

Chinese Reactions to Taiwan Arms Sales



**US-Taiwan
Business Council**



**Project 2049
Institute**

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The US-Taiwan Business Council is a non-profit, member-based organization dedicated to developing the trade and business relationship between the United States and Taiwan. Members consist of public and private companies with business interests in Taiwan. This report serves as one way for the Council to offer analysis and information in support of our members' business activities in the Taiwan market. The publication of this report is part of the overall activities and programs of the Council, as endorsed by its Board of Directors. However, the views expressed in this publication do not necessarily reflect the views of individual members of the Board of Directors or Executive Committee.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Foreword	i
Executive Summary	iii
Introduction	1
Background	5
The Arms Sales Process	7
The Taiwan Arms Sales Talks: 1982-2001.....	7
Taiwan as a “Normal” Security Assistance Partner: 2001-Present.....	9
The Theoretical Basis for China’s Opposition to Taiwan Arms Sales	11
History of Chinese Responses to Taiwan Arms Sales	15
1979-1989: Switch in Diplomatic Relations through Tiananmen.....	16
1990-2000: F-16, Conventional Ballistic Missiles and Chinese Opposition to Theater Missile Defense	17
<i>1992: F-16’s, Hawkeye and Patriot</i>	<i>21</i>
2001-present: From the Bush Arms Sales Package to Non-Acceptance of an LOR for New F-16s	24
<i>Manipulation of Bilateral Military-to-Military Exchanges</i>	<i>24</i>
Current Status: F-16s and China’s Reactions	31
Conclusion	35
Appendix	39
Acronyms.....	39
Glossary	41
Chronology	59

TABLES & FIGURES

Table 1: Arms Sales Notifications, 1990-2000	18
Table 2: Value of Arms Sales Notifications, 1990-2000	20
Table 3: Arms Sales Notifications, 2001-2011	26
Table 4: Value of Arms Sales Notifications, 2001-2011	28
Figure 1: Chinese Rhetoric, 1990-2011	3
Figure 2: Value of Arms Sales Notifications, 1990-2011	29
Figure 3: Map of the Taiwan Strait	34

FOREWORD

The US-Taiwan Business Council and the Project 2049 Institute are committed to providing the policymaking community with strategic insights into the bilateral and trilateral relationships between the United States, Taiwan, and China. This report is part of our continuing efforts to offer value-added benefits to all of our members and supporters, as well as to help inform all those individuals who are actively engaged with and interested in the Asia Pacific Region.

Since the switch in recognition from the Republic of China (Taiwan) to the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1979, the U.S. has had to undertake a delicate re-balancing of its security relationship with Taiwan, primarily through the Taiwan Relations Act (TRA) and the August 17, 1982, Joint Communiqué with China. These two documents have come to be seen as enabling the many different positions on U.S. security support for Taiwan.

In the U.S., particularly in policy circles and on Capitol Hill, the Taiwan Relations Act has become the principal guide to bilateral relations and to handling the all-important matter of arms sales. In an attempt to maintain the balance of power in the Taiwan Strait, the TRA has been used as the legal and policy rationale for the U.S. remaining engaged with Taiwan – even in the face of Chinese opposition. China, on the other hand, has pointed to the 1982 Communiqué as evidence for a U.S. commitment to incrementally reduce its support for Taiwan arms sales over time. However, China consistently fails to highlight its own obligation under the Communiqué, whereby it commits wholly to peaceful reunification. China not meeting its own obligations under the Communiqué thereby countermands America's responsibility to reduce arms sales to Taiwan.

This report examines the history of major U.S. arms sales to Taiwan since 1979 and discusses the correlation between such arms sales and Chinese reactions and responses, if any. Typically, U.S. policymakers express their grave concerns about potential Chinese responses prior to any sale, but those concerns are generally not consistent with the actual actions carried out by China in the aftermath of the sale. Nevertheless, over time the arms sales process has become increasingly dysfunctional, as policymakers in Washington grapple with an increasingly assertive China and attempt to calibrate how best to proceed.

In October 2008, the George W. Bush administration released its first arms sales package, where Congressional notifications (CNs) that had been frozen for up to seven months were bundled together and sent to Congress without any prior warning or pre-consultation. This packaging or stacking of CNs was apparently an attempt to reduce the potential retaliation from China and subsequent consequences for U.S.-China relations, as well as a way to game the calendar in a manner that positioned the sales at the least-worst time. Similar packaging has taken place on three occasions – in October 2008, January 2010, and September 2011.

However, this new process violates the congressional procedures for Foreign Military Sales. As expectations for an arms package grow, China increases the pressure on Washington to do nothing, or to do less, looking to incrementally reduce the U.S. commitment to Taiwan over time. This pressure takes a toll on the inter-agency review process. While administration officials may not directly engage with China on the issue, Chinese considerations are indirectly factoring into the deliberations. That is a violation of the TRA and is undermining U.S. security support for Taiwan.

This is also a violation of the Six Assurances made to Taiwan in July 1982 by then-U.S. President Ronald Reagan.

1. The United States would not set a date for termination of arms sales to Taiwan.
2. The United States would not alter the terms of the Taiwan Relations Act.
3. The United States would not consult with China in advance before making decisions about U.S. arms sales to Taiwan.
4. The United States would not mediate between Taiwan and China.
5. The United States would not alter its position about the sovereignty of Taiwan, which was that the question was one to be decided peacefully by the Chinese themselves, and would not pressure Taiwan to enter into negotiations with China.
6. The United States would not formally recognize Chinese sovereignty over Taiwan.

On a recent tour of Asia, U.S. Secretary of Defense Leon Panetta noted at a press conference that the Chinese had been given a “heads-up” on the September 21, 2011, arms package. While the Obama administration promptly revised Secretary Panetta’s comments, denying that China had been notified in advance, it is highly likely that he spoke the truth. This is further proof that China’s interests are increasingly encroaching on American deliberations.

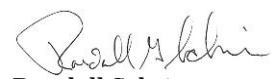
If Taiwan is to continue to exercise a degree of self-determination, it is imperative that America remains prepared to sell Taiwan all the systems it requires, not just upgrades and second-hand equipment. The most recent tussle – over whether to sell a second tranche of F-16s to Taiwan – is evidence of the extent to which China is successfully influencing U.S. policy. The Taiwan Air Force requirement is crystal clear, and yet successive administrations have undergone policy contortions to avoid equipping Taiwan with the modern fighters it requires to maintain a credible deterrent. Fortunately, however, this approach has had a positive effect on Congress, which has begun to reassert itself in driving Taiwan policy. Congressional pressure may over time help to rebalance a U.S. policy process that is tilting alarmingly in China’s favor.

This report was produced by our two organizations in close cooperation with our supporter base, many of whom spent their valuable time reviewing, fact-checking, and otherwise contributing to this report. Their perspectives and sage advice throughout the process proved invaluable. We wish to express particular gratitude to our colleagues Lotta Danielsson and Mark Stokes, whose dedication to the production of the report made the final product possible.

The Council and Project 2049 believe that we can continue to contribute in a significant way to the health of America’s relationship with Taiwan. However, we can only continue that work with the assistance of our members and supporters. We are deeply grateful for their ongoing and tremendous support.



Rupert J. Hammond-Chambers
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US-Taiwan Business Council



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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Taiwan's national security is fundamentally in the national interest of the United States, and the U.S. seeks to create an atmosphere conducive to a peaceful and non-coercive resolution of political differences on the two sides of the Taiwan Strait.

U.S. arms sales are intended to provide Taiwan's government and leadership with the confidence needed to engage with their counterparts in Beijing from a position of strength. Guided by the Taiwan Relations Act, and consistent with understandings outlined in Joint Communiqués with China, America providing to Taiwan the arms necessary to ensure its own self-defense has enabled democracy to flourish on the island. Substantial support for Taiwan has also served as a visible reminder of U.S. commitments to peace and security in the Asia Pacific.

The process by which U.S. policymakers have addressed Taiwan's defense requirements has evolved over time. When the Mutual Defense Treaty guided the relationship, between 1955 and 1979, Taiwan was treated as an ally. After the shift in diplomatic relations in 1979, Taiwan was treated as a special case. Concerned over possible Chinese intervention, Taiwan defense officials traveled to Washington to present senior U.S. policy officials with Taiwan's bundled list of requirements in annual face-to-face meetings. Formal Congressional notifications of approved items were forwarded both relatively frequently and as needed throughout the course of a given year.

In 2001, the annual Taiwan arms sales talks process was discontinued, with the intention of allowing Taiwan's defense requirements to be addressed at any time during the year, similar to the process for a normal security assistance partner. Since 2008, however, Congressional notifications of approved items have consistently been bundled into large multi-billion dollar packages, rather than being processed when ready. A return to the annual arms sales talks process may warrant consideration.

China has a well-established track record of responding negatively and stridently to public announcements of U.S. arms sales to Taiwan. Congressional notifications will likely remain the primary trigger for Chinese responses, rather than earlier decision-points in the process such as providing Price and Availability (P&A) data in response to a Letter of Request (LOR) from Taiwan.

Future Chinese actions taken in response to Taiwan arms sales may include sanctions against the U.S. companies that are supporting Foreign Military Sales (FMS) programs or undertaking Direct Commercial Sales (DCS) programs with Taiwan. However, the effectiveness of such sanctions is open to question, as major U.S. defense industrial firms conduct only minor business in China. Beijing is also unlikely to sanction smaller sub-system suppliers due to their peripheral involvement as sub-contractors and their marginal value as symbolic targets. In addition, if a U.S. company were to face discrimination as a result of Chinese sanctions due to Taiwan arms sales, a case could be introduced to the World Trade Organization (WTO) for adjudication.

Beijing authorities could suspend People's Liberation Army (PLA) military exchanges with the U.S. Department of Defense in response to Taiwan arms sales – an often-used tactic. While such exchanges have value, critical issues in the bilateral security relationship would be addressed through other channels if necessary. In addition, the PLA most likely would resume exchanges again, following an appropriate interval, as they have in the past.

In retaliation for Taiwan arms sales, PRC leaders could also consider releasing sensitive nuclear or missile-related technologies to Iran or other countries of concern, or they could withhold support for non-proliferation-related actions within the United Nations or other international organizations. However, reprisals from the U.S. or from other concerned countries could be expected in return, and Beijing likely would also be subject to criticism from other players in Europe and elsewhere who have significant interests in preventing Iran from gaining weapons of mass destruction.

Political or military leaders in Beijing may attempt to retaliate by liquidating U.S. Treasury holdings. As satisfying an emotional outburst as this course of action might be on an individual basis, the PLA has limited authority over national Chinese economic and financial policy. A sudden sell-off of U.S. Treasury holdings would be a significant horizontal and vertical escalation of the relatively minor, albeit emotionally charged, issue of Taiwan arms sales. In addition, the effects of such an action are unclear and could actually have a greater negative effect on China's economic interests than on the interests of the U.S.

Past behavior indicates that China is unlikely to challenge any fundamental U.S. interests in response to any future releases of significant military articles or services to Taiwan. The U.S. therefore retains considerable freedom of action in abiding by the Taiwan Relations Act. Barring a substantive reduction in the Chinese military posture opposite Taiwan, the U.S. will likely continue to provide Taiwan with weapons of a defensive character for the foreseeable future.

Nevertheless, key unresolved issues include Taiwan's unheeded request for additional F-16 fighters, and the fact that the Bush administration's 2001 commitment to assist Taiwan in its acquisition of diesel-electric submarines remains unfulfilled. Taiwan's request for additional F-16s is both reasonable and urgent, and should be honored. In addition, if Congressional notification for a submarine design program is not forthcoming, Taiwan's LOR should be withdrawn and export licenses through direct commercial sales channels should be given positive treatment.

The Barack Obama administration has demonstrated unnecessary restraint in its Taiwan arms sales decisions to date, despite having ample justification for positive considerations. Excessive caution on new arms sales to Taiwan risks legitimizing PRC use of military coercion to resolve political differences with its neighbors and sends a signal to others in the region of a diminished U.S. commitment in Asia.

INTRODUCTION

Ensuring Taiwan's national security is fundamentally in the interest of the U.S. Any effort to determine the future of Taiwan by other than peaceful means, including by boycotts or embargoes, is a threat to the peace and security of the Western Pacific, and therefore of grave concern to the U.S.

Guided by the Taiwan Relations Act (TRA) and consistent with understandings outlined in Joint Communiqués, American security assistance to Taiwan – supplying Taiwan with arms necessary to provide for its own self-defense – has enabled democracy to flourish on the island. Substantial support for Taiwan has also served as a visible reminder of U.S. commitments to peace and security in the Asia Pacific.

