulating measures to speed up the often heavy work required in arranging people-to-people exchanges across the Straits.

The two organizations did reach agreement on a few matters. Both sides agreed to act as liaisons between their respective official agencies, such as post offices and municipal authorities.

In addition, the two offices expanded the categories of documents handled from three to seven. People of both sides may soon ask for verification of inheritance, marriage, adoption, identity, birth, tax and academic degrees. SEF also accepted ARATS' proposal of collecting a fee of at least US$40 per service.

**———1992, November 3 (Tuesday)———**

# 'One China' issue derails talks

***SEF, ARATS fail to unravel document verification imbroglio***

By Tammy C. Peng

*Staff Writer*

An extended meeting between representatives of Taiwan's Straits Exchange Foundation and its mainland counterpart was suspended last week with the two sides reaching little agreement.

The Hong Kong conference between SEF and the Association for Relations Across the Taiwan Straits failed to reach an accord on ways of verifying documents that are necessary for processing Taiwan-mainland non-official exchanges.

In spite of the setback, SEF representatives are staying on in Hong Kong until Nov. 4, hoping to begin another round of talks with ARATS.

SEF and ARATS are private organizations established in 1991 to handle matters related to people-to-people exchanges between the two sides of the Taiwan Straits. The Republic of China government on Taiwan currently prohibits any official contacts with the Chinese Communist regime in the mainland.

An important element of the exchanges is the verification of documents that is often required to process entry and exit permits for residents of both sides, in particular those applying to enter Taiwan.

The Hong Kong meeting, originally scheduled for Oct. 28-29, was aborted when ARATS representatives insisted on discussing the principle of "one China". They also wanted the phrase incorporated in all agreements to be signed by the two agencies.

SEF delegates said that the meeting was not the proper venue to discuss politics.

SEF head delegate Shi Hwei-yow said he sees no "logical connection" between the two organizations' general goals and the political interpretation of "one China".

However, when ARATS representatives insisted on pushing the issue, saying that all matters between the two agencies are "internal affairs of China", Shi was forced to respond by citing the "one China" principle upheld by the ROC government.

Shi said that "one China" refers to the ROC that has existed since 1912 but was only temporarily divided in 1949. Shi explained that because of the event in 1949, "one China" now hat two "equal political entities" represented by both the ROC government in Taipei and the Chinese Communist regime in Peking.

Such definition of "one China" is also the "bottom line" that the ROC government is prepared to accept in any talks on Taiwan-mainland exchanges, said Ma Ying-jeou (**馬英九**), spokesman of the ROC Mainland Affairs Council.

Chen Jung-chieh (**陳榮傑**), SEF secretary-general, said that despite the suspension of the formal meeting, the decision of the SEF representatives to remain in Hong Kong proved that the ROC was "sincere in seeking a satisfactory end to the talks".

The ARATS delegation returned to the mainland on Nov. 1, indicating that the group has no intention of continuing the negotiations with SEF.

Chou Ning, head representative of ARATS, suggested upon his departure that if any new talks are to be held, they should either be in Peking, Taipei, Amoy or Kinmen.

**———1992, November 6 (Friday)———**

# Mainland intransigence halts progress between SEF, ARATS

By Tammy C. Peng
*Staff Writer*

The much publicized meeting between Taiwan and mainland China liaison agencies yawned to a close Nov. 4, having achieved little toward advancing interest of the people they represent.

Negotiators from Taiwan's Straits Exchange Foundation and the mainland's Association for Relations Across the Taiwan Straits gathered in Hong Kong Oct. 28 to iron out ways to improve civilian matters. High on the agenda was a method for verifying the documents necessary in cross-Straits non-official exchanges.

The meeting ended prematurely when ARATS representatives insisted on switching from private sector concerns to the political arena to discuss how the Chinese Communists and the ROC government interpret the "one China" principle.

The mainland delegation returned home Nov. 1, as SEF representatives stayed on in Hong Kong hoping the negotiations would resume. On Nov. 4, it became clear that the latest round of SEF-ARATS talks had definitely closed when an ARATS representative informed the mainland's China News Service that the meeting was "officially over".

