

Chapter IV

Taiwan-U.S Security Cooperation Strategy to Face China Reunification Policy

This chapter is going to discuss Taiwan and U.S cooperation in the security sector during the process of China reunification offers to Taiwan. Taiwan-U.S security alignment became an important strategic movement towards the political interest of both parties. In the past, during 1954 they made mutual defense treaty as a means to secure the stability in Taiwan Strait and to secure the trade of U.S in Taiwan, Japan, and South Korea. However, Chiang Kai Shek had a strategy to liberate Chinese by abusing the position of U.S in Taiwan Strait. It resulted in 1954-1955 and 1958 Strait Conflict that made U.S stance not support either China or Taipei.¹ Later, the 1954 defense mutual treaty had to change into Taiwan Relations Act in 10 April 1979.² This is the signs that Taiwan become as a strategic security allies with United States of America towards its interest in western pacific security. Taiwan also takes this chance as strategic purposes to increase political bargaining against China. This chapter will discuss the strategy of the Taiwan-U.S. alignment to face the similar threat, China reunification.

¹ Copper, 2009, *op. cit.*, pp. 189-191.

² Kan, 2008, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

The key of alliance is important for the state to maintain its power, either for their national power or foreign action. This is like what Taiwan and U.S have been doing for more than 35 years. Although Taiwan and U.S had disconnected its diplomatic ties, U.S Congress insisted that they had to maintain its part of allies in western pacific and one of option, they have to align themselves with Taiwan. This is like what Martin Griffiths and Terry O’Callaghan discuss regarding the strategy of alliance:

“An agreement between two or more states to work together on mutual security issue. States enter into cooperative security arrangements in order to protect themselves against a common (or perceived) threat. By pooling their resources and acting in concert, the alliance partners believe that they can improve their overall power position within the international system and their security relative to states outside the alliance.”³

However, Taiwan has strategic reason to be maintained as its ally by United States. It constitutes the strategic game of common enemy concept. In this condition, Taiwan and U.S have mutual enemy, which is China. The similarity of opinion at that time occurred because when TRA was established, China was still strongly in Communism ideology and was aligned with USSR which was opposed by U.S. Although U.S moved its diplomatic relation to Beijing and took advantage of this condition, Taiwan as a part of U.S alignment cannot be ignored. Nevertheless, Taiwan could use this alignment as a tool for bargaining its position for securing the relation from China.

³ Martin Griffiths and Terry O’Callaghan, 2002, Alliance. *International Relations: The Key Concepts*, p. 1.

Strategically, Taiwan needs support in the field of security. Taiwan cannot stand alone by the fact that it is surrounded by asymmetrical power, China and United States. Taiwan has to think strategically to find an ally to fulfill its needs to defend the land. Such as the strategic realism theory which emphasizes that a state which has enough military force tends to avoid mutual damage if they have similar interests.⁴ In this case, China and Taiwan have similar interests in economy, but not in political relations. Since Lee Teng Hui from the Guomintang party established the relationship with the United States, China aggressively responded to it by giving a threat over the north shore of Taiwan with ballistic missiles. During Chen Shui Bian's administration, he tended not to respond to the political cross-strait relations from China to pursue its Chinese policy of reunification. At that time, Taiwan was in an endangered situation that could disrupt the stability of Taiwan. So, Taiwan did the improvement of transformation of security cooperation to upgrade it with the United States of America in terms of facing Chinese threats by pressuring Taiwan on reunification policy.

A. Taiwan Relations Act as Policy to Strengthen Taiwan Power in Cooperation with U.S

The key of Taiwan-U.S. security alignment is based on TRA. Taiwan is promised in the Taiwan Relations Act that the U.S. by the approval of Congress and the President will conduct the protection in the western Pacific. This part will discuss the establishment

⁴ Robert Jackson and George Sorensen, 2013, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

of TRA as the substitute of mutual defense treaty with Taipei; how the bilateral cooperation is conducted; and the Taiwan proposal by U.S under TRA.