For over 30 years, the U.S. has played an important role in helping to ensure Taiwan's national security, while also maintaining constructive relations with the People's Republic of China (PRC). Nevertheless, the TRA and U.S. arms sales to Taiwan have been, and will continue to be, contentious issues in the U.S.-China relationship. The dispute is rooted in ambiguity contained within the U.S. version of the "One China" principle, differences in opinion regarding the nature of U.S. relations with Taiwan, and questions regarding the legitimacy of PRC coercive use of military force against Taiwan.

When the U.S. established diplomatic relations with China in 1979, it was premised on the expectation that the PRC would adopt peaceful means to resolve its political differences with Taiwan. As outlined in U.S. Department of State testimony before the U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on August 17, 1982, the most credible metric of Beijing's commitment to a peaceful approach on this matter is the nature of its military posture toward Taiwan.¹ Theoretically, if PRC military capabilities directed against Taiwan increase, then a wider array of defense articles and services should be made available to Taiwan in order to increase the costs of Chinese use of force and to enable the Taiwan government to negotiate with their counterparts in Beijing with confidence.

As defined in the TRA and consistent with understandings reflected in the 1982 Joint Communiqué, U.S. arms sales decisions should be based entirely upon the nature of the military challenge faced by Taiwan. The TRA expressly states that "*the President and the Congress shall determine the nature and quantity of such defense articles and services based solely upon their judgment of the needs of Taiwan.*"² Today, the PRC military challenge to Taiwan continues to grow, calling into question Beijing's commitment to a peaceful resolution of the situation in the Taiwan Strait. Yet U.S. decisions – or lack thereof – concerning arms sales to Taiwan now appear to be shaped primarily by fear of Beijing's anticipated response rather than by Taiwan's needs. As the People's Liberation Army (PLA) continues to expand its military posture opposite Taiwan, the U.S. has demonstrated a clear reluctance to live up to its TRA-imposed obligations.

¹ "U.S. Policy Toward China and Taiwan: Hearing Before the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate" Washington, D.C., 97th Congress, 2nd Session, August 17, 1982.

² Public Law 96-8, "Taiwan Relations Act" Washington, D.C., 96th Congress, January 1, 1979.

Over the past five years, senior members of both the George W. Bush and Barack Obama administrations have exercised extreme caution when evaluating Taiwan's requests for defense articles and services. These policymakers may believe that China's cooperation on a range of global issues – and/or the ongoing progress in cross-strait relations, such as the Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement (ECFA) – warrants withholding release of any new or significant military equipment to Taiwan. These U.S. policymakers may also be hoping for a substantive draw-down of China's military posture opposite Taiwan, and may believe that they are providing sufficient time for such a move to take place. Beijing should be rewarded for cooperation with the U.S. on non-proliferation issues, global economic security, climate change, and other issues. However, such rewards should not include U.S. abandonment of our security commitments to Taiwan.

Potential PRC reactions to U.S. arms sales to Taiwan may warrant some caution, and Washington has to expect some manner of chastisement by Beijing when the U.S. provides Taiwan with significant security assistance. Nevertheless, China should also expect that its continued reliance on military instruments of coercion to resolve political differences will come at a cost. Sound U.S.-China relations rest upon the assumption that Beijing will adopt peaceful means to resolve differences with Taiwan. A *de facto* freeze on U.S. arms sales to Taiwan, imposed while the PRC continues to expand its military capabilities opposite Taiwan, legitimizes military coercion as a valid tactic for China.

This report will begin by outlining the policy basis for U.S. arms sales to Taiwan enshrined in the TRA and associated with the 1982 Joint Communiqué. It will then review the historical record of U.S. arms sales to Taiwan, along with – where possible – corresponding PRC reactions. The concluding section summarizes Beijing's presumed strategy in seeking a halt to arms sales, evaluates possible responses to future arms sales based on the historical record, and examines U.S. policy options for managing those responses without sacrificing U.S. interests.

The report offers a comprehensive and reasoned historical analysis of U.S. arms sales to Taiwan and subsequent Chinese responses. Based on this historical context, the report concludes that while Beijing's responses should indeed be considered and appropriate contingency plans developed, the U.S. should not be deterred by PRC reactions from approving legitimate requests for arms by Taiwan. While limited and largely symbolic retaliations for future arms sales cannot be ruled out, the PRC is unlikely to actually challenge fundamental U.S. interests over arms sales to Taiwan.

A mix of positive and negative incentives is needed to persuade Beijing to reduce its coercive military posture opposite Taiwan. A reduced U.S. security commitment to Taiwan instead legitimizes the PRC's reliance on military coercion, increases the chances that China could resort to force to resolve territorial or sovereignty disputes around its periphery, and reduces the likelihood that Taiwan will engage in meaningful political dialogue with Beijing. The goal is not a long-term or indefinite arrangement for arms sales to Taiwan. Rather, the goal should be creation of conditions in the Taiwan Strait where the two sides can resolve their differences in an environment free from military coercion.

Figure 1: Chinese Rhetoric, 1990-2011



These are the most commonly used words in Chinese statements on U.S. arms sales to Taiwan, or in statements commenting on Taiwan in the context of a U.S. Theater Missile Defense (TMD) system, between 1990 and 2011. The size of the word reflects its frequency. The words "China," "Chinese," Taiwan," "United States," and "U.S." – the most commonly occurring words – have been removed for clarity. Word cloud created using www.wordle.net.

BACKGROUND

U.S. arms sales to Taiwan are rooted in the shift in diplomatic relations from Taipei to Beijing in 1979 and the subsequent enactment of the Taiwan Relations Act (TRA) to guide the U.S.-Taiwan relationship. In January 1979, the U.S. also notified Taiwan of its intent to terminate the 1954 Mutual Defense Treaty, and termination took effect January 1, 1980. However, in a unilateral statement released on December 15, 1978 – in conjunction with the second U.S.-PRC Joint Communiqué that heralded the shift in diplomatic relations – the U.S. also declared that it continued to have an interest in the peaceful resolution of the “Taiwan Issue.”

The text of the TRA itself highlights the U.S. expectation that Taiwan’s future will be determined by peaceful means and the fact that the U.S. considers non-peaceful solutions to issues in the Taiwan Strait to be a serious challenge to regional peace and security. The TRA language also forms the basis for the U.S. supplying Taiwan with arms and declares that the U.S. needs to maintain the capacity to resist should China resort to force or other forms of coercion jeopardizing the national security, society, or economy of Taiwan.³

The U.S. arms sales policy seeks to create an atmosphere conducive to a peaceful and non-coercive resolution of political differences on the two sides of the Taiwan Strait. U.S. arms sales are intended to provide Taiwan’s government and leadership with the confidence needed to engage with their counterparts in Beijing from a position of strength. As Deputy Assistant Secretary of State David Shear explained before the U.S. Economic and Security Review Commission at a hearing in 2010, “*Taiwan must be confident that it has the physical capacity to resist intimidation and coercion in order to engage fully with the mainland.*”⁴ If Taiwan’s political leaders are sufficiently confident of ongoing U.S. support, they may also opt to forego any radical solutions for maintaining Taiwan’s sovereignty and national security status – such as unilaterally declaring independence.

At the same time, it is important for the U.S. to help Taiwan maintain an appropriate level of defensive capability in the face of increased Chinese military firepower and its continued strategic focus on Taiwan – particularly as China is outspending Taiwan on defense at a ratio of at least 20 to 1. Diplomatically, arms sales to Taiwan are in the U.S.’ best interest for our continued influence in Asia, as they send a signal to our allies in the region that America is a reliable security partner that is willing and able to maintain its commitments. Finally, arms sales also help raise the threshold and affect the calculus regarding potential costs for the PRC, should they choose to use military force to resolve their political differences with Taiwan.

³ For background & Congressional testimony see “*Implementation of Taiwan Relations Act: Issues and Concerns – Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives*” Washington, D.C., 96th Congress, 1st Session, February 14 and 15, 1979, at www.openlibrary.org/books/OL4066114M/Implementation_of_Taiwan_relations_act, particularly page 28. For a review of the DoD’s implementation of the TRA, see “*Pentagon Report on Implementation of Taiwan Relations Act*” Report to Congress Pursuant to Public Law 106-113, December 18, 2000, at www.ait.org.tw/en/20001219-pentagon-report-on-implementation-of-taiwan-relations-act.html.

⁴ Shear, David B., “*China-Taiwan: Recent Economic, Political and Military Developments Across the Strait and Implications for the United States*” U.S. Department of State testimony before the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Washington, D.C., March 18, 2010, at www.state.gov/p/eap/rls/rm/2010/03/138547.htm.

From China's perspective, however, U.S. arms sales to Taiwan infringe upon China's sovereignty and territorial integrity, contradict perceived understandings reached in the three U.S.-PRC Joint Communiqués, and undermine China's efforts to resolve political differences on its own terms.⁵ Since abrogation of the U.S.-Republic of China (ROC) Mutual Defense Treaty in 1980, Beijing's responses to U.S. arms sales to Taiwan have ranged from diplomatic protests to implicit threats of imposing monetary damages on U.S. interests and on U.S. companies. China's overall goal is to impose political isolation on Taiwan and to enforce that isolation in order to coerce the island's democratically elected leadership into a political settlement on terms favorable to Beijing. It can be assumed that an interim objective would be an amendment to, if not outright repeal of, the Taiwan Relations Act, in order to weaken U.S. support for Taiwan.

Since 2008, China's reaction to any announcements of U.S. arms sales to Taiwan seems to reflect an increased confidence in their ability to influence U.S. decision-making in its favor. China apparently perceives itself as having increased leverage due to the Obama administration's focus on military operations in Afghanistan and Iraq, as well as its overriding interests in international financial issues and its grave concerns over nuclear programs in North Korea and Iran. Because the U.S. seeks China's cooperation on some of these issues, they also offer the PRC unparalleled opportunities to affect American policymakers.

For the U.S., allowing China to influence its decisions on Taiwan arms sales is a mistake. Beijing has been given ample opportunity to demonstrate its commitment to a peaceful approach by reducing its military posture opposite Taiwan, and has not taken that opportunity. The U.S. reluctance to approve new arms sales to Taiwan is only legitimizing China's reliance on military coercion to resolve political differences. In addition, withholding tangible U.S. support for the democratically elected government in Taiwan sends a signal to other allies in the region of a diminished U.S. commitment in Asia.

⁵ Romberg, Alan D., "Beijing's Hard Line against US Arms Sales to Taiwan" CSIS Pacific Forum, PacNet No. 4, Honolulu, HI, February 3, 2010, at www.csis.org/files/publication/pac1004.pdf.

THE ARMS SALES PROCESS

The process by which U.S. policymakers have addressed Taiwan's defense requirements has evolved over time. When the Mutual Defense Treaty guided the relationship, between 1955 and 1980, Taiwan was treated as an ally and as a security assistance partner like any other. However, the process shifted in the wake of the U.S. switch in recognition from the Republic of China (Taiwan) to the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1979. Immediately following the switch in recognition, there was a one-year moratorium on arms sales from the U.S. to Taiwan. The Mutual Defense Treaty was abrogated in 1980, and the period between 1980 and early 1982 saw a continued hiatus on new arms sales, as the U.S. tried to come to terms with the changes to the relationship.⁶ A major shift happened again after the third U.S.-PRC Joint Communiqué in August 1982, leading to a series of annual Arms Sales Talks between the U.S. and Taiwan. In 2001, a further shift took place as the annual talks were discontinued, and President George W. Bush determined that Taiwan should once again be treated as a normal security assistance partner and be allowed to submit requests for arms sales at any time during the year.

The Taiwan Arms Sales Talks: 1982-2001

In the wake of the 1982 Joint Communiqué, Taiwan President Chiang Ching-kuo was concerned that if left to the normal bureaucratic process, Taiwan's requests for defense articles and services would be subject to PRC pressure and thus be given scant policy attention in Washington. He feared that requests would be ignored if they were processed as routine Letters of Request (LOR) through the normal Foreign Military Sales (FMS) system. As a result, Taiwan pressed for a special arrangement in which it could sit face to face with its American counterparts to present its defense requirements. In doing so, Taiwan could make sure that its requests were registered and that the U.S. bureaucracy was sufficiently involved.

The Ronald Reagan administration agreed to host this process, and in 1983 the Taiwan Ministry of National Defense (MND) began dispatching an annual senior military delegation to Washington to present the U.S. with an official arms sales request list. Thus, the annual Arms Sales Talks became the bedrock of U.S.-Taiwan defense relations between 1983 and 2001. The talks were formally staffed on both sides, and written responses presented each year provided Taiwan's leaders with a gauge to assess the overall level of U.S. support over time.

