THIRD TAIWAN STRAITS CRISIS: N.S.C of the USA Background Guide SSICsim 2017

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<u>Abstract:</u>

As Taiwan prepares to declare independence, the United States NSC must prepare the country for further diplomatic ction to contain the situation.









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Letter from the Director



Dear Delegates and Guests,

My name is Abhinav Karmakar and I will be your Director for the Third Taiwan Straits Joint Crisis Committees this year. Helping me are my Vice Director's Neumann Hon and Daniel Liu. For some of you who are returning to SSICSim this year after having participated last year, you may recognize Neumann and I from last year's joint crisis committee *Borders*. We have decided to return in an effort to improve the joint crisis experience for you delegates and teach you about the hard power dynamics of international relations which this committee examines. Before I continue, I would like to extend a gracious Thank You to Eli White, a former Vice Director in the team who contributed greatly to this background guide.

The idea behind this year's joint crisis was to introduce you hard power dynamics in international relations. The Third Taiwan Straits crisis presented one of the best examples of the use of military force by both parties involved in order to intimidate and threaten the other side into a diplomatic settlement. In the end however, it was really the Taiwanese electorate who decided to choose restraint over rash action, by electing a new President who would not deviate from the One China Policy, which almost brought the United States at war with the world's most populous nation. For those of you who choose to study Political Science or International Relations at university, this committee should give you a good understanding of the nature of Realist International Relations and how diplomacy is actually conducted behind closed doors.

In this joint crisis, you will find that we are deviating from actual history. Instead of merely reenacting actual historical events, we have changed one major aspect, which you will find out about during the conference. As such, you will be roleplaying as the influential members of government of both the United States and China, in order to resolve this diplomatic crisis and prevent war. Or perhaps, you may end up fighting a war with each other and manage the war effort and other assorted diplomatic and humanitarian operations in order to make sure that your country emerges on top of the geopolitical balance in East Asia. Each of your committees will have a strategic objectives which will be outlined in your background guides, your committee will have to work together in order to achieve this.

I speak for our entire crisis team and on behalf of the conference when I say that I hope you have an enjoyable and educative experience at this year's joint crisis committee and at the conference as well. Our crisis team looks forward to meeting you and delivering an unforgettable experience for you.

Sincerely,

Abhinav Karmakar



General Background of Events

Basic Chronological Events during the Third Taiwan Straits Crisis:

- October 1971 The USA and Mainland China agree to the "One China Policy" which dictates that China is a single nation, not 2 nations like East or West Germany. Although China is a single nation, it recognizes that there are two governments who claim to be the rightful representative of the Chinese people, with the PRC based in Beijing and the KMT government based in Taiwan's capital, Taipei. The United States recognized the Beijing government as the sole, rightful representative of the Chinese people and no longer recognized Taiwan as an independent country, meaning it could no longer have a place the United Nations, or in the United Nations Security Council. The PRC, had taken over Taiwan's place as "China" in the United Nations
- <u>May 1995</u> United States Congress allows Taiwan's then President, Lee Teng-Hui to be given a Visa to visit the United States. The legal definition of a Visa means that they can only be given to <u>recognized states</u>, the United States had inadvertently recognized Taiwan as an independent state, which was a violation of the One China Policy in effect since 1971. As a result, the USA now recognised 2 Chinese states, rather than just the one government. (GlobalSecurity.org n.d.)
- 3. <u>July 1995</u> PRC conducts Ballistic Missile tests to intimidate Taiwan and the United States as a retaliation to Lee Teng-hui's Visa approval and to the upcoming Taiwanese Elections in which pro-independence candidates were running for office. The Chinese ballistic missiles landed 60 kilometers away from Taiwanese controlled Pengjia Islet in the Taiwan Straits.
- 4. <u>August 1995</u> Second Ballistic Missile tests conducted by China, this time the Chinese ballistic missiles landed 10 kilometers away from the Taiwanese controlled Pengjia Islet.
- 5. <u>November 1995</u> The PRC mobilises 100,000 troops for a potential invasion of Taiwan.
- 6. <u>March 1996</u> PRC conducts a third ballistic missile launch lands 40 Kilometers away from the Taiwanese ports of Kaohsiung and Keelung (near Taipei), violating Taiwanese territorial waters. Civilian trade/cargo ships in the area are affected and all ships and port stop and close down, halting almost 70% of trade coming into Taiwan
 - a. The United States deploys 2 Carrier Strike Groups to the Taiwan Straits in preparation to fight a war against China and defend Taiwan, as war becomes increasingly likely. The goal was to intimidate China in the backing down, especially as the United States Navy is the most powerful sea-faring force in the world
 - b. Taiwan holds its first democratic Presidential Elections