Taiwan and United States has been building its security cooperation by its mutual defense treaty. At 1950-1953, there was a break of Korean War which destabilized the situation on the western pacific, especially disrupt the stability of China and Taiwan over Taiwan Strait. Mutual Defense Treaty was very useful when Republic of China pressed Taiwan. Taiwan got protection from U.S to restrain PRC's under Mao Ze Tung force to set Taiwan free.⁵ However, after the shifting of diplomatic relations between U.S and Beijing, Taiwan also had to change its strategy to keep aligning with U.S. Later, U.S had to stop mutual defense treaty and changed it to TRA (Taiwan Relations Act) which signed by Congress and Taiwan approve it as a form of the continuance bilateral absence, especially in the security cooperation.

Taiwan almost lost the cooperation with U.S because at the beginning of act approval, there was different perspective between the views of Congress and the White House on foreign policy for China and Taiwan. When President Jimmy Carter in 1978 moved its diplomatic relations to Beijing, Senator Goldwater stated that the President must consult with Congress before abrogating the treaty.⁶ The Removals of diplomacy from Taipei to Beijing happened because U.S tried to prevent the growing strength of the USSR. U.S realized at that time that they were not able to compete in the arms race

⁵ Nicole Jentzen, 2006, China and U.S policy, *Encyclopaedia of United States National Security*, pp. 119-121.

⁶ John F. Copper, 1996, The Taiwan Relations Act the Sixteen years Record, *Vital Speeches of the Day*, p. 221.

because they lack of domestic support for military spending.⁷ Later, Congress sought to pacify relations with Taiwan by emphasizing the application of TRA. The results of the voting to determine the policy were obtained by the sound of 90 to 6 in the Senate and 345 to 55 in the House.⁸ This result was also signed by President Carter and became law on 10th April 1979. This act means that the Taiwan is recognized as nation-state according to U.S law. The alliance strategy was insisted although there was different perspective to determine the relations with Taiwan. Therefore, there are two perspectives of U.S against the sole discretion to China. First, The White House and State are more inclined towards China. Second, Taiwan was supported by Congress to continue Taiwan-U.S relationship with TRA. However, the treaty is still important as the relations have been conducted.

The idea of Taiwan Relations Act shows that Taiwan as a part of U.S interest in East Asia. Taiwan Relations Act based on Public Law 96-8 96th Congress is, “*An Act To help maintain peace, security, and stability in the Western Pacific and to promote the foreign policy of the United States by authorizing the continuation of commercial, cultural, and other relations between the people of the United States and the people on Taiwan, and for other purposes*”⁹. However, Taiwan had to lose its diplomatic ties because U.S realized that it needed to maintain the strength of its allies although they had moved the diplomatic relations into Beijing in 1978. This is the way

⁷ Copper, 2009, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

⁸ Copper, 1996, *op. cit.*, p. 221.

⁹ U.S Public Law 96-8 96th Congress, 1979, *TAIWAN RELATIONS ACT*, p. 1.

of Taiwan is supported by United States of America less with explicit in military as they did in Mutual Defense Treaty.¹⁰ Non-official relations became the key to maintain the relations between Taiwan and United States of America in maintaining the “chain” alignment in western pacific.

To keep the bilateral status, Taiwan obtain the American Institute of Taiwan as official form to conduct bilateral relations with U.S. This institute is a non-profit corporation under the law of the District of Columbia. Otherwise, the relation will be conducted by the president with similar nonprofit corporation which was designated by president itself.¹¹ Although Taiwan and U.S doesn't have official diplomatic relations, the institute is running as a subsidiary of the absence of diplomatic with U.S.

Taiwan has special privilege to conduct the bilateral relations with U.S as AIT shown in its purpose of the establishment of AIT. Within the task of AIT is conducting *“any programs, transactions, or other relations conducted or carried out by the President or any Agency of the United States Government with respect to Taiwan shall, in the manner and to the extent directed by the President, be conducted and carried out by or through the American Institute in Taiwan.”*¹² The task of AIT is to set up a program which is focused on direct relationship between heads of state. Taiwan president is able to contact directly with the U.S president. It was once undertaken by Lee Teng-hui in 1994 to visit his alma mater Cornell University which was in the

¹⁰ Cal Clark, 2010, The Taiwan Relations Act and the U.S. balancing role in cross-strait relations, [American Journal of Chinese Studies](#), 17.1, p. 3.