Each Arms Sales Talk process would begin with Taiwan's Ministry of National Defense assembling and evaluating operational requirements from each of its three services – Army, Air Force, and Navy. Based on the operational requirements, the MND would then prepare a complete request list to present to the U.S. government. MND's Deputy Chief of Staff for Planning (J-5) would lead a preliminary visit by the arms sales talks team to Washington, D.C., to justify the requirements and entertain questions from the U.S. side – which included staff representatives from the American Institute in Taiwan (AIT), the U.S. Department of Defense (DoD), the U.S. Department of State (State), and the National Security Council (NSC). Over three months, Taiwan's requests would be evaluated within DoD and through the interagency process before any final decisions were made, whereupon the Vice Chief of the General Staff from MND would lead a delegation to

⁶ Roy, Denny, "*Taiwan: a Political History*" Cornell University Press, March 15, 2003.

Washington to receive the formal U.S. government responses on each item requested. After the formal responses had been issued, Taiwan would then submit a Letter of Request (LOR) for Price and Availability (P&A) data for specific systems, or receive a Letter of Offer and Acceptance (LOA) for systems that had been approved.

The remainder of the process is similar today. Upon the U.S. receiving an LOR for P&A data from Taiwan, the service responsible for the requested system – Army, Air Force, or Navy – prepares the LOA response. Before a draft LOA can be forwarded to Taiwan for countersignature, however, the Executive Branch must formally notify Congress of its intent to sell these specific arms to Taiwan. In accordance with Section 36(b) of the Arms Export Control Act (AECA)⁷, such a Congressional notification must take place 30 calendar days prior to any sale of major defense equipment valued at US\$14 million or more, of defense articles or services valued at US\$50 million or more, or of design and construction services valued at US\$200 million or more.⁸

Items that Taiwan is considered eligible to procure in a given year are included in the annual Javits Report, submitted to Congress by the U.S. Department of State. Nevertheless, Congressional notification under AECA 36(b), necessary before signing the government-to-government Foreign Military Sales (FMS) agreement, is the only point in the arms sales process mandating a public acknowledgement of a pending transfer to Taiwan.⁹

Upon Taiwan's countersigning of the LOA, and upon initial transfer of the funding for the procurement program, the acquisition lead from the appropriate U.S. service determines which U.S. industrial supplier will actually participate in the program and concludes a contract with that supplier – a contract that may or may not be explicitly announced to the public.

In the wake of the 1982 Joint Communiqué and anticipating that China's military posture opposite Taiwan would diminish in the future, the Reagan administration also institutionalized an internal metric for compliance with its new policies. Commonly referred to as the "bucket," it set quantitative limits on arms sales in mean dollar value. With calculations from 1978 and 1979 serving as the base, the starting point was set at US\$680 million in FMS and direct commercial sales, and the idea was to make a gradual reduction of this number each year, projected at US\$20 million annually. This structure became untenable, however, and the funding for Taiwan arms sales was eventually split into two parts – one for Significant Military Equipment (SME, meaning defense articles with substantial military utility or capability) under the "bucket" model, and one for non-SME articles such as technology and parts, which was reported separately to Congress. Nevertheless, given that arms sales to Taiwan continued to be announced through the Defense Security Cooperation Agency (DSCA), it must have been obvious to the PRC that the U.S. was not abiding by the agreement to significantly reduce the dollar amount of arms sales to Taiwan.

⁷ Public Law 90-629, "Arms Export Control Act" Washington, D.C., 90th Congress, October 2, 1968.

⁸ Grimmert, Richard F., "Arms Sales: Congressional Review Process" Congressional Research Service Report RL3167, January 8, 2010.

⁹ Kan, Shirley A., "Taiwan: Major U.S. Arms Sales Since 1990" Congressional Research Service Report RL30957, September 15, 2011.

Taiwan as a “Normal” Security Assistance Partner: 2001-Present

The last formal Arms Sales Talks between the U.S. and Taiwan took place in April 2001. At that time, the U.S. side responded to Taiwan’s list of requests submitted during the preliminary talks in December 2000. In addition, however, the Bush administration suggested that future Taiwan requirements and requests could be managed in accordance with standard FMS processes, similar to how the U.S. treats other security assistance partners. This would mean that Taiwan could submit an LOR at any time during the year, rather than only at the specified Arms Sales Talk meeting, and still be reasonably confident of a timely response – presumably 60 days.

At the time, Taiwan expressed their concern over cancelling the annual forum, arguing that the Arms Sales Talks served as a critical policy-triggering mechanism in the U.S. Despite attempts to stay out of the limelight, the Arms Sales Talks forum was high profile enough to ensure that Taiwan’s requests were given due attention – not only within the Executive Branch, but within Congress as well. Yet the U.S. interlocutors assured their Taiwan counterparts that future requests would be properly attended to, and that treating Taiwan as a normal security assistance partner would be beneficial to both sides. However, the current state of affairs, with periodic *de facto* freezes on arms sales to Taiwan, seems to suggest that their concerns were warranted.

There may now be an opportunity to consider a change in this state of affairs – a change that likely should have been considered when the formal Arms Sales Talks ended – which would be to institute an annual U.S.-Taiwan Strategic Dialogue on arms sales. What separates the Taiwan FMS organization from other “normal” Security Assistance Organizations is that all other SAOs in Asia work in an Embassy and report directly to the Pacific Command (PACOM), whereas the Taiwan situation is very different. Instituting such a dialogue would require an annual PACOM assessment on responsible compliance with the TRA and on Taiwan’s ability to resist intimidation and coercion. This would not necessitate a change in the current organizational responsibilities or structures within AIT or DoD. But PACOM is responsible for equipping and training, and if arms sales were linked more directly to Taiwan warfighter needs and capabilities, sales determinations could be directly linked to military shortfalls and would have better defined benchmarks for necessary defensive capabilities.

Good policy should lead responsible military decisions, and such an annual dialogue could improve policy-making and ensure that Taiwan arms sales are tied to the U.S. need to maintain our commitments while also working toward a peaceful conclusion of the “Taiwan Issue.” The U.S. could do what it does best – lead by example – at a time when most of Asia needs a strong democratic style presence now and for the foreseeable future.

THE THEORETICAL BASIS FOR CHINA'S OPPOSITION TO TAIWAN ARMS SALES

Chinese leaders are reflexively opposed to any military collaboration between the U.S. and Taiwan. As one prominent Chinese Foreign Ministry official remarked in 1999, “*conducting any form of military cooperation with Taiwan would seriously interfere in China’s internal affairs, seriously violate China’s sovereignty and territorial integrity and seriously contravene*” understandings between the U.S. and China.¹⁰

Nevertheless, because they are a visible and tangible manifestation of U.S. support for Taiwan, offering confidence to the populace in Taiwan and their democratically elected leadership, Beijing has been especially sensitive to U.S. arms sales – particularly through FMS channels. Each formal announcement of a U.S. arms sale to Taiwan tends to spur the most vehement and largest protests from the PRC.

There are five underlying reasons for the negative Chinese view of U.S. arms sales to Taiwan:

First, China objects to any U.S. dealings with Taiwan that could possibly be construed as constituting an official relationship, because such a relationship might be seen as endorsing Taiwan sovereignty. Therefore, Chinese concerns over U.S. arms sales to Taiwan are primarily rooted in their apparent validation of Taiwan’s *de facto* sovereignty – also explaining the particular antipathy toward FMS sales, which are conducted through government channels. From Beijing’s perspective, Taiwan is an integral part of China, an internal Chinese issue, and the PRC reserves the right to use force to resolve its internal political differences. It is their view that no country should sell military equipment to what is ostensibly a Chinese province without receiving consent from the central government in Beijing. From China’s perspective, therefore, U.S. arms sales to Taiwan constitute “*a severe encroachment on China’s sovereignty and flagrant interference in China’s internal affairs,*” to use one Chinese mantra.¹¹

Second, Beijing firmly believes that U.S. arms sales to Taiwan reduce the incentive for the Taipei government to negotiate with China, while also increasing popular sentiment on the island in favor of *de jure* independence. For example, in early March 2000, in the wake of a Congressional notification for Hawk-related upgrades, a senior Chinese official asserted that “*China-US relations and cross-Strait relations are both in a crucial moment in high sensitivity*” and that the sale would “*fan up the aggressive flame of Taiwan independence forces to split the motherland and is an important cause for the tension in Taiwan.*”¹² In mid-March 2000, before the presidential election in Taiwan, Chinese Foreign Minister Tang Jiaxuan also issued a public statement asserting that U.S. arms sales have “*inflated the arrogance of the separatist forces in Taiwan.*”¹³

¹⁰ Mann, Jim, “*U.S. Has Secretly Expanded Military Ties with Taiwan*” Los Angeles Times, July 24, 1999, at articles.latimes.com/1999/jul/24/news/mn-59108.

¹¹ Leicester, John, “*China Warns on U.S. Sales to Taiwan*” Associated Press, March 9, 2000.

¹² “*China Protests US Sales of Hawk Missiles to Taiwan*” Reuters, March 9, 2000.

¹³ “*China Asks To Halt Arms Sales to Taiwan*” New York Times, March 11, 2000, at www.nytimes.com/2000/03/11/world/china-asks-to-halt-arms-sales-to-taiwan.html.

Third, Beijing perceives the U.S. sale of defense articles to Taiwan as a violation of understandings reached in the three U.S.-PRC Joint Communiqués – although Beijing’s perspective reflects a fundamental disconnect with the U.S. understanding of the same documents. In the third Joint Communiqué, issued August 17, 1982, the PRC outlined its “*fundamental policy to strive for a peaceful solution to the Taiwan question.*” The U.S. side acknowledged China’s commitment to strive for a peaceful solution and also highlighted the “*new situation*” that “*provides favorable conditions for the settlement of U.S.-China differences over the question of U.S. arms sales to Taiwan.*” The Joint Communiqué continues:

Having in mind the foregoing statements of both sides, the United States Government states that it does not seek to carry out a long-term policy of arms sales to Taiwan, that its arms sales to Taiwan will not exceed, either in qualitative or in quantitative terms, the level of those supplied in recent years since the establishment of diplomatic relations between the United States and China, and that it intends to reduce gradually its sales of arms to Taiwan, leading over a period of time to a final resolution... In order to bring about, over a period of time, a final settlement of the question of United States arms sales to Taiwan, which is an issue rooted in history, the two governments will make every effort to adopt measures and create conditions conducive to the thorough settlement of this issue.¹⁴

The fundamental difference here appears to be a disagreement over what constitutes a peaceful approach. Beijing views its military posture in the Taiwan Strait as ensuring a peaceful approach in part by deterring what it perceives as moves by some factions on Taiwan toward *de jure* independence. It is telling that Chinese statements generally omit references to the stated U.S. pre-condition for a reduction in arms sales.¹⁵

In contrast, successive U.S. administrations have defined a peaceful approach in terms of the PRC military posture and the weapons that it has arrayed toward Taiwan. In the wake of the 1982 Joint Communiqué, a U.S. Department of State official testified before the U.S. Senate, outlining the idea that U.S. sales of defense articles and services are driven by the nature of the military challenge that the PRC poses to Taiwan. In other words, from the U.S. perspective, the principal metric for China’s “peaceful approach” is the nature of its military posture opposite Taiwan.¹⁶ In the 1980s, China – increasingly concerned with the Soviet Union – did indeed appear to be reducing its force posture opposite Taiwan, thereby creating conditions conducive to a reduction in arms sales.¹⁷ Seeking even more explicit linkage, Section 531 of the Foreign Relations

¹⁴ “*Joint Communiqué of the United States of America and the People’s Republic of China*” August 17, 1982, at www.ait.org.tw/en/us-joint-communiqué-1982.html.

¹⁵ For example “*The Taiwan Question*” Ministry of Foreign Affairs, PRC, November 17, 2000, at www.mfa.gov.cn/eng/wjlb/zjzg/bmdyys/gjlb/3432/3441/t17316.htm.

¹⁶ Gilbert, Stephen P. and William M. Carpenter, “*America and Island China: A Documentary History*” New York, University Press of America, March 1989, pp. 321-353.

¹⁷ Freeman, Chas. W., Jr., “*Preventing War in the Taiwan Strait: Restraining Taiwan--and Beijing*” Foreign Affairs, July-August 1998, pp. 6-11.

Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1994 and 1995¹⁸ included a Congressional declaration that evaluations of China's peaceful approach to resolving political differences with Taiwan should be based upon PRC military capabilities and intentions and that Chinese force development should be assessed on a regular basis.

Fourth, the PRC argues that arms sales to Taiwan threaten China's national security. In the wake of the January 2010 Congressional notification, for example, China's Vice Foreign Minister He Yafei issued a demarche to the U.S. ambassador in Beijing, urging Washington to cancel the planned sale – which was described as “*a threat to China's national security.*” Chinese Defense Ministry spokesman Huang Xueping also said: “*The Taiwan issue is directly linked to China's core interests. We will never make concessions over our sovereignty and territorial integrity.*” He added that the “*U.S. decision seriously endangers China's national security and harms China's core interests.*”¹⁹ A corollary to this perspective is the view that U.S. policymakers see Taiwan and Taiwan arms sales as a tool for containing China and for restraining Chinese development.²⁰

Missile defense technology becomes a particularly important issue in this context. China has argued that missile defense technology for Taiwan [e.g., participation in a Theater Missile Defense (TMD)] might contribute to Taiwan developing systems that could strike domestic Chinese targets, therefore constituting a threat to China's national security. To quote a senior PRC Ministry of Foreign Affairs representative “*China is firmly opposed to the provision of TMD or its related technology, equipment or any auxiliary facilities to Taiwan in any form by the US, because in whatever form the U.S. includes Taiwan into its TMD system, the essence of such an act would be to put Taiwan under the U.S. umbrella of military protection, which would be tantamount to the restoration of quasi-military alliance between the US and Taiwan.*”²¹ Of course, there would be little need for a missile defense system for the island if hundreds of Chinese missiles were not pointed at Taiwan. In addition, the key word in TMD is defense, which is in keeping with the TRA.

Finally, Beijing has also attempted to establish a link between Taiwan security assistance and broader U.S. non-proliferation interests, arguing that U.S. arms sales to Taiwan contradict U.S. non-proliferation policies. This linkage was most prominent in the 1980s and 1990s due to U.S. concerns over the proliferation of ballistic missile technology. One line of thinking posits that Beijing's proliferation behavior in the 1990s was prompted by the 1992 release of F-16s to Taiwan. Given the Obama administration's stated interests in both nuclear and conventional non-proliferation, it is possible that this issue will once again be utilized by China to oppose Taiwan arms sales.

¹⁸ Public Law 103-236, “*Foreign Relations Authorization Act, Fiscal Years 1994 and 1995*” Washington, D.C., 103rd Congress, April 30, 1994.

¹⁹ Wills, Ken and Jim Wolf, “*China: U.S. Arms Sales to Taiwan Hurt National Security*” Reuters, January 31, 2010, at www.reuters.com/article/2010/01/31/us-usa-china-taiwan-idUSTRE60T07W20100131.

²⁰ Glaser, Bonnie S., “*Myths and US Arms Sales to Taiwan*” Asia Times, February 19, 2010, at www.atimes.com/atimes/China/LB19Ad01.html.

²¹ Sha, Zukang, “*Speech by Ambassador Sha Zukang At the Working Lunch of ACB Ambassadors*” Ministry of Foreign Affairs, PRC, Beijing, March 7, 2000, at www.fmprc.gov.cn/eng/wjdt/zjyh/t24955.htm.

HISTORY OF CHINESE RESPONSES TO TAIWAN ARMS SALES

In examining PRC reactions to U.S. arms sales to Taiwan since 1979, it becomes clear that Beijing has actually shown significant consistency and pragmatism over the years. Responses appear well adapted to specific situations and are shaped by a number of factors including the perceived degree of leverage Beijing enjoys over U.S. policies at any given point in time, the political situation in Taiwan, the domestic political situation in China, and the state of the overall U.S.-China/Taiwan-China bilateral and cross-Strait relationships.

Historically, Beijing seems to have responded most vigorously immediately following official Executive Branch notification to Congress under AECA Section 36(b). This is the only time in the process during which public acknowledgement of an arms sale is required by law. Other policy approvals, whether under the old Arms Sales Talks framework or via releases of Price and Availability (P&A) data for specific programs, do not necessitate public, on-the-record confirmation. In other words, Beijing appears to respond most intensely to public confirmation of a security assistance program, presumably due to the political boost that it provides to Taiwan.

In the wake of such public notifications of Taiwan arms sales, Beijing's suite of responses has included diplomatic protests, imposition of political costs such as breaking off talks, and implicit threats to relax its own non-proliferation policies. The most common response has been a demarche issued to U.S. Department of State representatives and increasingly to the U.S. Department of Defense as well, often including demands to cancel the announced sale. For example, in 1999 China's Vice Foreign Minister summoned a senior U.S. Embassy official and lodged a strong protest against the U.S. government's announcement of its intention to sell Taiwan US\$550 million worth of advanced weapons and equipment, including E-2T airborne warning systems and F-16-related spare parts. This particular incident was also accompanied by a demand that the U.S. cancel the sale.²²

A public protest via mass media channels has often accompanied the government demarche, with a senior official citing the risk posed to the bilateral U.S.-China relationship by the continued policy of arms sales to Taiwan.²³ Beijing's reprobation appears to be focused on the supply side, however, rather than on the demand side; there is little evidence suggesting that arms sales have obstructed cross-Strait relations – in fact, the opposite may be true.

China likely understands that halting all arms sales to Taiwan would be difficult. So, although the overall dollar value of a Congressional notification may be as important as the actual systems involved, Beijing often appears to single out particular high-profile items for extra scrutiny – including F-16 fighters, Aegis-equipped destroyers, Patriot PAC-3 missile defense systems, and diesel-electric submarines.²⁴

²² "The Taiwan Question in China-U.S. Relations" Ministry of Foreign Affairs, PRC, November 17, 2000, at www.mfa.gov.cn/eng/wjzb/zjzg/bmdydzs/gjlb/3432/3441/t17320.htm.

²³ For example "China Says U.S. Must Stop Taiwan Arms Sales" Reuters, March 7, 2011, at www.reuters.com/article/2011/03/07/us-china-npc-usa-taiwan-idUSTRE7260MT20110307.

²⁴ Gordon, Michael R., "Dispute Grows Over Providing Arms to Taiwan" New York Times, April 15, 2001.

1979-1989: Switch in Diplomatic Relations through Tiananmen

In the immediate aftermath of the U.S. switch in diplomatic relations to the PRC in 1979, Beijing launched an ambitious campaign to cut Taiwan off from its external sources of security assistance. In addition to pressuring the U.S. to curtail and halt arms sales, it also lashed out at European support for Taiwan. In 1981, in the wake of the Dutch licensing two Sea Dragon submarines to Taiwan – and after pressuring the Dutch to sell only two of the four submarines originally agreed upon – the Chinese government downgraded political relations by recalling its ambassador to the Netherlands and requesting the same for the Dutch ambassador in Beijing. It was not until 1984, after coercing the Netherlands to sign an agreement to restrict further arms sales, that Beijing agreed to restore ambassadorial-level relations.²⁵ Taiwan had also requested licensed production of RDM Walrus-class submarines in Taiwan and through an intermediary in the form of the Netherlands Antilles, but the Dutch government denied that license as well. European support for arms sales to Taiwan was non-existent through the rest of the 1980s until the scandal-ridden French deal in 1991 to sell Taiwan Lafayette-class-derived frigates, followed by the sale of Mirage fighters in 1992 (see below).

The first strong Chinese protest of a U.S. arms sale to Taiwan after the 1982 Joint Communiqué was released took place in July 1983, after a Congressional notification of programs valued at more than US\$530 million. China argued that the package was “*one of the largest sales of the kind ever made by the U.S. Government,*” and hinted that they felt the sale meant the U.S. would continue to sell arms to Taiwan on a large scale, despite the 1982 Joint Communiqué.²⁶

Throughout the remainder of the 1980s, U.S. policymakers paid close attention to FMS-case values, instead stressing direct commercial sales (DCS) for arms to Taiwan. Examples of major DCS programs, or hybrid FMS/DCS programs, during this period include the CM-11/M48H main battle tank, the Indigenous Defense Fighter (IDF), the PFG-2 frigate program, and the Tienkong air defense system, among others. Because of the smaller public footprint of direct commercial sales, negative PRC responses to these types of U.S.-Taiwan technical transfer, licensed production, or local assembly within DCS channels appear both subdued and rare.

In addition, during the period between 1984 and the Tiananmen pro-democracy crackdown in June 1989, the U.S.-China military relationship – carried out on the U.S. side by the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense, International Security Affairs – seemed to be developing in a positive direction. Four U.S. FMS programs for the PRC were initiated during this time period, including “Peace Pearl” – a project to upgrade the avionics of China’s F-8 fighter/interceptor, a package of four AN/TPQ-37 Firefinder counter-artillery radar systems, upgrades to two 155 mm artillery munitions plants, and four Mark-46 Mod-2 anti-submarine torpedoes.²⁷ China had no real incentive at this time to protest the Taiwan arms sales beyond perfunctory Ministry of Foreign Affairs statements, in the hopes that the U.S.-China military exchanges could continue to strengthen. Ultimately, of course, the close working relationship between the U.S. and China on military

²⁵ “*China and the Netherlands*” Chinese Embassy in the Netherlands, June 16, 2004, at nl.china-embassy.org/eng/zhgx/zgxt/t137589.htm.

²⁶ “*Peking Criticizes U.S. on Taiwan Arms Sale*” New York Times, July 17, 1983.

²⁷ “*China: Military Imports from the United States and the European Union since the 1989 Embargoes*” General Accounting Office Report to the Chairman, Joint Economic Committee, U.S. Senate, GAO/NSIAD-98-17, June 16, 1998.

matters was derailed in the summer of 1989 following the anti-democracy crackdown in China and the subsequent U.S. sanctions.

1990-2000: F-16, Conventional Ballistic Missiles and Chinese Opposition to Theater Missile Defense

The 1990s saw China begin to develop the world's largest and most sophisticated short-range ballistic missile (SRBM) infrastructure. As the PLA was filling out its initial SRBM brigades in the middle part of the decade, PRC leaders began to publicly warn against the sale of missile defenses and long-range early warning radar systems to Taiwan, since that could undercut the political and military value of China's growing ballistic missile force.

In 1996, China issued a strident public denunciation of the U.S. sale to Taiwan of 500+ Stinger short-range air defense missile systems. China's Foreign Ministry spokesman, Shen Guofang, argued that the sale of Stingers to Taiwan breached the 1982 Joint Communiqué and added "*we have taken note of the fact that the US has always called for the non-proliferation of weapons, but it is very irresponsible for the US to sell advanced weapons to such a sensitive region at such a sensitive time.*"²⁸

Nevertheless, in 1998 Taiwan began exploratory discussions with the U.S. on a possible release of missile defense capabilities. These discussions were viewed very negatively on the other side of the Taiwan Strait. In 1999, Chinese arms control official Sha Zukang noted that "*TMD in Taiwan will give the pro-independence forces in Taiwan a false sense of security, which may incite them to reckless moves. This can only lead to instability across the Taiwan Strait or even in the entire North-East Asian region.*"²⁹ A China Daily article also warned that if the U.S. were to bring Taiwan into a TMD plan, "*Sino-US relations would suffer a setback unprecedented since the normalization of bilateral ties.*"³⁰

Chinese representatives argued that allowing Taiwan to acquire systems such as Patriot PAC-3 anti-missile batteries and Aegis-equipped destroyers with SM-3 mid-course interceptors would be a clear "violation" of the 1982 Joint Communiqué. From China's perspective, involving Taiwan in missile defense would also require that the U.S. provide Taiwan with access to Defense Support Program (DSP) space-based early warning. Such an operational linkage may appear to China as constituting a *de facto* resurrection of the U.S.-Taiwan Mutual Defense Treaty, and would thus be a violation of the 1979 Joint Communiqué as well.³¹ However, in making these complaints, Beijing failed to acknowledge that the U.S. had for many years been sharing DSP satellite early warning with Russia, a non-ally, as a confidence-building measure.

²⁸ Crothall, Geoffrey, "Spokesman: Missile Sale Violates Agreement on Arms Sales" South China Morning Post, March 22, 1996.

²⁹ "Some Thoughts on Non-Proliferation' Statement by Mr. Sha Zukang at the Seventh Annual Carnegie International Non-Proliferation Conference on Repairing the Regime" Ministry of Foreign Affairs, PRC, January 12, 1999, at www.fmprc.gov.cn/eng/wjdt/zyjh/t24928.htm.

