

# The Taiwan Question and China's Reunification in the New Era

## 台湾问题与新时代中国统一事业

The People's Republic of China  
The Taiwan Affairs Office of the State Council and  
The State Council Information Office

中华人民共和国  
国务院台湾事务办公室  
国务院新闻办公室

August 2022  
2022年8月

### Preamble

Resolving the Taiwan question and realizing China's complete reunification is a shared aspiration of all the sons and daughters of the Chinese nation. It is indispensable for the realization of China's rejuvenation. It is also a historic mission of the Communist Party of China (CPC). The CPC, the Chinese government, and the Chinese people have striven for decades to achieve this goal.

The 18th National Congress of the CPC in 2012 heralded a new era in building socialism with Chinese characteristics. Under the strong leadership of the CPC Central Committee with Xi Jinping at the core, the CPC and the Chinese government have adopted new and innovative measures in relation to Taiwan. They have continued to chart the course of cross-Straits relations, safeguard peace and stability across the Taiwan Straits, and promote progress towards national reunification. However, in recent years the Taiwan authorities, led by the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), have redoubled their efforts to divide the country, and some external forces have tried to exploit Taiwan to contain China, prevent the Chinese nation from achieving complete reunification, and halt the process of national rejuvenation.

The CPC has united the Chinese people and led them in fulfilling the First Centenary Goal of building a moderately prosperous society in all respects as scheduled, and in embarking on a new journey towards the Second Centenary Goal of building China into a modern socialist country.

The Chinese nation has achieved a historic transformation from standing upright to becoming prosperous and growing in strength, and national rejuvenation is driven by an unstoppable force. This marks a new starting point for reunification.

The Chinese government has published two previous white papers on Taiwan. One was The Taiwan Question and Reunification of China in August 1993, and the other was The One-China Principle and the Taiwan Issue in February 2000. These two white papers provided a comprehensive and systematic elaboration of the basic principles and policies regarding the resolution of the Taiwan question. This new white paper is being released to reiterate the fact that Taiwan is part of China, to demonstrate the resolve of the CPC and the Chinese people and their commitment to national reunification, and to emphasize the position and policies of the CPC and the Chinese government in the new era.

### 前言

解决台湾问题、实现祖国完全统一，是全体中华儿女的共同愿望，是实现中华民族伟大复兴的必然要求，是中国共产党矢志不渝的历史任务。中国共产党、中国政府和中国人民为此进行了长期不懈的努力。

中共十八大以来，中国特色社会主义进入新时代。在以习近平同志为核心的党中央坚强领导下，中国共产党和中国政府积极推进对台工作理论和实践创新，牢牢把握两岸关系主导权和主动权，有力维护台海和平稳定，扎实推进祖国统一进程。但一个时期以来，台湾民进党当局加紧进行“台独”分裂活动，一些外部势力极力搞“以台制华”，企图阻挡中国实现完全统一和中华民族迈向伟大复兴。

中国共产党团结带领全国各族人民长期奋斗，如期全面建成小康社会、实现第一个百年奋斗目标，开启全面建设社会主义现代化国家、向第二个百年奋斗目标进军新征程。中华民族迎来了从站起来、富起来到强起来的伟大飞跃，实现中华民族伟大复兴进入了不可逆转的历史进程。这是中国统一大业新的历史方位。

中国政府于1993年8月、2000年2月分别发表了《台湾问题与中国的统一》、《一个中国的原则与台湾问题》白皮书，全面系统阐述了解决台湾问题的基本方针和有关政策。为进一步重申台湾是中国的一部分的事实和现状，展现中国共产党和中国人民追求祖国统一的坚定意志和坚强决心，阐述中国

## I. Taiwan Is Part of China—This Is an Indisputable Fact

Taiwan has belonged to China since ancient times. This statement has a sound basis in history and jurisprudence. New archeological discoveries and research findings regularly attest to the profound historical and cultural ties between the two sides of the Taiwan Straits. A large number of historical records and annals document the development of Taiwan by the Chinese people in earlier periods.

The earliest references to this effect are to be found, among others, in *Seaboard Geographic Gazetteer* compiled in the year 230 by Shen Ying of the State of Wu during the Three Kingdoms Period. The royal court of the Sui Dynasty had on three occasions sent troops to Taiwan, called Liuqiu at that time. Starting from the Song and Yuan dynasties, the imperial central governments of China all set up administrative bodies to exercise jurisdiction over Penghu and Taiwan.

In 1624, Dutch colonialists invaded and occupied the southern part of Taiwan. In 1662, General Zheng Chenggong, hailed as a national hero, led an expedition and expelled them from the island. Subsequently, the Qing court gradually set up more administrative bodies in Taiwan. In 1684, a Taiwan prefecture administration was set up under the jurisdiction of Fujian Province. In 1885, Taiwan's status was upgraded and it became the 20th province of China.