A meeting in March by the counterpart organizations had the same fruitless scenario, with the two sides unable to sign an accord.

The report tried to blame the latest breakdown on SEF, claiming the Taiwan group had "twisted" ARATS' intentions regarding discussing the "one China" principle.

SEF's head delegate, Shi Hwei-yow, had told his ARATS counterpart that the meeting was not the proper venue for discussing politics. He had said he saw no "logical connection" between the founding goals of the two private sector organizations and political interpretations of the term "one China".

SEF, a private agency established last year, has been commissioned by the ROC government to handle affairs related to people-to-people exchanges between Taiwan and the mainland.

**———1992, November 10 (Tuesday)———**

'Political blackmail' charged

# Mainland wrecks document talks

By Tammy C. Peng
*Staff writer*

The Chinese Communists' political intent and lack of sincerity were the two main stumbling blocks to the success of a recent meeting between the two Chinese intermediary agencies, the ROC's Mainland Affairs Council said in a statement Nov. 6.

The MAC, which oversees all matters related to Taiwan-mainland China exchanges, condemned the Chinese Communist authorities for resorting to extraneous matters, resulting in the collapse of the talks.

The Oct. 28-30 conference in Hong Kong over document verification between Taiwan's Straits Exchange Foundation and the mainland's Association for Relations Across the Taiwan Straits ended without any agreement after mainland representatives persisted on discussing political matters.

MAC said that issues involving document verification are general affairs that the two agencies can tackle without touching on political issues.

"The Chinese Communists attempted to achieve a breakthrough of their so-called 'one country, two systems' tactics by insisting on discussing the 'one China' principle," MAC said. "It was an obvious cover-up of a political blackmail," MAC added.

Offering a word of comfort to the SEF delegation, Premier Hau Pei-tsun said people should not have high hopes in any negotiations with the Chinese Communists.

Negotiations are often used by the Chinese Communists to achieve political ends, Hau said. Therefore, inconclusive negotiations are not failures, he added.

The meeting in Hong Kong between representatives of SEF and ARATS was the second time this year aimed at ironing out ways to improve civilian matters, particularly the verification of documents necessary in cross-Straits non-official exchanges.

The scheduled two-day meeting, which SEF had proposed to last at least four days, was extended by an extra half-day after the two sides were close to reaching an agreement. However, no specific conclusions were made, and the ARATS delegation left Hong Kong Nov. 1.

Hoping to resume the discussions with their mainland counterparts, SEF representatives stayed on in the British colony and left on Nov. 5, when it became apparent that the talks were unlikely to reopen.

According to the Chinese Communist media, ARATS has said that the meeting with SEF was "officially over". They also proposed another conference either in Taiwan or in the mainland.

The MAC statement strongly criticized the insincerity of ARATS and its want of authority from the Chinese Communists to discuss pertinent matters out of the open.

MAC said that general affairs and technicalities are problems that should be solved "immediately", adding that the time for political negotiations are "not yet ripe".

"Even though the Hong Kong meeting has ended, the problems have not disappeared", said MAC. It urged ARATS to return to the negotiation table at the same venue. "The door to negotiation should not be closed", the statement said.

SEF is a private organization authorized by the ROC government to handle affairs related to people-to-people exchanges between Taiwan and the mainland. SEF has no authority to discuss political issues, whether with private or official mainland representatives.

Mainland authorities were reported to be eager to reopen negotiations for a proposed meeting between SEF Chairman Koo Chen-fu (辜振甫) and ARATS Chairman Wang Tao-han (汪道涵), but the time and venue have still to be agreed on. The much publicized proposed conference would be the highest-level contact between non-officials of the two sides.