Taiwan, China and the United States during the Cold War:

In 1995, the Republic of China (ROC), also known as Taiwan or "Chinese Taipei" in the Mainland, decided to hold their first democratic elections. Several candidates gained prominence promising to declare independence from the People's Republic of China (also referred to as PRC, or Mainland China, or just "China"). Up until this point, the ROC functioned as a military dictatorship run by the leader of the Nationalist Koumintang (KMT) political party, Chiang Kai-shek. The KMT was the Chinese Communist Party's (CCP)'s main right-wing adversary during the Chinese Civil War (1927-1949). His death in 1975 triggered the ROC's transition into a single party state, comparable to Singapore. In 1995, the KMT was willing to risk relinquishing power to hold democratic elections. (Dieter Nohlen 2001)

The ROC was established in 1949 at the end of the Chinese Civil War. The KMT lost the war to the CCP, which took over much of the mainland but lacked the naval transportation capacity to invade and take over the island of Taiwan. The KMT, their opposition retreated across the Taiwan Straits into Taiwan (then known as Formosa). There, they began rebuilding an invasion force to retake the mainland, until the United States discretely ordered it to stop. The KMT had lost the war due to severe inflation, corruption and the failure their nationalist goals as effectively as the CCP led by Chairman Mao. With no support coming from the USA to stage an invasion, the KMT backed down and turned Taiwan into an impregnable fortress which General Douglas MacArthur referred to as the "Unsinkable Aircraft Carrier". Taiwan became a base for the United States to exercise its influence across Asia and contain the influence of Communist China during the Cold War. During the 1950s, there were two Taiwan Straits Crises before the regional tensions calmed down. Much like the third, the first two Taiwan Straits Crises (1954-55 and 1958) were fully armed conflicts instigated by the PRC to capture islands controlled by the ROC in between the Taiwan Straits.

From 1945 to 1971, the United States recognized Taiwan as the legitimate representative of China's seat in the United Nations Security Council and refused to extend diplomatic recognition to the PRC. In 1971, in an attempt to end the Vietnam War and show the Soviet Union that the USA could gain Communist allies against the USSR, President Nixon negotiated with the PRC and had China's permanent seat in the UNSC transferred from Taiwan to Communist China. Contrary to popular belief, the West and the PRC had tolerated a strong *alliance of convenience* against the USSR from 1971 to 1989.

An Alliance of Convenience is defined as an alliance in which the Allied Nations do not necessarily agree with each other, but because they have a bigger, outside threat, they put their differences aside to cooperate temporarily. The USA and China formed this type of relationship against the USSR primarily because Chairman Mao and following PRC leaders viewed the Soviet Union as a greater threat to its existence than the United States. China's distrust of the Soviet Union started when in 1969, the Sino-Soviet Split instigated an undeclared Border War in 1969, which the PRC lost against the Soviet Union. From 1971 onwards, most states rescinded official diplomatic recognition to Taiwan and recognized the PRC diplomatically. In essence, Taiwan was no longer considered a "country" by





other countries, despite essentially having all the qualities of an independent country, such as a standing army, working government, etc.

Despite the USA officially recognizing the PRC as "China" and most countries removing their ambassadors and embassy's from Taiwan, the USA continued to discretely sell weapons to Taiwan in order to defend against PRC aggression, directly against appeals by the Chinese government that these sales violated treaty agreement. In 1979, the United States Taiwan Defence Command was disbanded, and all American troops were dispatched from the island. In 1989, shortly after the Tiananmen Square Incident/Massacre, relations between the United States, the Western World and Mainland China dropped to an all-time low. By 1991, the leader of the USSR, Mikhail Gorbachev, had also returned disputed territory voluntarily to China which normalised relations between the Soviet Union and China had normalized. At the same time, the end of the Cold War had ended the Alliance of Convenience between the United States and the PRC.