¹¹ U.S Public Law 96-8 96th Congress, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

¹² AIT Introduction. <http://www.ait.org.tw/en/ait-introduction.html>

framework of a reunion. Indirectly, this alludes to China and encourages the Department of State to refuse the visa for President Lee Teng-hui. However, President Clinton opened access to allow the visit of President Lee Teng Hui.¹³ By doing so, access of the Taiwan president through the AIT will facilitate direct bilateral diplomacy, despite having the term non-official diplomacy. Moreover, the top official level such as ministerial level can have an access to top officials meeting between Taiwan and U.S.

John F. Copper stated that the TRA in the future will be upgraded rather than downgraded, within his paper during explaining the sixteen years of relation between Taiwan and U.S.¹⁴ The paper was written during 90s in which the relation between China and Taiwan had been stubborn. The upgrade of TRA such as Clinton Administration could have a top officials meeting between Taiwan and U.S. Thus, it is implemented in the security and arm sales cooperation.

B. The Taiwan-U.S Arms Sales and Security Cooperation Transformation

Within the TRA, Taiwan has opportunity to protect their territory by U.S act to maintain the security. There is a specific part which mentions the willingness of U.S to provide security for the safety of Taiwanese without harming their human rights. The following are mentioned in TRA, in the *Implementation of United States Policy with*

¹³ Copper, 1996, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

*Regard to Taiwan, Section 3.*¹⁵ In this section, Taiwan will get defense articles and defense services from U.S. However, the arms that Taiwan will receive has a limit and shall pass the approval of President and Congress. Directly, Taiwan already get protection from the U.S President itself. Because, the U.S President is directed to tell the Congress if Taiwan is in danger situation or any kinds of threat that will endanger the interests of United States in western pacific.

Although mutual defense treaty had terminated, Taiwan still get arms support from U.S by the agreement of third join Communiqué. President Ronald Reagan in 1982 had released the third join Communiqué with PRC about Taiwan-U.S relations. The United States declared has not agreed to set a date for ending arms sales to Taiwan; Has not agreed to hold prior consultations with the PRC on arms sales to Taiwan; Will not play any mediation role between Taipei and Beijing; Has not agreed to revise the Taiwan Relations Act; Has not altered its position regarding sovereignty over Taiwan; Will not exert pressure on Taiwan to negotiate with the PRC.¹⁶ In the Third Join Communiqué between U.S and China, Taiwan get more support from United States as its stance for not to negotiate with China to provide arms sales to Taiwan. It means, since 1982 Taiwan has more negotiate power with China because of U.S back up in security support and reduce the arms conflict over cross-strait relations.

As the results of the third U.S join Communiqué, Taiwan received a support from the United States to gain access to get the arms. This security strategy is required

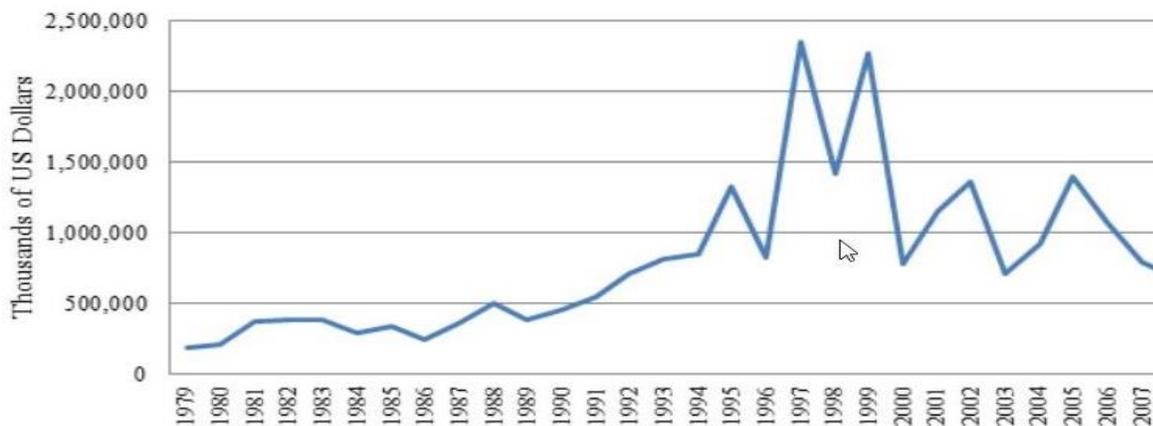
¹⁵ Public Law 96-8 96th Congress, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