**———2006, February 22———**

TAIPEI 台北時報 TIMES

# Su Chi admits the '1992 consensus' was made up

By Shih Hsiu-chuan
STAFF REPORTER
Wednesday, Feb 22, 2006, Page 3

Chinese Nationalist Party (KMT) Legislator Su Chi (蘇起) yesterday admitted that he made up the term "1992 consensus" in 2000, before the KMT handed over power to the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP).

Su said he invented the term in order to break the cross-strait deadlock and alleviate tension.

"[Then president] Lee Teng-hui (李登輝) was not in the know when the term was invented. Lee found out about it later from the newspaper, but he never mentioned later that it was improper," said Su, who was chairman of the Mainland Affairs Council at the time.

Su made the remarks yesterday in response to Lee who, during a Taiwan Solidarity Union seminar on Monday, said that the so-called "1992 consensus" was a fiction.

"Little monkey boy's trying to make up history," Lee said of Su, daring him to respond on the matter.

When asked by reporters for a response yesterday, Su said he did invent the term, which was meant to encourage observers to think that "each side has its own interpretation on the meaning of 'one China.'"

The term "1992 consensus" is controversial. The KMT has insisted on the existence of a "consensus" between Taiwan and China during a meeting in Hong Kong in November 1992 that both sides should adhere to the "one China" principle.

Since the term appeared, however, the DPP government has insisted that no such consensus existed.

Stating that "no consensus" was reached on the definition of "one China" during the 1992 meeting, President Chen Shui-bian (陳水扁) has said that the "1992 meeting" would be a more appropriate term to describe the conference in Hong Kong.

Su said he made up the term "1992 consensus" as a replacement for the expression "each side with its own interpretation" in order to benefit cross-strait development.

"The wording 'each side with its own interpretation' of the 'one China' principle had been used from 1992 to 2000. But China didn't like the 'each side with its own interpretation' part and the DPP government didn't like the part that said 'one China,'" Su said.

"On account of these differences and the fact they could have led to more cross-strait tension after the DPP took power, I suggested the new term as a common point that was acceptable to both sides so that Taiwan and China could keep up cross-strait exchanges," he said.

Su said he initially thought the term could contribute to a resumption of cross-strait negotiations and did not think that it would be unacceptable to the DPP government.

*http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/taiwan/archives/2006/02/22/2003294106*
*http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/taiwan/print/2006/02/22/2003294106*

The China Post 英文中國郵報

# Su Chi admits creating 'consensus of 1992'

Wednesday, February 22, 2006
The China Post staff

Kuomintang lawmaker Su Chi admitted yesterday what is known as the "consensus of 1992" is his own handiwork, as former President Lee Teng-hui said it was.

Lee said Sunday he never knew there is any consensus of 1992 and charged Su with creating that non-existent unsigned agreement between Taipei and Beijing.

However, there exists what amounts to a bout de papier or aide memoire type agreement between the Straits Exchange Foundation and the Association of Relations across the Taiwan Strait in 1992.

As an aide memoire, it was unsigned but dated and typed on the paper with the titles of the two quasi-government organizations charged with the conduct of "unofficial" relations between Taiwan and China.

Had it been a bout de papier, it would have been typed on "just paper" and undated.

But the agreement per se is not typed on one piece of paper. Rather the two organizations exchanged their aides memoire to complete the agreement, under which Taipei and Beijing both accept one China whose connotation can be individually and orally stated.

This agreement was characterized by Su, then chairman of the Mainland Affairs Council, as the principle of "one China with different interpretations."

China did not contest his characterization, however.

"I tried what I could to come up with a solution to the imminent impasse between Taipei and Beijing right after President Chen Shui-bian's election in 2000," Su recalled.

Su knew President Chen would never accept the principle of one China with different interpretations. He also knew he had to do something to prevent the stalemate.

"That's why I decided to repack the principle of 'one China with different interpretations in the consensus of 1992," Su pointed out.

He said he did not tell President Lee of his decision and went ahead with the announcement of his creation. "President Lee did not know beforehand," he continued, "and he came to know only after reading the newspaper."

"But," Su pointed out, "President Lee did not complain."

Lee is now complaining Su was trying to "create history."