After the Cold War:

The PRC's officially considers Taiwan a province of the PRC that is currently in rebellion which legally makes Taiwanese independence strictly a domestic matter which is not open to intervention from foreign states. Crucially though this is the official policy, the PRC recognizes that Taiwan is unofficially independent. The Third Taiwan Straits Crisis threatens legitimizing Taiwan's independence in direct contradiction of the One China Policy. It also threatens China's solitary command of China's clout on the International stage.

One of the promises of the Chinese Revolution of 1949 which allowed the CCP to establish the PRC and rule over mainland China was that the losses suffered during the "Century of Humiliation" (1839 - 1949) would be reversed. This included unifying *all of China* and removing Western influence from China completely as that was the main cause of the Century of Humiliation, which has resulted in Western imperialism, economic exploitation and oppression of China. The fact that Taiwan was so closely allied and protected by the United States during the Cold War, and now threatens to become officially independent and divide China, is completely and absolutely unacceptable in the eyes of the PRC and is viewed as illicit Western encroachment on China's sovereign territory. In order to deter Taiwanese independence, China had deployed 800 - 1,500 conventional ballistic missiles at Taiwan at all times. When Cross-Strait Relations (PRC-Taiwan Relations) were good, only 800 missiles would be pointed, and when they were hostile, over 1,500 missiles would be pointed. In both cases, there were more than enough missiles to destroy all of Taiwan important defence and economic infrastructure and render its army, navy and air force, useless. During the Third Taiwan Straits Crisis from 1995-1996, there were more than 1,500 missiles pointed at all times, and there were 2 ballistic missile tests which landed extremely close to the coastal shores of Taiwan in order to intimidate its voters into choosing a candidate who would not pursue independence.

Aside from Taiwan's democratic elections, another major trigger for the crisis was that Taiwan's President at the time, Lee Teng-hui, was given a visa to travel to the United States. As *visas are only*





issued by countries that have been diplomatically recognized, it implied that the United States supported Taiwanese independence, to the chagrin of the PRC (despite selling it some of its most advanced and newest weapons, something they offered only to NATO allies or Major Non-NATO Allies such as Japan and Korea), but now the USA appeared to be deviating from the One China Policy which the United States had engineered under President Nixon. This lead to the crisis which had countless diplomatic negotiations and talks and behind the scenes dinners between American and Chinese diplomats, while ballistic missiles tests were raging in the background, and as the United States moved significant portions of its fleets to defend Taiwan and deter PRC aggression. In China's point of view, this was, in international legal terms, an American occupation of their territory.

Although this committee is a historical committee, please note that in real life, the crisis had ended thanks to the votes of the Taiwanese electorate, the vast majority of whom voted for a non – independence candidate and political party. This prevented a major war in the region. For the purposes of our committee, it will take place in 1996, right after the vote which will show an alternate scenario in which the Taiwanese electorate votes overwhelmingly for independence rather than maintaining the status quo. As such, rather than ending the Third Taiwan Straits Crisis, it escalates and the threat of war is real.

The United States Congress:

Basics of Congress:

Congress is the legislative branch of the United States government, the branch that drafts and passes legislation. It is divided into two pieces, a lower piece-The House of Representatives, and an upper piece-The Senate. Legislation is first drafted in the House and if it is passed than it goes onto the senate for debate. Legislation must be passed by both houses to be adopted as law. Both pieces operate slightly differently. The House is larger with representatives being elected on a per capita basis, i.e. the more people that live in a state the more representatives it contributes to the House. The Senate only ever sends two senators from each state. For this reason the House of Representatives is meant to be more representative of public opinion, while the Senate tries to limit the effects of populism. This is a basic overview of how Congress works but more information is available in the sources below.

The Taiwan Relations Act:

The Taiwan Relations act was a compromise, in which the US recognized The People's Republic of China (PRC) as the official Chinese government, rather than Taiwan, while still giving Taiwan the privileges of a sovereign nation with the US. The US promised to continue selling munitions and other military technology though it promised not to increase the rate beyond what it was in 1979 when the Act was signed into law. Some members of Congress felt that without a Chinese guarantee not to use force against Taiwan there was a moral obligation on the side of the US to defend Taiwan if necessary, a belief that continued for some Republican members of congress up to 1995. This Act



resulted in China feeling as if it had some of it's sovereignty chipped away by the US as they were choosing to act differently to an entity that was still part of China in the eyes of the PRC.