¹⁶ Kan, 2008, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

by Taiwan because the prediction of possible threat in the future. The fear really happens when China threatened by sending a ballistic missile in 1996. Thus, security in Taiwan has also been enhanced by the transformation of the trade of arsenal that will be described in trading charts received by Taiwan. In the graphic 4.1, it shows the change of weapon which received by Taiwan. Thus, the threat of which had been rising, were able to be tempered by the influence of the United States and the third joint Communique was used to increase the arms support without any interfere from China.

The security relationship with Taiwan, U.S provides arm sales and enhanced capabilities. If Taiwan Needs arms sales, it requires the approval of Congress. Thus, the position of Taiwan is not completely free to get arm's needs. In addition, there is also increasing capability or the so-called "software" to complement the needs of self-defense.

Graphic 4.1 The Total Arms Sales Delivery to Taiwan (1979-2012)



Source: U.S. Defense Security Cooperation Agency, fiscal year series, 2012. Was taken from *Policy Brief Series, Taiwan Relations Act: Time for Change?*¹⁷

The arms trade had arranged by both parties which the graphic shows the amount of arms delivery to Taiwan has been increasing in the supply of weapons. As stated in the TRA that the terms of trade quantity should refer to the decision of Congress. Taiwan has no other rights to influence the quantity of the arms that they need. However, during 1995-1996, conflict in Taiwan Strait was upraised when China tried its ballistic missiles to the northern coast of Taiwan. This moment became a momentum of Taiwan that could get more support in the arms trade. Thus, there was an increase of U.S arms shipments to Taiwan. It is followed by the next trend, which there was still arms trade with the U.S for increasing the modernization of weaponry for Taiwan self-defense ability.

Apart from the defense weaponry, Taiwan also increased the military field along with US. Military improvement responded to the efforts of China which eventually threat the Taiwan Strait in 1995. This activity is likely to lead to the strengthening of bilateral Taiwan-U.S in the context of discussions on the security within the Taiwan Strait, strategic policy to be taken by the two countries, and the strengthening of human resources to carry out the defense. As noted by Dr. Huang,

¹⁷ Yeh Chung Lu, 2014, Policy Brief Series, Taiwan Relations Act: Time for Change? *Policy Brief III*, p. 5.

there are several points of security transformation in terms of cooperation between Taiwan and U.S, those are:¹⁸

B.1. High Level Visits Exchange

When a country has diplomatic relations with other countries, the two countries have the opportunity to conduct cooperation in various fields. One of them is a meeting between heads of state to visit each other, as a recognition step of the sovereignty of the countries visited. It happens as the Taiwan U.S bilateral relations. This relationship does not get the status of *de jure* in international stage. However, Taiwan is legally recognized by United States of America in Taiwan Relations Act. However, Taiwan get a *de facto* recognition by U.S.

When China implemented the One China policy, Taiwanese top official were isolated by Chinese political action which made unrecognized by international community. However, U.S makes a new approach for Taiwan to have an occasion to visit U.S for its top officials such as president or ministerial level. More than that, the top level minister could have access to U.S top officials to have dialogue or meeting. Such as Lee Teng Hui, the president of Taiwan during 1994 visited Cornell University to come in reunion, as his alma mater. China was anger by the visit of Lee Teng Hui to U.S which made them had to push U.S through department of defense for restricting Lee's visit.