In July 1894, Japan launched a war of aggression against China. In April 1895, the defeated Qing government was forced to cede Taiwan and the Penghu Islands to Japan. During the Chinese People's War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression (1931-1945), China's Communists called for the recovery of Taiwan. Talking with American journalist Nym Wales on May 15, 1937, Mao Zedong said that China's goal was to achieve a final victory in the war—a victory that would recover the occupied Chinese territories in Northeast China and to the south of the Shanhai Pass, and secure the liberation of Taiwan.

On December 9, 1941, the Chinese government issued a declaration of war against Japan, and proclaimed that all treaties, conventions, agreements, and contracts regarding relations between China and Japan had been abrogated, and that China would recover Taiwan and the Penghu Islands.

The Cairo Declaration issued by China, the United States and the United Kingdom on December 1, 1943 stated that it was the purpose of the three allies that all the territories Japan had stolen from China, such as Northeast China, Taiwan and the Penghu Islands, should be restored to China.

The Potsdam Proclamation was signed by China, the United States and the United Kingdom on July 26, 1945, and subsequently recognized by the Soviet Union. It reiterated: "The terms of the Cairo Declaration shall be carried out." In September of the same year, Japan signed the instrument of surrender, in which it promised that it would faithfully fulfill the obligations laid down in the Potsdam Proclamation. On October 25 the Chinese government announced that it was resuming the exercise of sovereignty over Taiwan, and the ceremony to accept Japan's surrender in Taiwan Province of the China war theater of the Allied powers was held in Taipei (Taipei). From that point forward, China had recovered Taiwan de jure and de facto through a host of documents with international legal effect.

On October 1, 1949, the People's Republic of China (PRC) was founded, becoming the successor to the Republic of China (1912-1949), and the Central People's Government became the only legitimate government of the whole of China. The new government replaced the previous KMT regime in a situation where China, as a subject under international law, did not change and China's sovereignty and inherent territory did not change. As a natural result, the

共产党和中国政府在新时代推进实现祖国统一的立场和政策，特发布本白皮书。

### 一、台湾是中国的一部分不容置疑也不容改变

台湾自古属于中国的历史经纬清晰、法理事实清楚。不断有新的考古发现和研究证明海峡两岸深厚的历史和文化联系。大量的史书和文献记载了中国人民早期开发台湾的情景。公元230年，三国时期吴人沈莹所著《临海水土志》留下了关于台湾最早的记述。隋朝政府曾三次派兵到台称“流求”的台湾。宋元以后，中国历代中央政府开始在澎湖、台湾设治，实施行政管理。1624年，荷兰殖民者侵占台湾南部。1662年，民族英雄郑成功驱逐荷兰殖民者收复台湾。清朝政府逐步在台湾扩增行政机构，1684年设立台湾府，隶属福建省管辖；1885年改设台湾为行省，是当时中国第20个行省。

1894年7月，日本发动侵略中国的甲午战争，次年4月迫使战败的清朝政府割让台湾及澎湖列岛。抗日战争时期，中国共产党人明确提出收复台湾的主张。1937年5月15日，毛泽东同志会见美国记者尼姆·韦尔斯时表示：“中国的抗战是要求得最后的胜利，这个胜利的范围，不限于山海关，不限于东北，还要包括台湾的解放。”

1941年12月9日，中国政府发布对日宣战布告，宣告“所有一切条约、协定、合同，有涉及中日间之关系者，一律废止”，并宣布将收回台湾、澎湖列岛。1943年12月1日，中美英三国政府发表《开罗宣言》宣布，三国之宗旨在使日本所窃取于中国之领土，例如东北、台湾、澎湖列岛等，归还中国。1945年7月26日，中美英三国共同签署、后来苏联参加的《波茨坦公告》，重申“开罗宣言之条件必将实施”。同年9月，日本签署《日本投降条款》，承诺“忠诚履行波茨坦公告各项规定之义务”。10月25日，中国政府宣告“恢复对台湾行使主权”，并在台北举行“中国战区台湾省受降仪式”。由此，通过一系列具有国际法律效力的文件，中国从法律和事实上收复了台湾。

1949年10月1日，中华人民共和国中央人民政府宣告成立，取代中华民国政府成为代表全中国的唯一合法政府。这是在中国这一国际法主体没有发生变化情况下的政权更替，中国的主权和固有领土疆域没有改变，中华人民共和国政府理所当然地完全

government of the PRC should enjoy and exercise China's full sovereignty, which includes its sovereignty over Taiwan.

As a result of the civil war in China in the late 1940s and the interference of external forces, the two sides of the Taiwan Straits have fallen into a state of protracted political confrontation. But the sovereignty and territory of China have never been divided and will never be divided, and Taiwan's status as part of China's territory has never changed and will never be allowed to change.