³⁰ Chen, Yali, "TMD Issue Detrimental to Sino-US Relations" China Daily, January 27, 1999.

³¹ "Theater Missile Defenses in the Asia-Pacific Region" Henry L. Stimson Center Working Group Report #34, June 2000, at www.stimson.org/images/uploads/research-pdfs/Theater.pdf.

Ultimately, the William Clinton administration only approved Taiwan President Lee Teng-hui's request for a UHF long-range early warning radar, and did not include Taiwan in a TMD program. The UHF program request was approved in 2000, and Congressional notification for the program was submitted in 2005.

Over the second part of the decade, Taiwan focused on absorbing systems approved by the George H. W. Bush administration in 1992/1993, and began pressing for release of F-16-related munitions (see the specific discussion of the 1992 F-16 release below) and for tactical data links. Between 1994 and 2000, the Clinton administration approved AN/ALQ-184 self-protection jammers, air-launched Harpoon anti-ship missiles, AGM-65G Maverick air-to-surface missiles, Pathfinder/Sharpshooter navigation and targeting pods, and Link-16 Joint Tactical Information Distribution System (JTIDS). In all cases, Chinese spokesmen issued public denunciations of the sales.³² Despite these public denunciations, however, there is no evidence of related or substantial actions by China in response to these rounds of Taiwan arms sales.

Table 1: Arms Sales Notifications, 1990-2000

Date	Program
1990-07-26	Cooperative Logistics Supply Support
1990-09-06	One C-130H Transport Aircraft
1991-01-07	100 MK-46 Torpedoes
1991-07-24	97 SM-1 Standard Air Defense Missiles
1991-09-13	110 M60A3 Tanks
1991-11-18	Phase III PIP Mod Kits for Hawk Air Defense Systems
1992-05-27	Weapons, Ammunition, Support for Three Leased Ships
1992-05-27	Supply Support Arrangement
1992-08-04	207 SM-1 Standard Air Defense Missiles
1992-09-14	150 F-16A/B fighters
1992-09-14	Three Patriot-Derived Modified Air Defense System (MADS) Fire Units
1992-09-18	12 SH-2F LAMPS Anti-Submarine Helicopters
1993-06-17	12 C-130H Transport Aircraft
1993-06-25	Supply Support Arrangement
1993-07-29	38 Harpoon Anti-Ship Missiles
1993-07-30	Logistics Support Services for 40 Leased T-38 Trainers

³² "China Opposed to U.S. Sales of 'Maverick' Missiles to Taiwan" Chinese Embassy in Greece, September 6, 2001, at gr.china-embassy.org/eng/ztlm/twwt/pl/t146087.htm.

1993-08	Four E-2T Hawkeye Airborne Early Warning Aircraft (Commercial Sale)
1993-09-08	Logistics Support Services for MADS
1993-11-04	150 MK-46 Mod 5 torpedoes
1993-11-09	Weapons, Ammunition, and Support for Three Leased Frigates
1993-11-23	MK-41 Mod Vertical Launch Systems for Ship-Based Air Defense Missiles
1994-08-01	80 AN-ALQ-184 Electronic Countermeasure ECM Pods
1994-09-12	MK-45 Mod 2-Gun System
1995-03-24	Six MK-75 Shipboard Gun Systems, Six Phalanx Close-In Weapon Systems
1995-06-07	Supply Support Arrangement
1996-05-10	Improved Mobile Subscriber Equipment Communications System
1996-05-10	30 TH-67 Training Helicopters, 30 Sets of AN-AVS-6 Night Vision Goggles
1996-05-23	465 Stinger Missiles, 55 Dual-Mounted Stinger Launcher Systems
1996-06-24	300 M60A3TTS Tanks
1996-08-23	1,299 Stinger Surface-to-Air Missiles, 74 Avenger Vehicle-Mounted Guided Missile Launchers, 96 HMMWVs (High-Mobility Multi-Purpose Wheeled Vehicle)
1996-09-05	110 MK-46 MOD 5 Anti-Submarine Torpedoes
1997-02-14	54 Harpoon Anti-Ship Missiles
1997-05-23	1,786 TOW 2A Anti-Armor Guided Missiles, 114 TOW Launchers, 100 HMMWVs
1997-07-24	21 AH-1W Super Cobra Helicopters
1997-09-03	13 OH-58D Kiowa Warrior Armed Scout Helicopters
1997-11-09	Pilot Training and Logistics Support for F-16 Fighters
1997-11-09	Spare Parts for Various Aircraft
1998-01-28	Three Knox-Class Frigates, One MK 15 Phalanx Close-In Weapons System
1998-06-01	28 Pathfinder-Sharpshooter Navigation and Targeting Pods for F-16 Fighters
1998-08-27	58 Harpoon Anti-Ship Missiles
1998-08-27	61 Dual-Mount Stinger Surface-to-Air Missiles
1998-08-27	131 MK 46 Mod 5AS Anti-Submarine Torpedoes
1998-10-09	Nine CH-47SD Chinook Helicopters
1999-05-26	240 AGM-114KS Hellfire II Air-to-Surface Missiles

1999-05-26	Five AN-VRC-92E SINCGARS Radio Systems, Five Intelligence Electronic Warfare systems, Five HMMWVs
1999-07-30	Spare Parts for F-5E/F, C-130H, F-16A/B, and IDF Aircraft
1999-07-30	Two E-2T Hawkeye 2000E Airborne Early Warning Aircraft
2000-03-02	Modernization of the TPS-43F Air Defense Radar to TPS-75V Configuration
2000-03-02	162 Hawk Intercept Guided Air Defense Missiles
2000-06-07	39 Pathfinder-Sharpshooter Navigation and Targeting Pods for F-16 Fighters
2000-06-07	48 AN-ALQ-184 ECM Pods for F-16s
2000-09-28	146 M109A5 Howitzers, 152 SINCGARS Radio Systems
2000-09-28	200 AIM-120C AMRAAMs for F-16 Fighters
2000-09-28	71 RGM-84L Harpoon Anti-Ship Missiles
2000-09-28	Improved Mobile Subscriber Equipment IMSE Communication System

Source: Kan, Shirley A., "Taiwan: Major U.S. Arms Sales Since 1990" Congressional Research Service Report RL30957, September 15, 2011.

Table 2: Value of Arms Sales Notifications, 1990-2000

Year	Month	Subtotal	Year Total
1990	July	0.108	0.153
	September	0.045	
1991	January	0.028	0.372
	July	0.055	
	September	0.119	
1992	November	0.17	7.706
	May	0.319	
	August	0.126	
1993	September	7.261	2.184
	June	0.776	
	July	0.138	
	August	0.7	
	September	0.175	
1994	November	0.395	0.171
	August	0.15	
1995	September	0.021	0.267
	March	0.075	
	June	0.192	

1996	May	0.325	1.034
	June	0.223	
	August	0.42	
	September	0.066	
1997	February	0.095	1.247
	May	0.081	
	July	0.479	
	September	0.172	
1998	January	0.3	1.296
	June	0.16	
	August	0.35	
	October	0.486	
1999	May	0.087	0.637
	July	0.55	
2000	March	0.202	1.866
	June	0.356	
	September	1.308	
Grand Total			16.933

Source: Kan, Shirley A., "Taiwan: Major U.S. Arms Sales Since 1990" Congressional Research Service Report RL30957, September 15, 2011.

Figures in US\$ billion

1992: F-16's, Hawkeye and Patriot

With the fall of the Soviet Union in 1990, China initiated a major force modernization program focused primarily on Taiwan. Planning for and implementation of a program for an ambitious conventional ballistic missile infrastructure opposite Taiwan, including a program to deploy as many as five short-range ballistic missile (SRBM) brigades opposite Taiwan, began at least as early as 1991. In addition, starting as early as 1988, the PLA began investing resources in procuring Russian equipment that included Su-27 fighter jets, AA-12 air-to-air missiles, and diesel-electric submarines.

At the same time, the PRC defense industry stepped up its efforts to export SRBM systems to Pakistan, Syria, and other customers. By May 1991, the George H. W. Bush administration had imposed sanctions on China's

aerospace industry due to possible sale of the DF-11 short-range ballistic missile system to Pakistan.³³ However, the same year representatives from the PRC and Taiwan had begun negotiations toward reducing tensions in the Taiwan Strait. With Beijing offering new assurances to abide by the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR) guidelines, those U.S. sanctions were lifted in March of 1992.

By mid-1992, the stage was set for the U.S. to approve a number of high-value weapons systems that Taiwan had been requesting at the Arms Sales Talks for a number of years. In early September 1992, taking place less than a month after the PLA's final acceptance testing of its DF-15 short-range ballistic missile, President George H. W. Bush announced that he would release 150 F-16s to Taiwan for a price tag of US\$5.6 billion. Congressional notification of the program followed two weeks later, with the deal formally signed in November.

In November 1992 there were also reports of a Taiwan contract with France for 60 Mirage-2000 aircraft. However, no public announcement of that sale was made by the French, ostensibly out of deference to Chinese sensitivities.³⁴ The lack of a public announcement of the sale did not seem to matter, however. In retaliation for the French government's approval of the Mirage sale to Taiwan, Beijing ordered France's consulate in Guangzhou closed.³⁵

In addition to releasing the F-16s in 1992, the U.S. also approved several substantial systems that had been denied to Taiwan for a number of years – four E-2T Hawkeye airborne early warning aircraft valued at US\$700 million, as well as hardware, components, and technologies to assist Taiwan in developing a Modified Air Defense System (MADS) based on the Patriot missile system. Ultimately, this approval led to Taiwan acquiring three Patriot missile defense fire units with PAC-2 Guidance Enhanced Missiles in 1997. In the context of the 1982 Joint Communiqué and the set dollar value limitations of the “bucket,” the sale was explained as a “spike” – a one-time exception to the general decline in the dollar value of Taiwan arms sales.

Within two weeks of the F-16 announcement – taking place in the days before the F-16 Congressional notification, and perhaps intended to soften the political blow – President Bush informed Congress of his

³³ In 1988, China's Precision Machinery Import and Export Corporation (CPMIEC) reportedly signed a sales agreement with counterparts in Pakistan. By 1991, the Bush administration deemed that sufficient evidence had accumulated, and imposed legally mandated sanctions on CPMIEC and other entities. It then sought Chinese assurances that it would abide by the guidelines and parameters of the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR) in exchange for a lifting of the sanctions. With Chinese MTCR assurances provided in February 1992, the sanctions were lifted a month later. In the wake of the September 1992 announcement of 150 F-16 A/B fighters being sold to Taiwan, however, reports surfaced that CPMIEC made missile-related sales to Pakistani customers in violation of its MTCR commitment. By August 1993, MTCR-related sanctions were re-imposed, including a ban on Chinese companies selling satellites and related equipment in the U.S. The sanctions were lifted the following year after further Chinese assurances to abide by the MTCR. See “*Joint United States-People's Republic of China Statement on Missile Proliferation*” U.S. Department of State, October 4, 1994, at www.nti.org/db/China/engdocs/mtcrusch.htm. See also Kempster, Norman and Rone Tempest, “*U.S. Imposes Sanctions on China, Pakistan over Missile Deal*” Los Angeles Times, August 26, 1993.

³⁴ WuDunn, Sheryl, “*Chinese Angered by French Arms Sale to Taiwan*” New York Times, November 20, 1992. See also Mann, James, “*About Face: A History of America's Curious Relationship with China, from Nixon to Clinton*” New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1999, pp. 254-273.

³⁵ “*China Shutting French Consulate Over Reported Jet Sale*” Associated Press, December 24, 1992.

intent to lift pre-existing U.S. restrictions on exports of satellites and related components to China, imposed in June 1991. Export licenses were subsequently granted to U.S. manufacturers for six communications satellites, intended to be launched on Long March launch vehicles. While difficult to judge, the move may have contributed to a less harsh Chinese response to the F-16 sale.

In the immediate afterglow of the U.S. F-16 announcement, cross-Strait ties also began to warm considerably. A month after the announcement, and thus confident of U.S. backing, representatives from Taiwan met in Hong Kong with their counterparts from China. There, the two sides achieved a major breakthrough in agreeing to put aside differences over the definition of “One China.” Later termed the “1992 Consensus,” the meeting paved the way for the senior representatives of the two sides to also meet in Singapore in 1993. A cause-effect linkage between the release of F-16s and this cross-Strait breakthrough is difficult to establish with certainty. But at a minimum, the F-16 announcement – and the initial deliveries that took place in 1997 – did not have any apparent negative effect on cross-Strait rapprochement.