Under that aide memoire agreement, C.F. Koo, SEF chairman, met his Chinese counterpart Wang Daohan twice in 1993 and 1998 to sign agreements to solve "issues of technicalities" between Taiwan and China. Koo went to see Chinese President Jiang Zeming in Beijing after his meeting with Wang in Shanghai in 1998.

On the other hand, Su said the consensus of 1992 sounds better and is of more use to the ruling Democratic Progressive Party than the principle of one China with different interpretations.

"Well," the Kuomintang legislator said, "the consensus of 1992 makes it possible for Taipei to differently 'interpret' one China."

Beijing wants dialogue with Taipei in accordance with the consensus of 1992.

However, China now insists on the principle of one China whose connotation can be individually and orally stated. The change came about after James Soong, chairman of the People First Party, met and talked with Hu Jintao, Chinese president, in Beijing in May last year.

*http://www.chinapost.com.tw/news/2006/02/22/77447/Su-Chi.htm*
*http://www.chinapost.com.tw/print/77447.htm*

## DRAMATIS PERSONAE

### For Taiwan/ROC

Chen Jung-chieh/Chen Rong-jye **陳榮傑** *[Chen Rongjie]* (b. 1943, Taiwan), SEF secretary-general 1992–1993

Chen Shui-bian **陳水扁** (b. 1950, Taiwan), member of the ROC Legislative Yuan 2/1993—12/1994, Taipei mayor 12/1994—12/1998, ROC president 5/2000—5/2008

Hau Pei-tsun **郝柏村** *[Hao Bocun]* (1919-2020, Jiangsu), ROC premier 6/1990—2/1993; Chief of General Staff [CGS] 12/1981—12/1989, Minister for National Defense 12/1989—6/1990

Koo Chen-fu **辜振甫** *[Gu Zhenfu]* (1917-2005, Taiwan), SEF chairman 11/1990—1/2005

Lee Teng-hui **李登輝** *[Li Denghui]* (1923-2020, Taiwan), ROC president 1/1988—5/2000; Taipei mayor 6/1978—12/1981, Taiwan provincial governor 12/1981—5/1984

Ma Ying-jeou **馬英九** *[Ma Yingjiu]* (b. 1950, Hong Kong/Hunan), 1992 MAC spokesman; head of Research, Development and Evaluation Commission [RDEC] 7/1988—6/1991, Minister of Justice 2/1993—6/1996, Taipei mayor 12/1998—12/2006, ROC president since 5/2008

Shi Hwei-yow/Syu Huei-you **許惠祐** *[Xu Huiyou]* (b. 1952, Taiwan), leader of the SEF delegation in Hong Kong in 1992; head of Coast Guard Administration [CGA] 5/2004—1/2006, head of the National Security Bureau [NSB] 2/2007—5/2008, SEF secretary-general 1998–2004

Su Chi **蘇起** *[Su Qi]* (b. 1949, Taiwan), deputy director of the KMT's Department of Mainland Affairs in 1992; director-general of the Government Information Office [GIO] 6/1996—5/1997, MAC chairman 2/1999—5/2000, member of the ROC Legislative Yuan 2/2005—1/2008, secretary-general of National Security Council 5/2008—2/2010

### For China/PRC

Wang Daohan **汪道涵** (1915-2005, Anhui), ARATS chairman 1991–2005; Shanghai mayor 1981–1985

Zhou Ning/Chou Ning **周寧** (b. 1960, Beijing), leader of the ARATS delegation in Hong Kong 1992

## ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS FILE

| | |
|---|---|
| ARATS | Association for Relations Across the Taiwan Straits———*haixia liang'an guanxi xiehui* **海峽兩岸關係協會**/*haixiehui* **海協會** |
| CGA | Coast Guard Administration———*xingzhengyuan hai'an xunfangshu* **行政院海岸巡防署**/*haixunshu* **海巡署** |
| CGS | Chief of General Staff———*guofangbu canmou zongzhang* **國防部參謀總長** |
| DPP | Democratic Progressive Party———*minzhu jinbudang* **民主進步黨**/*minjindang* **民進黨** |
| FCJ | Free China Journal———*ziyou Zhongguo jishibao* **自由中國紀事報** |
| GIO | Government Information Office———*xingzhengyuan xinwenju* **行政院新聞局** |
| KMT | Kuomintang / Chinese Nationalist Party———*Zhongguo guomindang* **中國國民黨**/*guomindang* **國民黨** |

| | |
|---|---|
| MAC | Mainland Affairs Council———*xingzhengyuan dalu weiyuanhui* 行政院大陸委員會/*luweihui* 陸委會 |
| N/A | not available———*buxiang* 不詳/不祥 |
| NSB | National Security Bureau———*guojia anquanju* 國家安全局/*guoanju* 國安局 |
| NUC | National Unification Council———*guojia tongyi weiyuanhui* 國家統一委員會 |
| PRC | People's Republic of China———*Zhonghua renmin gongheguo* 中華人民共和國 |
| RDEC | Research, Development and Evaluation Commission———*xingzhengyuan yanjiu fazhan kaohe weiyuanhui* 行政院研究發展考核委員會/*yankaohui* 研考會 |
| ROC | Republic of China———*Zhonghua minguo* 中華民國 |
| SEF | Straits Exchange Foundation———*haixia jiaoliu jijinhui* 海峽交流基金會/*haijihui* 海基會 |

## FCJ NEWSPAPER CLIPPINGS OCTOBER/NOVEMBER 1992

**On the following pages, the FCJ clippings are shown in their original form.**

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Vol. IX No. 79

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2 The Free China Journal ■ October 30, 1992

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*Staff Writer*

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SEF head delegate Shi Hwei-yow said he sees no "logical connection" between the two organizations' general goals and the political interpretation of "one China."

However, when ARATS representatives insisted on pushing the issue, saying that all matters between the two agencies are "internal affairs of China," Shi was forced to respond by citing the "one China" principle upheld by the ROC government.

Shi said that "one China" refers to the ROC that has existed since 1912 but was only temporarily divided in 1949. Shi explained that because of the event in 1949, "one China" now has two "equal political entities" represented by both the ROC government in Taipei and the Chinese Communist regime in Peking.

Such definition of "one China" is also the "bottom line" that the ROC government is prepared to accept in any talks on Taiwan-mainland exchanges, said Ma Ying-jeou, spokesman of the ROC Mainland Affairs Council.

Chen Jung-chieh, SEF secretary-general, said that despite the suspension of the formal meeting, the decision of the SEF representatives to remain in Hong Kong proved that the ROC was "sincere in seeking a satisfactory end to the talks."

The ARATS delegation returned to the mainland on Nov. 1, indicating that the group has no intention of continuing the negotiations with SEF.

Chou Ning, head representative of ARATS, suggested upon his departure that if any new talks are to be held, they should either be in Peking, Taipei, Amoy or Kinmen.

<Fri, Nov. 6, 1992>

# Mainland intransigence halts progress between SEF, ARATS

**By Tammy C. Peng**
*Staff Writer*

The much-publicized meeting between Taiwan and mainland China liaison agencies yawned to a close Nov. 4, having achieved little toward advancing the interests of the people they represent.

Negotiators from Taiwan's Straits Exchange Foundation and the mainland's Association for Relations Across the Taiwan Straits gathered in Hong Kong Oct. 28 to iron out ways to improve civilian matters. High on the agenda was a method for verifying the documents necessary in cross-Straits non-official exchanges.

The meeting ended prematurely when ARATS representatives insisted on switching from private sector concerns to the political arena to discuss how the Chinese Communists and the ROC government interpret the "one China" principle.

The mainland delegation returned home Nov. 1, as SEF representatives stayed on in Hong Kong hoping the negotiations would resume. On Nov. 4, it became clear that the latest round of SEF-ARATS talks had definitely closed when an ARATS representative informed the mainland's China News Service that the meeting was "officially over."