Lead up to the Crisis:

The Third Taiwan Straight Crisis occurred during the 104th United States Congress. The Republican Party lead both the House and the Senate, often in opposition to sitting Democrat president, Bill Clinton. This was also the first time that Republicans had lead both houses since 1954, meaning that they were able to oppose Clintons proposed policies particularly well. Clinton was largely pro-China. He was the first President to allow China Most Favoured Nation (MFN) status- A deal that lowered tarrifs on goods between the two countries drastically as well as having certain import quotas- without linking it to Human Rights. Following the events of Tiananmen Square during the Bush Senior presidency, MFN renewal was contingent on tangible improvements in human rights. Because Clinton wanted greater trade with China, but they were making no improvements in human rights, he removed this condition in 1994. In opposition the 104th Congress passed the China Policy Act in July of 1995, demanding that the administration take diplomatic action to better China's human rights record. Because of this antagonistic relationship with China, it also meant that the Congress was pro-Taiwan as that went against Clinton trying to improve relations with China.

The economic relationship with China was crucial. After the cold war and Operation Desert Storm had ended, and the crippling amount of spending on weapons research and development, and the US entered the nineties with significant financial liabilities. (Boundless 2016). Opening up China to more favourable trade would mean that the US could get off of a war economy and back to a normal trade economy.

US Relations with East Asia:

The relations the US built in East Asia after World War Two are very important to their global presence. Their alliances are considered by East Asian governments as key to regional security and in curtailing any aggression from China (Breer 2010). Other allies, like South Korea and Japan, were watching America's reactions to disruption in Taiwan very closely, as if it looked like the U.S. wouldn't fulfil its promises in Taiwan, they might consider looking for another ally, like China. The Taiwan Relations Act did include provisions for the protection of Taiwan that could be interpreted as requiring the US to send military strength to repel a possible Chinese invasion though it also set out provisions for less drastic forms of coercion. If there was any attempt at blockades or embargoes the treaty also stated that the matter would "be of grave concern to the United States." (Pub. L. No.96-98, 96th Congress, January 1 1979), Furthermore, both South Korea and Japan expressed their grievances in 1971 when the U.S. proceeded to recognize the PRC, especially Japan, who had been informed of this change in policy 15 minutes before it was made. They were seriously concerned that the United States was abandoning their relations in favour of China. Therefore, if the US attempted to make peace with China even after aggression such as missile tests, it ran the risk of looking weak and apathetic in front of its East Asian allies, with the potential to lose its military foothold.

Lee's visit to the US:

Lee Teng-Hui was President of Taiwan at the time. He had accepted an invitation to go to Cornell and give a speech on the democratization process that was ongoing in Taiwan. To do this he needed a US





visa which ran contrary to the policy Clinton had set down in 1994 when he refused Lee's request for a visa. This is because Lee was travelling on Taiwanese travel documents rather than Chinese ones and granting a visa means that your nation recognizes the travel documents of the other nation. Seeing as China viewed Taiwan as a part of itself, giving a US visa to Lee would have been a grave insult. This went against the spirit set out in the Taiwan Relations Act. All of this is why the Secretary of State (Warren Christopher) promised China that there would be no granting of a visa for Lee to come to Cornell. Seeing an opportunity to impede Clintons efforts to secure a better relationship with China, Congress passed a 'concurrent resolution' asking Lee's request for a Visa to be granted. A concurrent Resolution is one that does not have the force of law behind it but it was passed 396 to 0 in the House (with 38 abstaining) and 97 to 1 in the Senate (with 2 abstaining). These overwhelming numbers convinced the State department that they had to grant Lee's request for a visa so that they didn't lose face with the public for not going along with public opinion. These actions by the US congress are what triggered the missile tests by China and the rest of the Crisis.