Directing their anger over the F-16 sale toward Washington rather than Taipei, senior Chinese authorities allegedly approved a perception management campaign against “U.S. hegemonism and power politics” in the wake of the sale. Chinese military leaders also purportedly advocated economic retaliation for the F-16 decision, specifically targeting imports of U.S. agricultural products such as wheat. In the end, however, economic measures were deemed too risky due to the potential for mutual retaliation and the potentially stifling effect that it might have on the foremost Chinese policy priority – national economic development.³⁶

It is possible that the Chinese licensing of sensitive weapon systems for export to the Middle East was a response to the F-16 sale. As then-RAND scholar Evan Medeiros argued in a classic treatise on Chinese non-proliferation policies, “*the F-16 sales quickly and fundamentally changed the nature of U.S.-China negotiations on missile non-proliferation.*”³⁷ In the wake of the September 1992 announcement of F-16 fighters being released to Taiwan, Beijing also announced its withdrawal from the Arms Control in the Middle East (ACME) talks. It was, however, a forum that China was already less than enthusiastic about. While difficult to say conclusively, the F-16 announcement appeared to merely offer a pretext for withdrawing support.

By early 1993, indications began to emerge that Chinese aerospace companies had renewed sales of DF-11-related components to Pakistan. The U.S. re-imposed sanctions against relevant Chinese companies, again charging violations of the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR). Beijing also hinted at missile-related transfers to Iran as a possible retaliatory measure in response to U.S. arms sales to Taiwan. According to one account from 1998, Chinese authorities proposed to the U.S. that it might agree to forego missile-related sales to Iran in exchange for a U.S. commitment to deny Taiwan missile defense systems.³⁸

³⁶ Garver, John W., “*Face Off: China, the United States, and Taiwan’s Democratization*” Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1997, pp. 52-54.

³⁷ Medeiros Evan S., “*Reluctant Restraint: The Evolution of China’s Nonproliferation Policies and Practices, 1980-2004*” Stanford, California, Stanford University Press, 2007, pp. 135-136.

³⁸ Lawrence, Susan V., “*Magic Words: Why Clinton Said Yes to the Three No’s*” *Far Eastern Economic Review*, Volume 161, #29, July 16, 1998, p. 18.

2001-present: From the Bush Arms Sales Package to Non-Acceptance of an LOR for New F-16s

As a response to the expansion of Chinese military deployments opposite Taiwan and continuing the Clinton administration's gradual liberalization of Taiwan arms sales, the first months of the George W. Bush administration were marked by one of the most significant Taiwan arms sales packages in history. Approvals in 2001 included P-3C maritime patrol aircraft, diesel-electric submarines, torpedoes, amphibious assault vehicles, submarine-launched Harpoons with coastal target suppression capabilities, and M109A6 Paladin self-propelled artillery. The following year, the George W. Bush administration approved Army systems including attack helicopters (ultimately Taiwan decided on the AH-64D APACHE), and the U.S. Army also approved M1A2 Abrams main battle tanks. Chinese responses were muted, however, presumably waiting until formal Congressional notifications of these programs.³⁹

The George W. Bush administration also provided a visible, clear, and measured response to China's expanding ballistic missile infrastructure by releasing PAC-3 to Taiwan in 2001, by approving Taiwan's request for upgrading three existing Patriot fire units to PAC-3 in 2007, and by notifying Congress of its intent to sell Taiwan additional PAC-3 fire units in 2008. Beijing's responses continued to be relatively subdued, however, despite originally indicating that the sale of PAC-3 and other missile defense systems to Taiwan would cross a red line.

Perhaps because its efforts were failing to restrict missile defense transfers to Taiwan, Chinese leaders began adopting more innovative means to curb arms sales. In October 2002, while meeting with President George W. Bush at his Texas ranch, Chinese President Jiang Zemin proposed that a link be established between China's missile deployment on their side of the Taiwan Strait and U.S. arms sales to Taiwan. President Bush urged Beijing to talk directly to Taipei about the issue. Since that time, however, Beijing has consistently dismissed calls by both Taipei and Washington to withdraw its missiles, and China has instead been expanding its ballistic missile infrastructure opposite Taiwan.⁴⁰

Manipulation of Bilateral Military-to-Military Exchanges

Significant parts of the PLA may view military to military exchanges with the U.S. as largely symbolic, relatively void of substance and, therefore, expendable. On the other hand, some current and former senior Pentagon officials have argued that military relations with China are critical to U.S. national security.⁴¹ Substantial and ongoing discussions between senior U.S. defense policymakers and their counterparts in

³⁹ Kan, Shirley A., "*Taiwan: Major U.S. Arms Sales Since 1990*" Congressional Research Service Report RL30957, September 15, 2011.

⁴⁰ Bush, Richard C., "*Taiwan Faces Growing Threat: Communist China Undermines Rapprochement*" Washington Times, September 8, 2010, at www.brookings.edu/opinions/2010/0908_taiwan_bush.aspx. See also Stokes, Mark, "*Expansion of China's Ballistic Missile Infrastructure Opposite Taiwan*" AsiaEye, April 18, 2011, at blog.project2049.net/2011/04/expansion-of-chinas-ballistic-missile.html.

⁴¹ For example Owens, Bill, "*America Must Start Treating China as a Friend*" Financial Times, November 17, 2009, at www.ft.com/cms/s/0/69241506-d3b2-11de-8caf-00144feabdc0.html. See also Ralston, Joseph W., "*Why the Pentagon Needs Friends in Beijing*" Wall Street Journal, March 4, 2010.

Beijing are unquestionably useful. However, there is no evidence that the defense relationship has yielded tangible, major benefits to the U.S. at least since 1991, and perhaps even since 1979.

Nevertheless, the defense relationship – or rather the ability to suspend military relations – is certainly used as an influential tool on both sides. Due to the inherently symbolic character of an official defense relationship, suspension of U.S.-China military exchanges has become an important means of protest. For example, the U.S. suspended military exchanges in the wake of the PLA's violent crackdown of student protesters in June 1989. Defense ties resumed in 1993 and were then suspended again after Chinese missile tests off the coast of Taiwan in March 1996. Resumed in December 1996, exchanges were again temporarily suspended after the accidental bombing of the Chinese embassy in Belgrade in 1999. In 2001, U.S. Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld began enforcing stringent restrictions on bilateral exchanges, constraints which were gradually relaxed by 2005.

Beijing has indeed often manipulated bilateral military-to-military exchanges with the U.S. specifically in order to influence decisions on Taiwan arms sales. In October 2008, the U.S. Department of State released several items for notification to Congress, including Javelin, Harpoon, PAC-III, and Apache, at a total estimated cost of US\$6.463 billion. In the wake of those Congressional notifications, Beijing suspended military exchanges in protest. The military relationship resumed again in June 2009, but that did not last long. In late January 2010, China again froze exchanges after the Obama administration informed Congress of its intent to conclude final agreements to sell UH-60 Black Hawk utility helicopters, which had originally been approved in 2007, and a second batch of PAC-3 fire units to Taiwan. The bilateral military relationship was again restored during U.S. Defense Secretary Robert Gates' visit to Beijing in January 2011.

It is evident that suspension of military exchanges has become routine for both sides. But Beijing has also introduced two new tactics to complicate U.S. decision-making. First, the PLA has seemingly been encouraging senior retired U.S. military officers to advocate in favor of a review of the Taiwan Relations Act (TRA) and against U.S. arms sales to Taiwan.

Second, China has tacitly encouraged foreign businesses to advocate against Taiwan arms sales, presumably in exchange for favorable consideration when competing for PRC government-affiliated contracts. PRC manipulation of foreign business interests for political purposes is not unusual. The attraction of a potentially vast China market has been a valuable source of leverage, which Beijing has selectively and actively exploited.

This type of pressure has been brought to bear on other countries in the past. In the late 1980s, German industry initiated discussions with Taiwan regarding a possible sale of submarines. In January 1993, bowing to Chinese admonishments, Germany's Federal Security Council barred submarine-related technology assistance.⁴² After the November 1992 French sale of Mirage 2000-5 jet fighters to Taiwan, China apparently banned French companies from participating in a US\$1 billion subway project in Guangzhou, and other

⁴² Schubert, Gunter, "The European Dimension of German-Taiwanese Relations – A Critical Assessment" Paper presented at The Role of France and Germany in Sino-European Relations Conference, Hong Kong Baptist University, July/August, 2001, at www.ceri-sciencespo.com/archive/july01/schubert.pdf.

French companies also cited discrimination in China at that time.⁴³ Concerned over potential negative Chinese reaction to the possible sale of 12 French-German Airbus aircraft to Taiwan, the German government is said to have expressed its reservations to French authorities.⁴⁴ Ultimately, in January 1994, France also concluded a joint agreement with Chinese authorities to limit French military sales to Taiwan.

China has begun specifically encouraging U.S. business interests to lobby against arms sales to Taiwan or to at least curb their enthusiasm for such deals. One U.S. defense company is rumored to have been unofficially sanctioned in China as a result of a major Taiwan arms sales program. The company in question was supposedly forced to close its local office in China, where it was representing the company in the air traffic control market. Following a routine PAC-3-related contract announcement in December 2009, a PLA National Defense University academic publicly advocated imposing sanctions against U.S. companies engaged in Taiwan arms sales.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs appears to have adopted the implied threat and singled out a U.S. company by name in statements referencing the 2009 contract.⁴⁵ Nevertheless, there is no solid evidence to date that China has followed through on these threats toward U.S. defense contractors – threats made most recently after the January 2010 arms package was released. Indeed, each of the companies mentioned in this context at that time all saw their commercial interests in China expand in the two quarters following the 2010 notification.

Table 3: Arms Sales Notifications, 2001-2011

Date	DSCA No.	Program
2001-07-18	01-19	JTIDS Consoles and Related Equipment and Support
2001-09-05	01-25	AGM-65G Maverick Missiles and Related Equipment and Support
2001-10-26	02-11	Javelin Anti-Tank Missiles and Related Equipment and Support
2001-10-30	02-05	Cooperative Logistics Supply Support Arrangement
2002-06-04	02-21	Air Traffic Control Radar
2002-09-04	02-40	Rebuilt Standard Assault Amphibious Personnel Vehicles
2002-09-04	02-41	Maintenance of Repairable Material
2002-09-04	02-52	AIM-9M-1/2 Missiles
2002-09-04	02-58	AGM-114M3 Hellfire II Air-to-Surface Anti-Armor Missiles

⁴³ WuDunn, Sheryl, “Chinese Angered by French Arms Sale to Taiwan” New York Times, November 20, 1992. See also Cohen, Roger, “France Bars Taiwan Sales, Warming China Ties” New York Times, January 13, 1994. Ultimately, the Guangzhou subway contract was supposedly awarded to a German firm during the visit of Helmut Kohl to Beijing in November 1993.

⁴⁴ Fitchett, Joseph, “Paris Rebuffs Bonn on Taiwan Jet Sale” New York Times, November 17, 1992.

⁴⁵ Qin, Jize, “Sanctions ‘could hurt aviation industry’” China Daily, February 2, 2010, at www.chinadaily.com.cn/world/2010-02/02/content_9410683.htm.