A meeting in March by the counterpart organizations had the same fruitless scenario, with the two sides unable to sign an accord.

The report tried to blame the latest breakdown on SEF, claiming the Taiwan group had "twisted" ARATS' intentions regarding discussing the "one China" principle.

SEF's head delegate, Shi Hwei-yow, had told his ARATS counterpart that the meeting was not the proper venue for discussing politics. He had said he saw no "logical connection" between the founding goals of the two private sector organizations and political interpretations of the term "one China."

SEF, a private agency established last year, has been commissioned by the ROC government to handle affairs related to people-to-people exchanges between Taiwan and the mainland.

<Tue, Nov. 10, 1992>

*'Political blackmail' charged*

# Mainland wrecks document talks

**By Tammy C. Peng**
*Staff Writer*

The Chinese Communists' political intent and lack of sincerity were the two main stumbling blocks to the success of a recent meeting between the two Chinese intermediary agencies, the ROC's Mainland Affairs Council said in a statement Nov. 6.

The MAC, which oversees all matters related to Taiwan-mainland China exchanges, condemned the Chinese Communist authorities for resorting to extraneous matters, resulting in the collapse of the talks.

The Oct. 28-30 conference in Hong Kong over document verification between Taiwan's Straits Exchange Foundation and the mainland's Association for Relations Across the Taiwan Straits ended without any agreement after mainland representatives persisted on discussing political matters.

MAC said that issues involving document verification are general affairs that the two agencies can tackle without touching on political issues.

"The Chinese Communists attempted to achieve a breakthrough of their so-called 'one country, two systems' tactics by insisting on discussing the 'one China' principle," MAC said. "It was an obvious cover-up of a political blackmail," MAC added.

Offering a word of comfort to the SEF delegation, Premier Hau Pei-tsun said people should not have high hopes in any negotiation with the Chinese Communists.

Negotiations are often used by the Chinese Communists to achieve political ends, Hau said. Therefore, inconclusive negotiations are not failures, he added.

The meeting in Hong Kong between representatives of SEF and ARATS was the second time this year aimed at ironing out ways to improve civilian matters, particularly the verification of documents necessary in cross-Straits non-official exchanges.

The scheduled two-day meeting, which SEF had proposed to last at least four days, was extended by an extra half-day after the two sides were close to reaching an agreement. However, no specific conclusions were made, and the ARATS delegation left Hong Kong Nov. 1.

Hoping to resume the discussions with their mainland counterparts, SEF representatives stayed on in the British colony and left on Nov. 5, when it became apparent that the talks were unlikely to reopen.

According to the Chinese Communist media, ARATS has said that the meeting with SEF was "officially over." They also proposed another conference either in Taiwan or in the mainland.

The MAC statement strongly criticized the insincerity of ARATS and its want of authority from the Chinese Communists to discuss pertinent matters out in the open.

MAC said that general affairs and technicalities are problems that should be solved "immediately," adding that the time for political negotiations are "not yet ripe."

"Even though the Hong Kong meeting has ended, the problems have not disappeared," said MAC. It urged ARATS to return to the negotiating table at the same venue. "The door to negotiation should not be closed," the statement said.

SEF is a private organization authorized by the ROC government to handle affairs related to people-to-people exchanges between Taiwan and the mainland. SEF has no authority to discuss political issues, whether with private or official mainland representatives.

Mainland authorities were reported to be eager to reopen negotiations for a proposed meeting between SEF Chairman Koo Chen-fu and ARATS Chair-man Wang Tao-han, but the time and venue have still to be agreed on. The much publicized proposed conference would be the highest-level contact between non-officials of the two sides.

## ABOUT THIS FILE

File name: WTFpdf10.pdf
Compiled by Tilman Aretz 艾天望 (www.taiwan-database.net)
A **WONDERFUL TAIWAN FORUM** publication
File first posted online on Thu, Feb. 18, 2010
File last edited/updated on Mon, Sept. 20, 2021