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Sources for Further Research:

Basics of the US congress:

http://usgovinfo.about.com/od/rightsandfreedoms/u/gov101.htm

http://guides.library.yale.edu/congress

Taiwan Relations Act:

http://afe.easia.columbia.edu/special/china_1950_taiwan.htm

A copy of the Act itself: http://afe.easia.columbia.edu/ps/china/taiwan relations act.pdf

Lee's visit to China:

http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/ops/taiwan_strait.htm



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Geopolitical Background

In 1971, President Richard Nixon shook the world when he announced the first diplomatic mission to the People's Republic of China. Taiwan and the United States had historically enjoyed positive relations for decades. In the aftermath of the Kuomintang's defeat in the Chinese Civil War and their subsequent exile to the island of Taiwan, the United States refused to recognize the PRC as the legitimate government of China. The USA continued to give legal recognition to Taiwan (Republic of China) as the official government representing all of China, despite the fact that it only controlled Taiwan and a fraction of China's total population.

This all changed under President Richard Nixon. Nixon entered talks with the People's Republic of China early in the following year. At the conclusion of these talks, both China and the United States published the Shanghai Communiqué, which, among other issues stated the United States and China's agreement on the "One China" policy. This meant that the USA transferred legal recognition to the PRC and furthermore agreed that Taiwan was no longer an "independent sovereign state", although the USA continued treating it like one.

Following Nixon's diplomatic sojourn to China, Sino-American relations improved dramatically. However, the "Taiwan Question" would prove to remain a point of contention between the two states. In particular, the United States had, over the past decades developed great political, commercial and military ties with the Taiwan. When relations with the People's Republic of China were established, these ties were interpreted to be forfeited. It was a commonly held view among American officials that, if only to maintain the credibility of American international commitments, that the *de facto* sovereignty of the people of Taiwan be respected, and that they maintain the right to choose their own destiny. (Nickles 2013)

In conclusion, the problem faced the United States, therefore, is as follows. In the aftermath of the normalization of the relations of the People's Republic of China, many of the United States' Asian allies were rattled. Japan (which was vastly irritated with the American decision not to inform them of the talks until fifteen minutes before they began) was concerned that the Americans would be abandoning them in favor of China. The Republic of Korea (South Korea) was similarly concerned that a normalization of Sino-American relations would see reduced American support of South Korea against their belligerent northern neighbor, North Korea. Although the United States took great effort to assuage the concerns of their East Asian allies that the commitments made by the United States to them remained strong, allowing China to behave in such a threatening manner towards the people of Taiwan could serve to prove that such concerns were, in fact well founded. It is imperative, then, that the United States not be seen to leave Taiwan to its fate against the People's Republic of China.

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American Policy towards Taiwan:

Both Taiwan and Japan have been dubbed by American policy makers as "Unsinkable Aircraft Carriers". This statement demonstrates the significance of American control over these strategic locations on the western borders of the Pacific Ocean. For the United States, ensuring its post-war position as the dominant military and political power in the Asian Pacific Region forms the center piece in its policy to the region. Taiwan thus forms the cornerstone of this policy as it allows the United States an unshakeable ally and staunch opponent to the growing power of the PRC. Taiwan's position enables the United States to monitor Chinese military activities in and around the South and East China Sea, giving the United States the ability to collect up to date data on Chinese military buildup. It also serves as a forward operating base for American operations in the event of conflict anywhere in East and Southeast Asia.

Taiwan not only allows the United States the ability to project its power to the Asian mainland, but also serves as a barrier to China from expanding its power projection of its own shores. To Chinese military planners, Taiwan is an essential piece of the First Island Chain, a string of islands made up from Japan to the Philippines that blocks China from expanding into the Western Pacific. This allows the United States to more easily contain the People's Liberation Army Navy (PLAN) from operations in the Pacific Ocean. This ability to contain the Chinese navy comes at a critical juncture as China begins to adopt a new naval doctrine "offshore active defence" specifically aimed at countering American naval dominance. Similarly, in other areas, the placement of Taiwan ensures the United States Air Force the ability to contain Chinese aircrafts from safe operations against any American or Allied targets, when combined with American carrier battlegroups, other US military installations, and friendly/allied units it allows the United States the ability to achieve air superiority in any given conflict. American policy towards Taiwan has been of tiptoeing the controversial issue of Chinese sovereignty while maintaining its control over a strategically important location for its power projection in East and Southeast Asia.