2002-10-11	03-01	TOW-2B Missiles
2002-11-21	03-03	Kidd Class Guided Missile Destroyers
2003-09-24	03-23	Multifunctional Information Distribution Systems/Low-Volume Terminals
2004-03-30	04-04b	Ultra High Frequency Long-Range Early Warning Radars
2005-10-25	06-07	Missiles and Pilot Training Program
2007-02-28	07-10	AMRAAM and Maverick Missiles
2007-08-08	07-41	AGM-84L Harpoon Block II Missiles
2007-09-12	07-19	SM-2 Block IIIA Standard Missiles
2007-09-12	07-51	Excess P-3C Aircraft
2007-11-09	08-10	Patriot Configuration 2 Ground Systems Upgrade
2008-10-03	08-41	30 AH-64D Block III Apache Longbow Attack Helicopters
2008-10-03	08-46	32 UGM-84L Sub-Launched Harpoon Block II Missiles and Two UTM-84L Harpoon Block II Exercise Missiles
2008-10-03	08-47-1	The Upgrade of Four E-2T Aircraft to the Hawkeye 2000 Configuration
2008-10-03	08-56	330 Patriot Advanced Capability (PAC-3) Missiles
2008-10-03	08-57	A Blanket Order Requisition Case for Follow-On Spare Parts in Support of F-5E/F, C-130H, F-16A/B, and Indigenous Defense Fighter IDF Aircraft, Communication Equipment, Radar, and Other Related Elements of Logistics Support
2008-10-03	08-70	182 Javelin Guided Missile Rounds and 20 Javelin Command Launch Units
2010-01-29	09-03	UH-60M Black Hawk Helicopters
2010-01-29	09-37	Multifunctional Information Distribution Systems Low Volume Terminals (MIDS/LVT-1)
2010-01-29	09-39	Osprey Class Mine-Hunting Ships
2010-01-29	09-57	ATM-84L and RTM-84L Harpoon Block II Telemetry Missiles
2010-01-29	09-75	Patriot Advanced Capability (PAC-3) Firing Units, Training Unit, and Missiles
2011-09-21	11-19	A Pilot Training Program
2011-09-21	11-39	Retrofitting of F-16A/B Aircraft
2011-09-21	11-34	Blanket Order Requisitions for Spare Parts in Support of F-16A/B, F-5E/F, C-130H, and Indigenous Defense Fighter (IDF) Aircraft

Source: DSCA

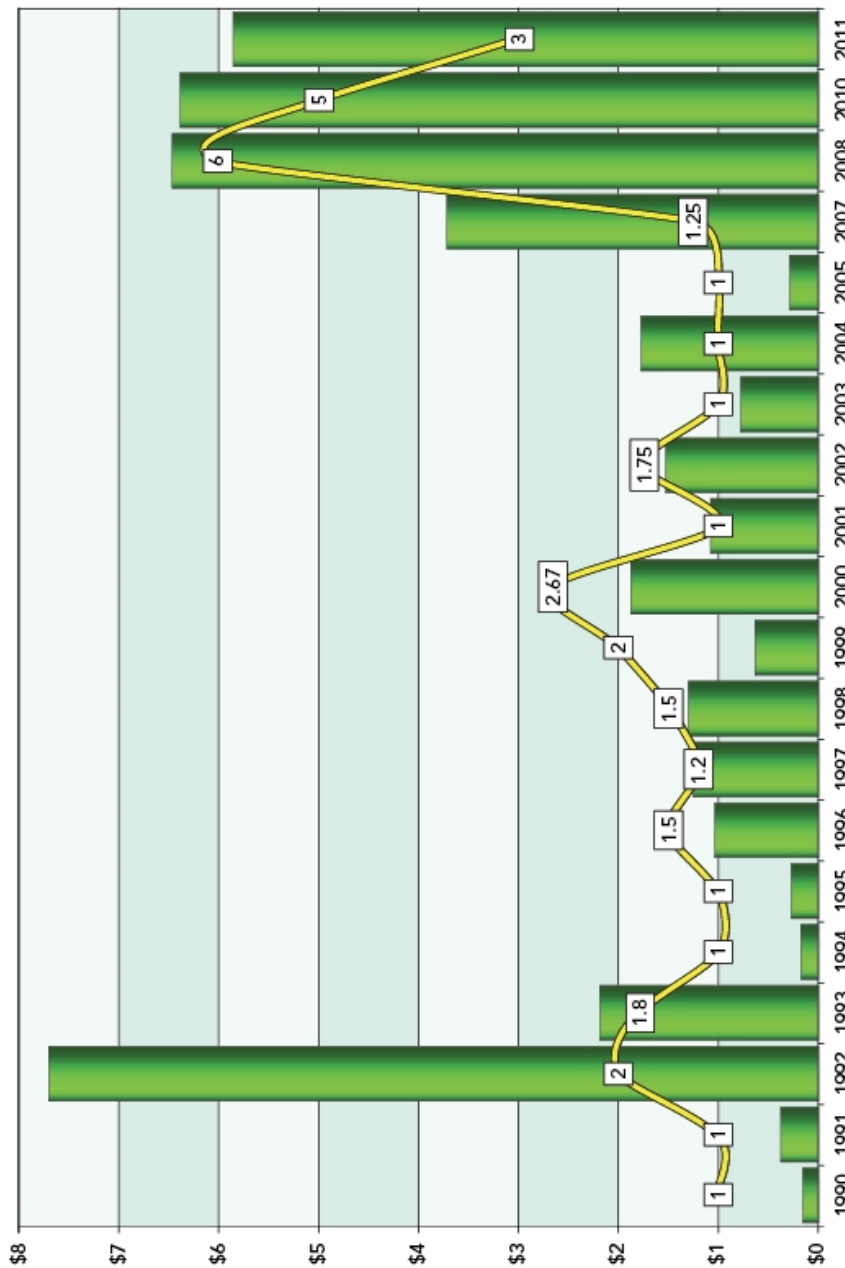
Table 4: Value of Arms Sales Notifications, 2001-2011

Year	Month	Subtotal	Year Total
2001	July	0.725	1.082
	September	0.018	
	October	0.339	
2002	June	0.108	1.521
	September	0.520	
	October	0.018	
	November	0.875	
2003	September	0.775	0.775
2004	March	1.776	1.776
2005	October	0.280	0.280
2006	-	-	-
2007	February	0.421	3.717
	August	0.125	
	September	2.232	
	November	0.939	
2008	October	6.463	6.463
2009	-	-	-
2010	January	6.392	6.392
2011	September	5.852	5.852
Grand Total			27.858

Source: DSCA

Figures in US\$ billion

Figure 2: Value of Arms Sales Notifications, 1990-2011



Source: DSCA and Kan, *op.cit.* The average number of notifications per release date shows the packaging of notifications starting in 2008. Note that there were no notifications during 2006 or 2009.

CURRENT STATUS: F-16S AND CHINA'S REACTIONS

Beijing has long considered sales of fighters to Taiwan as particularly sensitive, whether it is F-5, FX, Mirage, F-16, or F-35. This is due primarily to their prominent political symbolism, and due to their importance in offsetting the coercive value of other aerospace assets such as ballistic missiles.

After the 1992 sale of F-16A/Bs, Beijing expressed concern over the ability of the Taiwan fighters to conduct interdiction operations against targets inside China, arguing that F-16s are perhaps even more effective in delivering firepower than ballistic missiles. The difference is, of course, that fighters have a much more difficult time penetrating air defenses than do ballistic missiles.

However, Chinese defense against a conventional ballistic missile campaign would require an integrated approach – involving a combination of a survivable C4ISR network, active missile defenses such as PAC-3, as well as interdiction of single points of failure within the PLA Second Artillery's operational system opposite Taiwan. Success would depend upon suppression of PLA air defenses, and Taiwan has indeed already invested in such capabilities. Today, however, the PLA's increasingly sophisticated air defense network along China's southeast coast likely would raise the costs of any such potential interdiction operations launched from Taiwan. Nevertheless, this issue remains on the table for China as a basis for protesting a follow-on U.S. F-16 sale to Taiwan.

By the middle part of last decade, the Taiwan Air Force began looking for suitable replacements for its F-5 fleet and for the F-16, Mirage, and IDF airframes that are expected to reach the end of their service life within the next 10 years. On July 27, 2006, the Taiwan Ministry of National Defense attempted to submit an LOR to the U.S. for P&A data for 66 additional F-16s. This was to be the first of three unsuccessful attempts at submitting an LOR for new aircraft, spanning the period 2006-2007. The new F-16C/D aircraft were primarily intended to replace Taiwan's 60 remaining F-5 fighters, and could serve as a bridge until a very short takeoff and landing (VSTOL) airframe, such as the F-35B, could be made available. In addition, Taiwan began pursuing an upgrade program for its existing fleet of F-16A/Bs acquired in 1992.

On September 21, 2011, the Defense Security Cooperation Agency (DSCA) notified Congress of the U.S. intent to retrofit Taiwan's existing fleet of F-16A/B airframes at a potential value of US\$5.3 billion. The retrofit is to include active electronically scanned array (AESA) radar and electronic warfare systems, AIM-9X air-to-air missiles, Joint Direct Attack Munitions (JDAM) guidance kits, as well as an engineering and design study on replacing the fighters' existing F100-PW-220 engines with the F100-PW-229 engines. The AESA radar is standard equipment on F-16 Block 60 (E/F), while the F100-PW-229 is the engine used on F-16 Block 50 (C/D).

China's response to the retrofit notification has been uncharacteristically muted. Reports indicate that Admiral Mike Mullen, former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, initiated a call to PLA Chief of General Staff Chen Bingde to explain the U.S. view of the sale. Publicly, the Chinese Ministry of Defense spokesperson responded by saying that "*in light of the serious damage resulting from the U.S. arms sale to Taiwan, planned China-U.S.*

*military exchanges, including high-level visits and joint exercises, will definitely be impacted.*⁴⁶ However, Admiral Robert Willard, Commander of the U.S. Pacific Command, told reporters that while China might delay or cancel some meetings, the PLA would not sever all contacts with the U.S. military over the sale.⁴⁷ So far, that certainly seems to be the case. During a recent visit to Asia, U.S. Secretary of Defense Leon Panetta confirmed that China had been given a “heads up” on the arms sale and praised Beijing for responding to the retrofit notification in a “*diplomatic and professional way*.”⁴⁸ Indeed, the response has been relatively tepid – possibly as a consequence of the U.S. decision not to announce F-16C/Ds for Taiwan, and the apparent pre-announcement communication between Washington, D.C., and Beijing.

There have been some calls in the Chinese media, and reportedly quietly within the PLA, for retaliation against the defense contractors and other U.S. businesses involved in the retrofit arms package. This is unlikely to materialize, however, particularly given that many Chinese companies in areas such as commercial aerospace rely heavily on the expertise of U.S. businesses in the sector.⁴⁹ Authorities in Beijing would also be well aware of the potential for escalatory counter-responses.

Prospects for the U.S. release of additional F-16C/D airframes to Taiwan remains uncertain, as does the potential Chinese response to such a sale. Because they have established that additional F-16 airframes would constitute a red line, Beijing’s political leadership would likely be forced to adopt stronger measures in response to a decision by the U.S. to go ahead with the new sale. However, that response would still be tempered by the overall positive state of bilateral U.S.-PRC relations, the similarly positive state of cross-Strait relations, and the domestic political and economic situation within China. Nevertheless, a suspension of security and military-to-military dialogue – similar to that which took place after the 2010 arms sales notifications – should be anticipated.

The strongest possible political protest, albeit unlikely, would be the withdrawal of the PRC ambassador to the U.S. Beijing could also adopt less restraint in its licensing of sensitive and militarily relevant technologies to countries of concern such as Iran or North Korea. Should China choose to go down that road, however, a political counter-response from the U.S. would likely also be strong. Finally, authorities in Beijing could seek to punish U.S. economic interests in China over such a sale. Yet their options in this regard are limited due to the potential negative effects on broader Chinese interests and the fact that economic and trade-based retaliations could mean a case brought before the World Trade Organization (WTO).

⁴⁶ “*U.S. arms sale to Taiwan will disrupt military exchanges, joint drills*” Embassy of the PRC in the USA, September 28, 2011, at us.china-embassy.org/eng/zt/twwt/t863390.htm.

⁴⁷ “*U.S. sees China fallout from Taiwan arms, no breach*” Reuters, September 23, 2011, at www.reuters.com/article/2011/09/24/us-usa-taiwan-china-idUSTRE78N03D20110924.

⁴⁸ “*Panetta Praises China for Response to Taiwan Arms Sale*” VOA News, October 23, 2011, at www.voanews.com/english/news/asia/east-pacific/Panetta-Praises-China-for-Response-to-Taiwan-Arms-Sale-132404163.html.

⁴⁹ “*China’s Defense Ministry says Taiwan arms sale will disrupt military exchanges with US*” Washington Post, September 28, 2011, at www.washingtonpost.com/world/asia-pacific/chinas-defense-ministry-says-taiwan-arms-sale-will-disrupt-military-exchanges-with-us/2011/09/28/gIQAxCCQ73K_story.html.

With the September 2011 arms sale announcement – in response to which no apparent sanctions have taken place – as an outlier, it is clear that Chinese responses to the last few notifications of Taiwan arms sales by the U.S. have been consistent with PRC reactions to Taiwan arms sales dating back to 1979. While perhaps slightly more shrill than normal since the 2001 package announced by President Bush, China’s responses have been “*well within the channels within which arms sales to Taiwan have been dealt in the past.*”⁵⁰

If the U.S. were to announce the sale of additional F-16C/Ds to Taiwan, it is true that China is likely to react stronger than it has done to date in response to the September 2011 retrofit notification. Nevertheless, that potential response should still be comparatively reasonable and moderate, because the U.S. releasing additional F-16s to Taiwan is inherently both moderate and reasonable. The U.S. would not be introducing a significant new capability into the region, particularly since they have already agreed to include AESA as part of the retrofitting of Taiwan’s existing F-16s. In addition, the release of additional F-16s is a reasonable response to Beijing’s refusal to initiate a drawdown of its forces opposite Taiwan. If China truly sought to reduce U.S. arms sales to Taiwan, Beijing would begin a drawdown of its missile forces facing the island.