¹⁸ Dr. Alexander Chieh-cheng Huang, (2010, February), *Taiwan-U.S Quarterly Analysis*, Retrieved 2016 from Brookings: <http://www.brookings.edu/research/opinions/2010/02/taiwan-defense-huang>.

President Clinton thus got a highest vote in Congress to permit the visiting visa for Lee Teng Hui.

B.2. Strategic-Level Meetings

After China sent its ballistic missile on northern shore of Taiwan, the intention to increase the strategy of defense was getting stronger. Post 1997, when the tension between both China and Taiwan were reducing, Taiwan and U.S held a meeting between its ministries of national defense to make a dialogue. This kinds of meeting was the first time between Taiwan and U.S talks about strategy which held in U.S. 'Monterey Talks', which held in 1997 in Monterey, California, U.S is a closed discussion between Taiwan and U.S to discuss about strategy for Taiwan defense system. The progress is still on going up until 2015 in Pentagon. Last year, Taiwan had sent several delegation such as Andrew Yang, which come from National Security Council (NSC) Deputy Secretary General along with officials from Foreign Ministry, Defense Ministry and Mainland Affairs Council. It discussed about the arms sales, regional stability, and threat perceptions.¹⁹ This meeting shows the transformation of sharing information about the stability of the region in bilateral discussion. The discussion has top secret level and closed from media. It is explained by Joseph

¹⁹ William Lowther, (2015, July 17), '*Monterey Talks*' slated next week. Retrieved 2016 from Taipei Times: <http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/taiwan/archives/2015/07/17/2003623240>.

Bookbinder, “Our robust unofficial relations are based on the Taiwan Relations Act. We don't discuss specific details of our interaction” from The China Post.²⁰ However, the result of this meeting could be seen by the behavior of both state from their policy to apply its strategy which has been discussed in the meeting.

B.3. Policy-Level Discussion

The policy of Taiwan has been influenced by the security partnership with U.S, directly or indirectly. Taiwan in their current position still hanged himself to a security system that had been woven together with the U.S indirectly. Arms Sales is an advantage for the Taiwan in terms of security-politics as a support for Taiwan sustainability running the governmental system. Thus, the position of Taiwan in determining the needs of national security depends on the desirability of U.S. In addition, there has been an annual meeting to discuss policy and planning issues between the Pentagon and Taiwan's Ministry of National Defense. Highest meeting is organized by the Pentagon to bring the U.S Department of Defense (DoD) and the Taiwan Ministry of National Defense.²¹ This meeting is confidential, so it will only be seen from the results of policies to be taken by Taiwan in implementing the outcome of

²⁰ Joseph Yeh, (2015, July 21), *Monterey Talks held at Pentagon: report*. Retrieved 2016 from The China Post: <http://www.chinapost.com.tw/taiwan/national/national-news/2015/07/21/441238/Monterey-Talks.htm>

²¹ William Lowther, (2011, September 4), *'Secret' cable details US talks*. Retrieved 2016 from Taipei Times: <http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/taiwan/archives/2011/09/04/2003512424>

this meeting. As the results seen in the exchange of experts for training or experts to do a review of the security plan for the needs of Taiwan. As assessment ever conducted in 1997-2001 by the Pentagon to conduct research.

B.4. Professional-Level Security Exchange

To fulfill the needs of human resources, Taiwan and U.S boost cooperation relations in the exchange of experts. One was sending experts to conduct a review of Taiwan's defense requirements. This team of experts commissioned by the U.S Department of Defense (DoD). Since 1997-2001 the Pentagon sent a team of experts to conduct a study on the security situation in Taiwan. In 1999, Taiwan received a team to check the air security system from U.S and it's reported in 2000. Thereafter, in 2001-2002 Taiwan got more visits which was done by the U.S from of Pentagon to examine the air control system, the Defense department of U.S to assess Taiwan's army, U.S military studied about Po Sheng's command and control programs, another team in November came to assess the Marine Corps about its harbor and ports.²² Professional exchanges represent an attempted overhaul and revamping Taiwan's defense system. Results from the analysis of the security of Taiwan and then report to Congress. U.S thus able to measure the possibility of an attack which will be

²² Shirley A. Kan., 2014, *Taiwan: Major U.S. Arms Sales Since 1990*, pp. 6-7.

launched by China and then anticipated through joint operations exercise or observations.