Citations:

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Conclusion - The Third Taiwan Straits Crisis from China's Perspective: A Trade War:

Although it is not required, it is highly recommended for members of the USA committee to read the "Japan Case Study" and "Conclusion" section of the Chinese background guide, as it will reveal extensive details about another dimension of the conflict: Access to Trade.

In short, it goes into detail about how Japan was coerced by Western powers during the 1980s to abandon its currency manipulation policies which allowed it to export cheap electronic goods (such as televisions) and cars to the United States and Europe which risked putting many domestic western electronic and car producers out of business. As a result, Western powers threatened Japan with extensive trade barriers and tariffs if it did not stop manipulating its currency, which allowed their exports to be extremely cheap. Since the Japanese constitution restricts Japan from using its military, Japan had no choice but to capitulate. This has caused massive economic problems for Japan and has stagnated Japan's economic growth, which it still suffers from to this very day.

Taiwan is an important issue for China because of Trade too. The United States Navy's primary geopolitical goal is to maintain global trade and to this that it has identified 8-10 "chokepoints" through which 90% of the world's oil and traded goods pass through. In the East Asian and South East Asian region where Taiwan lies, roughly 22% of global trade and oil passes through this region. Whoever has control of Taiwan has control over 22% of global trade, and it could be used to economically blackmail other countries by the discrete of cutting them off the global trading system. If China gain's control of Taiwan, they can control of 22% of global trade, which is important for both China and the USA since both of their economies, are heavily dependent on trade. If China gains control over Taiwan and subsequently 22% of worldwide trade, it could be used to blackmail the United States with the threat of a serious embargo or sanctions, and could drive the American economy into a long-term recession.

For more details, please read the Chinese background guide.



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Characters of the United States National Security Council

- 1. President of the United States
- 2. Vice President of the United States
- 3. Secretary of Defense
- 4. Secretary of State
- 5. National Security Adviser
 - a. See White House Chief of Staff
- 6. White House Chief of Staff
 - a. Since the WH Chief of Staff and the National Security Adviser are both advisers who would not normally have extensive powers, the President can assign them crisis powers or tasks with the Crisis Team's approval during the conference
- 7. Director of Central Intelligence
 - a. Controls CIA
- 8. Director of National Intelligence
 - a. Controls NSA/Geospatial Service/DIA etc.
- 9. Chief of Staff of the Army
- 10. Chief of Staff of the Air Force
- 11. Chief of Naval Operations



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Committee Mechanics

- 1. There will be no wiretapping or assassinations entertained by the crisis staff against another fellow committee member or against a member of the opposing committee. We are hoping to build a realistic experience for delegates, so think about your actions. The Secretary of Defense would not wiretap the Secretary of State or the President, nor would he try to send an assassin against either person for whatever reason; we do not live in the medieval ages anymore and elected officials are accountable for their actions. If such an event happened in real life, then a person this high in the government would definitely be caught, tried for treason which carries a minimum sentence of 20 years but is more likely to be given the death penalty. As such, so member of a country's cabinet or national Security Council would ever try something so foolhardy and unrealistic. Think of your character's action's in these terms: is this something they would do in real life? If not, then don't try doing it
 - a. You committees should be working together as a team to achieve your country's geopolitical goals during this crisis, as such, your action's should reflect teamwork and cooperation amongst your own committee, not wiretaps and assassinations
- 2. Presidents of both nations can be removed and replace by their Vice Presidents/Premiers. Please note that while the U.S. President can VETO any committee directive, the President of the PRC does not possess VETO power as the Chinese President has fewer powers when it comes to foreign and defense policy in comparison to the U.S. President
- 3. The timeframe of the committee will be fluid, depending on the situation that both committees are dealing with. This means we can switch from real time to accelerated time if it is required. Overall, we expect that the start of the committee to the last committee session will represent roughly 3-4 weeks in total.
- 4. The Taiwanese Government and military will be represented by Crisis, although elements of the Taiwanese military may come under the command of the U.S. committee
- 5. We may add more to this list in the future, as we cannot anticipate certain crisis mechanics until we have a test run of the committee! So stay tuned.

