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冷战大背景下的两岸关系与新中国
对台战略研究（1949—1978）

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冷战大背景下的两岸关系与新中国
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**Research on the Cross-Straits Relations and
The PRC's Strategies & Policies to Taiwan
in the Presence of Cold War (1949—1978)**

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厦门大学博硕士学位论文摘要库

摘要

新中国成立以来 60 余年的对台战略之发展演变史，与社会主义时期中共党史的历史分期，大体同步，也可以标志性的 1978 年中共十一届三中全会为分界点，划分为前后两个大的历史时期、前后两个“三十年”。新中国对台战略发展演变的第一个“三十年”，时间跨度为 1949—1978 年，其基本内容和主要特点为“武力或和平解放台湾”、“一国一制”；新中国对台战略发展演变的第二个“三十年”，时间跨度为 1979 年至 2008 年，基本内容和主要特点为“和平统一、一国两制”。当然，每一个“三十年”，又可以根据新中国对台战略发展演变的不同指导思想和主旨、主题、主线，以及两岸关系发展演变的基本内容和主要特点，划分为若干个小阶段。其中，第一个“三十年”，主要可以划分为 1949—1966 年（即新中国成立以后的头十七年）、1966—1978 年（即“文化大革命”十年和“徘徊中前进”的两年）两个小阶段。而由于在“文化大革命”十年和“徘徊中前进”的两年，中共的对台战略和政策，基本处于相对“停滞”时期，没有实质性、根本性、全局性的调整 and 变化，所以，以毛泽东为代表的中共第一代领导集体的对台战略和政策，其指导思想、基本原则以及具体内容等核心要素以及总框架，大体上均是由新中国成立以后的头十七年所奠定、所构建的。第二个“三十年”新中国“和平统一、一国两制”对台战略的大调整、大转型之历史基础和思想先导，也大多可以追溯于此。因此，要全面、系统、深入地梳理和阐释新中国成立以来 60 余年新中国对台战略发展演变的历史背景、历史动因、历史进程、历史脉络、历史规律、历史特征、历史影响、历史意义、历史经验，以期当前和未来一个时期两岸关系的和平发展与和平统一，提供有实际价值和意义的历史参考和历史借鉴，对于新中国成立以后第一个“三十年”新中国对台战略发展演变的科学研究与科学总结，无论如何是绕不过去的。是为根，是为本。

但是令人稍有遗憾的是，迄今为止，大陆学界关于台湾问题与两岸关系史的研究，其中相对薄弱的领域，偏偏就是新中国对台战略发展演变的第一个“三十年”，这种前期研究成果和学术积累的薄弱之处，主要体现在以下几个方面：

其一，将新中国成立后的第一个“三十年”对台战略的发展演变，单独作为

一个相对完整的研究对象、研究主体，进行专题性的整合性、综合性研究，重视不够，力度不大，不仅研究成果比较少，学术价值高、学术水平高且产生了重要影响的标志性成果更为稀缺。目前所见之已有研究成果，基本上都是条块分割的，或者在“大通史”中，将此一时段作为“大历史”下中共认识和处理台湾问题的一个历史起点和历史背景，进行粗线条的简单勾勒，而重点在于服务现实；或者在“专题史”中，将此一时段中某些重点事件，孤立地进行条分缕析式的个案解剖，过于单薄和“碎片化”。

其二，将新中国成立以后的第一个“三十年”对台战略的发展演变，与同一时期台湾当局对大陆战略和政策之发展演变直接关联，与同一时期台湾岛内政治生态的发展演变直接关联，与同一时期两岸关系的发展演变直接关联，进行“双向互动式”的比较研究，则更为罕见。目前所见之已有研究成果，基本上都是单线条、单侧面的，或者仅仅就新中国对台战略谈其发展演变，或者仅仅从“台湾史”的角度论述台湾岛内政治生态的发展演变，缺乏将此一时段新中国的对台战略有机纳入两岸关系史的大格局中进行相互呼应和普遍联系的立体性、整体性、综合性研究。