At its 26th session in October 1971, the United Nations General Assembly adopted Resolution 2758, which undertook "to restore all its rights to the People's Republic of China and to recognize the representatives of its Government as the only legitimate representatives of China to the United Nations, and to expel forthwith the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek from the place which they unlawfully occupy at the United Nations and in all the organizations related to it". This resolution settled once and for all the political, legal and procedural issues of China's representation in the UN, and it covered the whole country, including Taiwan. It also spelled out that China has one single seat in the UN, so there is no such thing as "two Chinas" or "one China, one Taiwan".

The specialized agencies of the UN later adopted further resolutions restoring to the PRC its lawful seat and expelling the representatives of the Taiwan authorities. One of these is Resolution 25.1 adopted at the 25th World Health Assembly in May 1972. It was clearly stated in the official legal opinions of the Office of Legal Affairs of the UN Secretariat that "the United Nations considers 'Taiwan' as a province of China with no separate status", and the "'authorities' in 'Taipei' are not considered to... enjoy any form of government status". At the UN the island is referred to as "Taiwan, Province of China"<sup>11</sup>.

Resolution 2758 is a political document encapsulating the one-China principle whose legal authority leaves no room for doubt and has been acknowledged worldwide. Taiwan does not have any ground, reason, or right to join the UN, or any other international organization whose membership is confined to sovereign states.

In recent years some elements in a small number of countries, the US foremost among them, have colluded with forces in Taiwan, to falsely claim that the resolution did not conclusively resolve the issue of Taiwan's representation. Puffing up the illegal and invalid Treaty of San Francisco<sup>12</sup> and disregarding the Cairo Declaration, the Potsdam Proclamation and other international legal documents, they profess that the status of Taiwan has yet to be determined, and declare their support for "Taiwan's meaningful participation in the UN system". What they are actually attempting to do is to alter Taiwan's status as part of China and create "two Chinas" or "one China, one Taiwan" as part of a political ploy—using Taiwan to contain China. These actions in violation of Resolution 2758 and international law are a serious breach of political commitments made by these countries. They damage China's sovereignty and dignity, and treat the basic principles of international law with contempt. The Chinese government has condemned and expressed its resolute opposition to them.

The one-China principle represents the universal consensus of the international community; it is consistent with the basic norms of international relations. To date, 181 countries including the United States have established diplomatic relations with the PRC on the basis of the one-China principle. The China-US Joint Communiqué on the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations, published in December 1978, states: "The Government of the United States of America acknowledges the Chinese position that there is but one China and Taiwan is part of China." It also states: "The United States of America recognizes the Government of the People's Republic of China as the

享有和行使中国的主权，其中包括对台湾的主权。

由于中国内战延续和外部势力干涉，海峡两岸陷入长期政治对立的特殊状态，但中国的主权和领土从未分割也决不允许分割，台湾是中国领土的一部分的地位从未改变也决不允许改变。

1971年10月，第26届联合国大会通过第2758号决议，决定：“恢复中华人民共和国的一切权利，承认她的政府的代表为中国在联合国组织的唯一合法代表并立即把蒋介石的代表从它在联合国组织及其所属一切机构中所非法占据的席位上驱逐出去。”这一决议不仅从政治上、法律上和程序上彻底解决了包括台湾在内全中国在联合国的代表权问题，而且明确了中国在联合国的席位只有一个，不存在“两个中国”、“一中一台”的问题。随后，联合国相关专门机构以正式决议等方式，恢复中华人民共和国享有的合法席位，驱逐台湾当局的“代表”，如1972年5月第25届世界卫生大会通过第25.1号决议。联合国秘书处法律事务办公室官方法律意见明确指出，“台湾作为中国的一个省没有独立地位”，“台湾当局不享有任何形式的政府地位”。实践中，联合国对台湾使用的称谓是“台湾，中国的省（Taiwan, Province of China）”<sup>11</sup>。

联大第2758号决议是体现一个中国原则的政治文件，国际实践充分证实其法律效力，不容曲解。台湾没有任何根据、理由或权利参加联合国及其他只有主权国家才能参加的国际组织。近年来，以美国为首的个别国家一些势力与“台独”分裂势力沆瀣一气，妄称该决议没有处理“台湾的代表权问题”，炒作非法无效的“旧金山和约”<sup>12</sup>，无视《开罗宣言》、《波茨坦公告》在内的一系列国际法律文件，再度鼓吹“台湾地位未定”，宣称支持台湾“有意义地参与联合国体系”，其实质是企图改变台湾是中国的一部分的地位，制造“两个中国”、“一中一台”，实现其“以台制华”的政治目的。这些行径歪曲联大第2758号决议，违反国际法，严重背弃有关国家对中国作出的政治承诺，侵犯中国的主权和尊严，践踏国际关系基本准则。对此，中国政府已经表明了反对和谴责的严正立场。

一个中国原则是国际社会的普遍共识，是遵守国际关系基本准则的应有之义。目前，全世界有包括美国在内的181个国家，在一个中国原则的基础上与中国建立了外交关系。1978年12月发表的《中美