B.5. Training Observations

Other than sending some experts, military cooperation in the form of joint exercises between the two countries also conducted. As conducted in the Han Kuang Exercise annually. Han Kuang Exercise is a military training activities for a possible invasion of China. This exercise is done entirely by the Taiwan military in preparing for the possibility of cross-strait conflict. This activity has been going on since 2008.²³ U.S has a role in the training as an observer, examine operational concepts, and evaluate the performance of war fighting. Thus, Han Kuang Exercise is a joint operations conducted annual.

B.6. Military Representation

Military Liaison is a form of cooperation between Taiwan and U.S to exchange the military representative. Taiwan has sent attaché to be assigned as a military mission in 1997. U.S also retaliated to send personnel to Taiwan. However, the delivery is done in secret even though Congress explicitly approve sending military personnel to Taiwan. Since 2002 there was an exchange of active-duty military personnel with licenses issued by Congress.

²³ Lauren Dickey, 2015, Taiwan Han Kuang's Exercises: Training for a Chinese Invasion one Drill at a Time, *China Brief Volume 15, 18*.

Bush Administration appealed to Congress to legalize and give authority to assign personnel from U.S departments to AIT. This task then in effect since August 2005 in the form of civilian disguise costumes in the area of Taipei, Hong Kong is different from that using the official uniform when necessary.²⁴

B.7. Transformation of Arms Sales Procedures

Nowadays, Taiwan has new process to order the arms package since 2001 with United States of America. In 2001 the Bush Administration easing the process to make a reservation arms sales for Taiwan. Although mutual defense treaty has expired, but the sale of weapons to Taiwan continued. At first, if Taiwan wants to book the arms, it must go through Hwa-Mei Arms Sales Talks to conduct an annual review to determine the necessary weapons. By getting a new status in 2001, Taipei can order a weapon anytime.²⁵

B.8. Providing Arms Sales Packages

As the discussion at previous paragraph, that the U.S provide Arms sales as a means that Taiwan can provide self-defense ability. Detail for armaments sent to Taiwan by United States listed in the attachment of this research. Taiwan mostly provided by defense system which the data is provided in attachment

²⁴ Kan, 2014, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-7.

²⁵ Dr. Alexander, 2010, *op. cit.*

2.²⁶ The List of Arms Sales Package for Taiwan. Within the trade in 2004-2007, Taiwan and U.S made an agreement to buy the arms in \$1.0 billion but U.S delivered \$4.3 billion as a support to Taiwan arsenal.²⁷

Taiwan and U.S has changed its pattern in security cooperation during Lee Teng Hui and Chen Shui Bian administration. Patterns that change is an increase or intensity of meetings between state agencies to discuss security issues since 1997. The raising level of meetings which then produces a program called the "software". In addition to fulfill the needs of Taiwan's arms, Taiwan also supported by U.S on the role of human resources training for Taiwan security needs. Then, the human resources will be placed to anticipate the war, strategize, and has the ability to regulate the national security system of Taiwan. Although Taiwan is promised by U.S to be protected from any threat but Taiwan need to be independent on the ability of securing their own territory. It is true because U.S interest is more general to protect its interest in western pacific. Thus, the fulfillment of security for Taiwan still have the limits in the reservation of the arms and a technical strategy which is the result of a meeting between the defense agencies of Taiwan and the U.S.

²⁶ It contains the list of arms sales package to Taiwan from 1990-2007, the data was taken from Kan, 2014, *op. cit.*, p. 56-59.

²⁷ Kan, 2014, *op. cit.*, p. 2.