其三，将新中国成立以后的第一个“三十年”对台战略的发展演变，放置于同时代的两极对立的冷战国际史的大背景、大环境、大格局中，将“小两岸关系”（即台湾海峡两岸的国共两党关系），放置于“大两岸关系”（即太平洋两岸的中美两国关系）乃至“东西方关系”（即以苏联为首的社会主义阵营与以美国为首的资本主义阵营之两大阵营关系）总体框架中，来深入探讨这一时期的两岸关系和新中国对台战略之发展演变是如何受制于“大冷战”，反映“大冷战”，这样的研究成果，也几乎没有。目前所见之已有研究成果，基本上都是将新中国成立以后的第一个“三十年”对台战略纳入“党史”（即中共党史）或“国史”（即中华人民共和国史）研究领域、研究范畴展开的，难免欠缺一定的国际视野和世界眼光。

其四，由以上所述研究视阈、研究角度的局限所制约，目前大陆学界为数不多的关于新中国成立以后的第一个“三十年”对台战略的专题研究成果，其史料支撑均不充分，大多数都是以中国大陆方面正式出版和公开发表的相关文献资料为研究基础、研究依据，而对于“小两岸”对面——中国台湾方面的研究支撑材料、对于“大两岸”对面——美国方面的研究支撑材料，未能充分、有效地挖掘

和利用。如此，是很难还原出历史的原貌和底色的。

笔者是两岸关系的最前线——福建福州人，一直都对台湾问题抱有浓厚的研究兴趣，从博士学习阶段开始研究新中国成立后的两岸关系与台湾问题，对 20 世纪 50—70 年代的两岸关系与台湾问题研究具备一定的学术积累。那么，在目前大陆学界已经比较“热闹”的台湾问题研究潮中，如何独辟蹊径，择定一个既有一定的前期研究成果和学术积淀可供直接借鉴，同时其前期研究成果和学术积淀又相对薄弱，可以有比较大的创新和突破空间的选题，就是很纠结的一件事。在笔者博士后合作导师的具体指导下，笔者经过对台湾问题研究学术史的反复梳理，最后下定决心，在博士论文研究的基础上，将新中国成立以后的第一个“三十年”对台战略发展演变作为自己博士后在站期间的研究主体。如同前文所述，笔者注意到了在该选题领域存在诸多不尽如人意的“缺憾”之处，是为研究难点，但同时也是本选题可供自由发挥的创新与突破之处。因此，为了能够在“熟题”上做出一定的新意来，笔者将研究重点拟定在以往中国大陆学界前期研究成果和学术积淀相对薄弱环节，以期在此基础上能有所建树。当然，最主要的，就是拟在研究视阈、研究角度、研究方法方面能有比较大的创新和突破，这亦是本文撰写过程中比较明晰的针对之处。至于实际效果如何，限于本人的学术功力，亦不敢过高奢望，唯尽心尽力而已。笔者自觉比较踏实的地方，是在研究支撑材料的挖掘和利用方面——除了利用传统的中国大陆正式出版和公开发表的相关文献资料，利用中国外交部新解密的外交档案和福建省地方档案馆的相关开放档案，利用中国大陆学者已经收集整理出版的美国、前苏联方面的部分解密档案以及在中国大陆也可以直接检索查阅的美国、前苏联方面的部分数据库资料外，笔者还亲赴“小两岸”对面——台湾、“大两岸”对面——美国收集与本文研究对象有关资料，且收获颇丰。如果说本研究成果还可以有一些相对独到的见解，那么最主要的贡献就是来自多方面研究资料的支撑。

按照此一研究意旨和问题意识，本论文分为导言与正文两大部分。

导言部分：《关于 20 世纪 50—70 年代两岸关系发展史与新中国对台战略的问题导向》。主要是交待选题意旨、本选题的研究对象和研究资料支撑、本选题研究的学术史梳理、本选题的研究难点和拟创新之处、论文的研究思路与基本框架等方面的情况。

正文部分包含以下六章：

第一章：《战争阴云下的台海“围局”（1949—1955）》。本章在梳理 1949—1955 年间国际冷战环境发展演变基本态势以及两岸关系发展演变基本格局的基础上，重点阐释了新中国“武力解放台湾”战略出台和实施的历史背景、历史过程、具体内容、主要特点以及基本经验，重点解剖了中共“武力解放台湾”战略和政策对 1954 年的“台海危机”——尤其是美台“大陈岛”撤退之历史事件的重要影响。论证了新中国“武力解放台湾”战略是“和平统一，一国两制”新时期对台战略的历史起点和重要底蕴，是 60 余年两岸关系史的有机组成部分与重要内容。

第二章：《陈兵对峙与全面缓和契机的出现（1955—1958）》。本章在梳理 1955—1958 年间国际冷战环境发展演变基本态势以及两岸关系发展演变基本格局的基础上，重点阐释了新中国对台战略从“武力解放台湾”向“和平解放台湾”第一次嬗变和大转型的历史背景、历史过程、具体内容、主要特点以及基本经验，重点解剖了 1958 年“金门炮战”前后的两岸关系以及中美、中苏、美苏等大国关系的影响。得出一个重要的历史结论——新中国“和平解放台湾”战略的出台和实施，虽使原本剑拔弩张的两岸关系得以一时缓解，但是由于“小两岸关系”和“大两岸关系”的基本矛盾均没有发生根本性的变化，新中国“和平解放台湾”之战略在当时的语境和情形下，更多在于“政策宣示”层面的意义，很难获得实际成效。

第三章：《隔空较量与台海格局的基本成型（1958—1966）》。本章在梳理 1958—1966 年间国际冷战环境发展演变基本态势以及两岸关系发展演变基本格局的基础上，重点阐释了新中国“双管齐下”对台战略出台和实施的历史背景、历史过程、具体内容、主要特点以及基本经验，重点解剖了这一时期台湾当局“反攻大陆”计划失败的深层原因。论证了“双管齐下”解放台湾是新中国成立以后对台战略的第二次大调整，它构筑了以毛泽东为代表的中共第一代领导集体对台战略和政策的核要素和基本框架，也构筑了新中国成立以后头三十年两岸关系的主要特征和基本框架。

第四章：《一纪对望与两岸关系裂痕弥合的“十字路口”（1966—1978）》。本章在梳理 1966—1978 年间国际冷战环境发展演变基本态势以及两岸关系发展演变基本格局的基础上，重点阐释了“文化大革命”十年（1966—1976）与在徘徊中前进与实现伟大历史转折的两年（1977—1978）两岸关系的基本走向，以及“后

蒋介石时代”（蒋经国主政台湾期间）下台湾当局对中国大陆的战略与政策。这一时期是“解放台湾”对台战略实施的最后一个阶段，同时，它也是“和平统一、一国两制”新时期对台政策产生的萌芽期，在两岸关系发展史上尤为重要，倘若没有“文化大革命”十年动乱带来的经验与教训，新中国对台政策决不可能在短期内发生“质”的变化，两岸关系发展也极有可能陷入长时期持续隔绝对峙的泥潭。

第五章：《新中国成立后第一个“三十年”两岸关系发展演变的动因分析》。本章主要梳理和阐释了1949—1978年间影响两岸关系与新中国对台战略发展演变的国内外综合因素，主要包括内部动因（中共方面与台湾当局方面）与外部动因（美国因素、苏联因素、他国因素）。论证了新中国成立以后第一个“三十年”对台战略的发展演变，既是“小两岸”之间相互博弈的结果，也是“大两岸”之间双向互动的结果。这一期的两岸关系与新中国对台战略发展演变，既受制于冷战形势、冷战格局、冷战思维，同时又反过来反映冷战影响和冷战特色，是冷战时代政治博弈的一个“中国案例”。

第六章：《1949—1978年新中国对台战略发展演变的历史经验与现实启示》。笔者通过研究得出结论：以毛泽东为代表的中共第一代领导集体的对台战略和政策，其指导思想、基本原则以及具体内容等核心要素以及总框架，大体上均是由新中国成立后第一个“三十年”所奠定、所构建。第二个“三十年”新中国“和平统一、一国两制”之对台战略和政策的大调整、大转型之历史基础和思想先导，也大多可以追溯于此。因此，对于这一时期中共对台战略发展演变的历史背景、历史动因、历史进程、历史脉络、历史规律、历史特征、历史影响、历史意义、历史经验等进行全面、系统、深入的梳理和阐释，可以为当前和未来一个时期两岸关系的和平发展与和平统一提供有实际价值和意义的历史参考和历史借鉴。

关键词：冷战 两岸关系 中国共产党 对台战略和政策

厦门大学博硕士学位论文摘要库

Abstract

The over 60 years' history of evolution of strategies and policies of the People's Republic of China to Taiwan since its founding broadly keeps pace with those historical stages for the development of the CPC in the period of socialism. It could also be divided into two big historical stages or two "30 years", taking the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the CPC held in 1978 as the dividing point. The first "30 years" for the evolution of the PRC's strategies and policies to Taiwan covered the period between 1949 to 1978, whose basic elements and main characteristics were "to liberate Taiwan by arm force or through peaceful means"; the other "30 years" started from 1979 till 2008, during which "peaceful reunification and one country, two systems" had become the main theme. These two "30 years" could be certainly divided into several shorter time periods in accordance with different guiding ideologies, themes, purposes, mainlines as well as basic contents and main characteristics in the evolution history. As a result, two shorter periods were set up for the first "30 years", that is, the period between 1949 and 1966 (namely the first 17 years since the founding of the PRC), and period between 1966 and 1978 (including the 10-year "Cultural Revolution" and the 2-year period when the Party advanced haltingly in its work). During the period between 1966 and 1978, the PRC's strategies and policies to Taiwan entered a state of stagnation, as any practical, fundamental or overall adjustment and changes did not take place at all. Therefore, it could be concluded that, the core elements like guiding concepts, basic principles and concrete details of strategies and policies toward Taiwan for the first leadership of the CPC as Mao Zedong the representative, were generally established in the period of the first 17 years after the founding of the PRC. It could also be traced back to this 17-year period for the historical foundation and guidelines of major adjustment and transformation of the PRC's strategies and policies to Taiwan as "peaceful reunification and one country, two systems". Therefore, if we want to shape, comprehensively, systematically and profoundly, the historical background, motive, progress, context, principles, characteristics, influence, meanings, and experiences of the PRC's strategies and policies to Taiwan in the past over 60 years after its founding, for the purpose of providing practical and valuable reference and experience to the

peaceful development of cross-straits relations and peaceful reunification between the Chinese mainland and Taiwan for nowadays and some time in the future, we could never avoid doing research and drawing conclusion in a scientific way on the first 17 years' evolution of the PRC's strategies and policies to Taiwan since the founding, which are the foundation and basis.

Unfortunately, even now we are relatively weak in the aspect of the first "30 years" of evolution of the PRC's strategies and policies to Taiwan since the founding among the Chinese mainland's academic circle when we research on Taiwan issues and cross-Straits relations. Lack of solid and profound foundation for preliminary research results and academic accumulation in this aspect mainly demonstrate as follows:

I. Little emphasis has been laid on nor attention paid to considering the evolution of the PRC's strategies and policies to Taiwan in the first 17 years since its founding as a comparatively complete target for study and research in an integrated and all-around way. Subsequently, we could expect a little results in this regard, not to say even less symbolic achievements with high academic value and significant influence at a high academic level. The present achievements are either basically compartmentalized, or roughly and simply sketched while taking this period as one historical starting point and background into the "general historical picture" of the Party's reorganization and handling Taiwan issues and only served the purpose of solving practical problems, or are only careful and detailed analysis on some typical incidents in this period of history, which approves to be so weak, insubstantial and "fragmented".

II. What's more rare is to conduct the "two-way interactive" research as making direct connection of the evolution of the PRC's strategies and policies to Taiwan in the first 30 years since its founding with evolution of KMT's strategies and policies to the Chinese mainland at the same time period, with development of political environment within the territory of the Island at the same time period, and with development of cross-Straits relations at the same period as well. What we can get from the present research achievements is generally unilateral and fragmental. Either it talks about evolution only for the PRC's strategies and policies towards Taiwan, or development of political ecology in Taiwan only from the view of "History of Taiwan", both of which did not regard the evolution as an integrity and make an interactive and three-dimensional analysis .

III. Hardly any results has been witnessed as a few research have been conducted as placing the evolution of the PRC's strategies and policies to Taiwan in the first 30

years since the founding into the larger international background, environment and framework of the Cold War characterized as two-blocs confrontation at the same period, and taking the “small cross-Straits relations” (namely relations between the CPC and KMT on each side of Taiwan Straits) into the general framework of “large cross-Ocean relations” (that is, Sino-US relations across the Pacific Ocean), and even into that of the “East-West relationship” (which means relations between socialistic bloc as the Soviet Union the leader while capitalistic bloc as the US the leader), thus could discuss about how cross-Straits relations and evolution of the PRC’s strategies and policies to Taiwan were constrained by the “big Cold War” and influenced the “big Cold War” vice versa. The present acquired results basically include the evolution of the PRC’s strategies and policies to Taiwan in the first 30 years since the founding into the scope of research on “history of the CPC” or “history of the People’s Republic of China” and lack an international prospect as a result.

IV. Owing to restraints and limits of the above research visions and ranges, the present specific research achievements on the PRC’s strategies and policies to Taiwan in the first 30 years since the founding are only a few in number among the Chinese mainland’s academic circle, supported with insufficient historical materials and only based on those relevant documents and materials officially and publicly published in the Chinese mainland. The supporting documents and materials from Taiwan-the other side of the Straits, and those from US-on the other side of Pacific Ocean have not yet been tapped and utilized sufficiently and efficiently. That’s how it is difficult to restore the historical nature and foundation.

As a native of Fuzhou City, Fujian province-the forefront of on the western side of Taiwan Straits, the Author has shown strong interest in Taiwan issues all the time. However, he struggled in a dilemma. Among the current academic circle in the Chinese mainland, it has been very popular to conduct research on Taiwan issues. Under this circumstance, how he could find a unique research topic on which he is capable of taking the advantage of the existing research results and foundation for reference directly on one hand, and tries to finding more scope and space to explore and making breakthroughs because those current results and foundation are really weak on the other hand. With detailed and considerate guidance of his supervisor, after repeatedly reviewing on the academic history of research on Taiwan issues and on the basis of his research in PhD thesis, he finally determined to select evolution of the PRC’s strategies and policies to Taiwan in the first 30 years since its founding as

his research object and subject in his postdoctoral study. The meaning and value of this thesis, as stated above, is that the Author has noticed so much unsatisfying “weakness” in this research area, which are challenges for doing his own research while he could make innovation and breakthrough in the other side of view. As to do so, the Author has focused his research on stemming something new from those relatively weak existing research results and foundations. Certainly, it is really important for him to make major innovation and breakthrough in choosing unique visions, angles and methods for his research. This should be very clearer and more target-oriented. As for the actual effects, the Author does not dare expectation of success, what he only could do is just to devoted himself fully into this research. What he feels comfortable is his excavation and utilization of supporting research materials. In addition to making full use of the diplomatic files decrypted by the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs and relevant open documents in the local archives of Fujian province, and those Soviet Union and US archives collected and published by Chinese scholars, as well as some Soviet and American data and materials directly retrieved and accessed in the Chinese mainland, the Author visited Taiwan and US separately to collect relevant materials by himself, and the stays there were rewarding. Those various supporting files and materials contribute a lot to building up his original insights and views in this thesis.

On the basis of his intention and question consciousness for his research, the Author divides the thesis into two main parts, insisting of introduction and text.

The introduction, “*Problem Orientation of Development of Cross-Straits Relations in the Period between 1950’s and 1970’s*”, describes his intention for topic selection, research subject and supporting materials, review on academic history of this topic, difficulties, planned innovation, research design and basic framework.

The text includes the following six chapters:

Chapter I: “*The Taiwan Straits under Clouds of War (1949-1955)*”. In this chapter, on the basis of combing the basic trend of evolution of the international cold war environment and the basic structure of development of cross-Straits relations during the period of year 1949 to 1955, the Author focuses to explain the historical background, progress, details, main characteristics and elementary experience when the PRC drew up and carried out the strategies and policies on liberation of Taiwan by force, to explore the impacts of such “forced liberating Taiwan” strategies and policies on the “Strait Crisis” 1954, especially on the retreat by US and KMT armies from

“Dachen Island”. He argues and proves that, the PRC’s strategies and policies of “liberation of Taiwan by force” are not only the starting point and profound foundation, but also an organic component and important content to make its overall strategies and policies toward Taiwan in the over 60 years’ time.

Chapter II: *“Military Confrontation and Overall Easing across the Straits” (1955-1958)*. On examining the basic trend of development of international Cold War environment and the basic structure of cross-Straits relations between year 1955 and 1958, the Author mainly demonstrates the historical background, process, details, major characteristics and fundamental experiences for the first evolution and transformation of the PRC’s strategies and policies from “liberating Taiwan by force” to “by peaceful means”, analyzes the influencing factors on this transformation from cross-Straits relations, Sino-US, Sino-Soviet and Soviet-US relations before and after the Quemoy Bombardment in 1958. Thus, he comes to an important historic conclusion, that is, issuing and carrying-out of the “peaceful liberation of Taiwan” strategies and policies contributed to easing the tension across the Straits temporarily. But the fundamental conflicts of relations between both sides of the Straits and between both sides of the Pacific Ocean did not change at all. Under that circumstance and in that context, the PRC’s strategies and policies of “peaceful liberation of Taiwan” implied only as “policy proclamation” and hardly attain practical effects.

Chapter III: *“Confrontation and Basic Setup of Structure of Taiwan Straits (1958-1966)”*. Based on the basic trend of development of international Cold War environment and the fundamental structure of evolution of cross-Straits relations during the period of year 1958 to year 1966, the Author discusses mainly about the historical background, process, details, major characteristics and basic experiences on the PRC’s introduction and implementation of the “two-way strategies and policies” towards Taiwan, which means adopting both peaceful means and arm force to liberate Taiwan at the same time. The Author lays his emphasis on analyzing the deep-rooted reasons that the KMT Authority failed the plan in taking back the mainland during that period. He stated that the “two-way strategies and policies” are the second major adjustment in working out the general strategies and policies toward Taiwan since the founding of PRC, which had set up the core elements and fundamental structure of the strategies and policies to Taiwan for the first CPC leadership with Mao Zedong as representative, and consisted of main characters and established the basic framework for the cross-Straits relations in the first thirty years after the founding of the PRC.

Chapter IV: “*The ‘Crossroad’ of A Twelve-Year Wait and See Across the Taiwan Straits and Fissure-Healing of Cross-Straits Relations (1966-1978)*”. In this Chapter, based on the basic evolving trend of the international Cold War environment and basic structure of development of cross-Straits relations between 1966 and 1978, the Author explains the basic development of cross-Straits relations during the 10-year “Cultural Revolution”, and the strategies and policies of the Taiwan authority towards the Chinese Mainland in the “post-Chiang Kai-shek” era when Chiang Ching-kuo was the leader of Taiwan authority. This period is the last phase when huge adjustment of the Mainland’s strategies to liberate Taiwan happened. It also witnessed an embryo stage for the forming of the PRC’s policies to Taiwan as “peaceful reunification and one country, two systems”, which is of great importance in history of cross-Straits relations development. Without learning lessons and experiences from the 10-year “Cultural Revolution”, we could never expect the dramatic changes “in nature” in such a short period for the PRC’s strategies and policies to Taiwan, and no doubt both sides of the Straits would be stuck and struggled in a continuous, long-time and complete deadlock of isolation and confrontation.

Chapter V: “*Analysis on Motives & Reasons for Evolution of the Cross-Straits Relations for the First Thirty Years since the Founding of the PRC*”. In this chapter, the Author explains and analyzes the comprehensive domestic and international factors influencing the cross-Straits relations and evolution of the PRC’s strategies and policies to Taiwan during the period between year 1949 and 1978. Domestic factors occurred between the Chinese mainland and the KMT authority in Taiwan, while international factors meant those impacts from US, Soviet Union and other countries in the world. He argues that the evolution of the PRC’s strategies and policies to Taiwan in the first “30 years” since its founding was a gaming result between both sides of Taiwan Straits and the outcome from interaction between the CPC and US as well. Such evolution in this period subjected to the situation, structure and thinking of the Cold War on one hand, and on the other hand the evolution reflected the impacts and characteristics by Cold War, which it is absolutely an “Chinese case” among the political game in the time of Cold War.

Chapter VI: “*Historical Experiences from Evolution of the Cross-Straits Relations and the PRC’s Strategies & Policies to Taiwan during the Period of Year 1949 to 19678) and Its Realistic Inspiration*”. Through his research, the Author concludes that the core elements such as guiding thoughts, fundamental principles and details and

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