⁵⁰ Paal, Douglas H., “*China: Reaction to Taiwan Arms Sales*” Carnegie Endowment Web Commentary, January 31, 2010, at www.carnegieendowment.org/publications/index.cfm?fa=view&id=24827.

Figure 3: Map of the Taiwan Strait



Source: NordNordWest [Creative Commons-BY-SA-3.0], via Wikimedia Commons at commons.wikimedia.org

CONCLUSION

The potential for PRC coercive use of force to resolve political differences with Taiwan has been the primary flash point in the region and likely will remain so for the foreseeable future. A relative erosion of Taiwan's military capabilities could create opportunities and incentives for Beijing's political and military leadership to assume greater risk in imposing their own agenda on cross-strait relations, including resorting to force to resolve their difference with Taiwan. This is also the contingency that is most likely to bring the U.S. and China into armed conflict.

Beijing has long viewed U.S. arms sales to Taiwan in a predominately political context. Yet the U.S. and, to a lesser extent, Taiwan have both approached arms sales issues from a primarily military perspective. China presumes that U.S. arms sales to Taiwan are encouraging Taiwan independence sentiments on the island. However, such assertions are no less difficult to prove than the previously mentioned cause-effect linkage between arms sales and breakthroughs in cross-strait relations.

The single most important factor in alienating the people of Taiwan, and thereby a large factor in encouraging independence sentiments, is the PRC's coercive military posture opposite Taiwan.⁵¹ If it truly desired a reduction in U.S. arms sales to Taiwan, the PRC would begin substantive reductions in its own military posture. This would have to include redeployment or closure of conventional SRBM and MRBM brigades opposite Taiwan, along with the dismantling of static infrastructure supporting missile operations – such as rail transfer points and brigade/base-level underground missile assembly/checkout centers.

Removal of the missiles has been an important issue both under Taiwan President Ma Ying-jeou and his predecessor, President Chen Shui-bian. The Ma administration has explicitly established the removal of the

⁵¹ "Opposite" Taiwan would mean the 52 Base area of operations. 52 Base, headquartered in Huangshan, Anhui Province, is the Army-level command that most likely is responsible for operational planning for a Taiwan contingency, and includes subordinate brigades and regiments deployed in Fujian, Guangdong, Zhejiang, Anhui, and Jiangxi provinces. SRBM/MRBM brigades directed against Taiwan include the 815 Brigade in Leping, 817 Brigade in Yong'an, 818 Brigade in Meizhou, 819 Brigade in Ganzhou, and 820 Brigade in Jinhua. An additional SRBM/MRBM brigade under 52 Base appears to be forming at Shaoguan. A specialized regimental-level depot headquartered in Shangrao may serve as a centralized missile-storage facility supporting the brigades within 52 Base's purview. Fixed support facilities could include rail transfer points and brigade-level underground missile assembly and checkout centers located near pre-surveyed launch sites. Administrative resubordination of the six SRBM/MRBM brigades out of 52 Base and to other bases, such as 51, 53, 54, 55, or 56, would likely complicate redeployment back to Southeast China and would inhibit smooth transition to a wartime command footing. Resubordination of the missile storage depot and missiles from 52 Base to elsewhere would also complicate rapid and smooth operations from areas opposite Taiwan, if done together with closure of other fixed support facilities, such as rail transfer points and missile assembly/checkout centers. In other words, "removing missiles" by itself would be of only symbolic value since the missiles themselves can be transported back to 52 Base with relative ease, possibly undetected. In contrast, the loading and unloading on rail cars of a sizable fleet of vehicles and other equipment assigned to a brigade would be time-consuming and relatively difficult to conceal. While other assets – such as longer range DF-21C or DH-10 land attack cruise missiles – could be used to strike targets on Taiwan, closing or redeployment of SRBM/MRBM infrastructure would significantly impede the PLA's ability to launch a rapid, large-scale offensive operation against Taiwan. The military equation, or "balance," in the Taiwan Strait would change dramatically with the withdrawal of 52 Base SRBM/MRBM infrastructure assets from Southeast China.

SRBMs opposite Taiwan as a pre-condition for initiation of political negotiations that could potentially lead to a cross-Strait peace agreement.⁵²

Barring a substantive reduction in the Chinese military posture opposite Taiwan, the U.S. should – and most likely will – continue to provide Taiwan with weapons of a defensive character, as mandated under the TRA. Key issues currently on the table include an outstanding request for additional F-16C/Ds and a Congressional notification for a diesel-electric submarine design program valued at US\$360 million.

Past behavior indicates that the PRC is unlikely to challenge any fundamental U.S. interests in response to future releases of significant military articles and services to Taiwan. Congressional notifications will likely remain the primary trigger for Chinese responses – rather than earlier decision-points in the process, such as providing P&A data in response to an LOR. With the exception of AECA Section 36(b) and Section 36(c), there is no legal requirement, nor any practical reasons, to publicly announce Taiwan arms sales decisions. However, there may be political reasons to do so. Based on past experiences, announcements of DCS programs – including tech transfer, licensed assembly, or cooperative development – are likely to result in a more subdued response. This is perhaps due to the absence of a detailed reporting requirement, as notifications under AECA Section 36(c) for DCS programs need not be as specific as for those under AECA 36(b) for FMS programs.

Future Chinese actions taken in response to Taiwan arms sales could include sanctions against the U.S. companies that are supporting FMS programs or undertaking DCS programs. But major U.S. defense industrial firms, such as Lockheed Martin, Northrop Grumman, and Raytheon, conduct only minor business in China. Smaller companies – such as those providing engine and other sub-system or sub-assembly supplies for the F-16 – could potentially be affected. However, such smaller companies are unlikely to become targets for sanctions due to their peripheral involvement as sub-contractors and because small companies also have lesser value as symbolic targets.

In addition, if a U.S. company faces discrimination in China as a result of sanctions stemming from Taiwan arms sales, such a case could certainly be introduced to the WTO for adjudication. This would be especially true if the company was participating in a free and open government competition in China. The PRC would then be compelled to justify any substantive sanctions on national security grounds, presumably arguing their case based on the notion that Taiwan is an integral part of China and that arms sales are a threat to Chinese national interests and territorial integrity. However, Beijing likely understands that international law is not on its side when it comes to Taiwan sovereignty issues.

⁵² “*Complete Interview with President Chen Shui-bian*” New York Times, October 18, 2007, at www.nytimes.com/2007/10/18/world/asia/19taiwan-web.html. See also “*Inside Information on Hu Jintao’s Intent to Withdraw Missiles Opposite Taiwan*” Yazhou Zhoukan, Translated, January 11, 2009, at www.yzzk.com/cfm/Content_Archive.cfm?Channel=ag&Path=4471927941/02ag6a.cfm. “*No Peace Unless China Removes Missiles: Ma*” China Post, April 7, 2010, at www.chinapost.com.tw/taiwan/china-taiwan-relations/2010/04/07/251444/No-peace.htm, and Huang, Annie, “*Taiwan Leader Says China May Dismantle Missiles*” China Post, at www.chinapost.com.tw/taiwan/china-taiwan-relations/2010/05/19/257224/Taiwan-leader.htm.

In addition to, or in conjunction with, potential economic reprisals against U.S. businesses, Beijing could again suspend official government-to-government military exchanges in response to Taiwan arms sales. This scenario should not be of major concern to the U.S., however, as critical issues in the bilateral security relationship could still be addressed through other channels. In addition, the PLA most likely would resume exchanges again following an appropriate interval, as they have in the past.

Pressing the PLA to expand or sustain military-to-military exchanges offers Beijing the opportunity to leverage the U.S. eagerness for direct contacts, and it is understandable that China chooses to exercise that leverage. Policy dialogue between the U.S. and PRC defense establishments certainly has value. However, finite fiscal and staff resources are available for engaging with allies and friends in the Asia-Pacific, and the U.S. should not be overly focused on China. Modest expectations for the military-to-military relationship, linked with prioritizing U.S. contacts with allies and security assistance partners in the region, could reduce the value for Beijing in suspending bilateral defense relations.

Beyond suspending military-to-military relations, PRC leaders could also consider release of sensitive nuclear or missile-related technologies to Iran or other countries of concern in retaliation for Taiwan arms sales. Beijing may also withhold support for non-proliferation-related actions within the United Nations or other international organizations. However, reprisals from the U.S. or others could be expected in return, and Beijing likely would also be subject to criticism from other players in Europe and elsewhere who have significant interests in preventing Iran from gaining weapons of mass destruction.

Another potential act of retaliation could include Beijing's political leadership selling off U.S. treasury holdings in an attempt to negatively affect the overall U.S. economy. Academics from the PLA National Defense University and the Academy of Military Science suggested this tactic after the January 2010 Congressional notifications of Taiwan arms sales. As satisfying as emotional outbursts at this suggestion may be on an individual basis, however, the PLA has limited authority over national Chinese economic and financial policy. In addition, a sudden sell-off of U.S. Treasury holdings would be a significant horizontal and vertical escalation of the relatively minor, albeit emotionally charged, issue of Taiwan arms sales. Finally, the real effects of such an action are unclear, and could potentially have a greater negative effect on China's economic interests than on those of the U.S.

The United States retains considerable freedom of action when it comes to abiding by the TRA and selling necessary arms to Taiwan. Yet the Obama Administration has demonstrated unnecessary restraint in its Taiwan arms sales decisions, despite having ample justification for positive consideration – e.g. of the Ma Administration's request to procure additional F-16C/D fighter jets. Excessive caution on new arms sales to Taiwan risks legitimizing PRC use of military coercion to resolve political differences with its neighbors and sends a signal to others in the region of a diminished U.S. commitment in Asia.

Since initiating its far-reaching economic reforms, Taiwan has not only flourished despite unfavorable odds, but has also played a central yet often unacknowledged role in the gradual liberalization in China. Guided by the TRA, the U.S. has helped Taiwan maintain a strong defense, which has enabled Taiwan to withstand PRC coercion. The island has thereby been able to foster democratic institutions, and it has also given Taiwan and

its people the confidence needed to deepen and broaden cross-Strait economic and cultural interactions. Over the past 25 years, Taiwan has become a hidden yet major factor behind China's economic reforms and rapid export-driven growth, which has been essential for domestic Chinese stability, modernization, and potential gradual political liberalization. In short, there is no logical disconnect between efforts to improve cross-Strait economic and political relations, Taiwan's desire for a strong defense capability, and procurement of defense articles from the U.S.

The PRC's refusal to renounce use of force to resolve its political differences with Taiwan remains the principal obstacle in reducing tensions in the Taiwan Strait. An end to the state of hostility between the two sides of the Strait would also require a tangible decrease in the nature of the military threat that Chinese authorities and the military force under their control pose to the people on Taiwan and their democratically elected leadership. Overall trends in cross-Strait relations make continued reliance on implicit or explicit use of military force increasingly outdated and even counterproductive.

Taiwan already renounced use of force to resolve differences with China in 1991. The single most significant undertaking that would avoid risks of military confrontations over the next 10 to 15 years would be China renouncing military force as a means to resolving its political differences with Taiwan. Such an act, in combination with a tangible reduction in its military posture – specifically a drawdown or even redeployment of the SRBM infrastructure deployed opposite Taiwan, would facilitate demilitarization in the Taiwan Strait and place the region on a more stable course for the future.

APPENDIX

Acronyms

ACME	Arms Control in the Middle East
AECA	Arms Export Control Act
AIT	American Institute in Taiwan
C4ISR	Command, Control, Communications, Computers, Intelligence, Surveillance and Reconnaissance
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
DCS	Direct Commercial Sales
DoD	Department of Defense
DSCA	Defense Security Cooperation Agency
DSP	Defense Support Program
ECFA	Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement
FMS	Foreign Military Sales
GEM	Guidance Enhanced Missile
IDF	Indigenous Defense Fighter (FC-K-1A/B)
JTIDS	Joint Tactical Information Distribution System
LOA	Letter of Offer and Acceptance
LOR	Letter of Request
MADS	Modified Air Defense System
MBT	Main Battle Tank
MLU	Mid-Life Upgrade
MND	Ministry of National Defense (Taiwan)
MRBM	Medium-Range Ballistic Missile
MTCR	Missile Technology Control Regime
NPC	National People's Congress
NSC	National Security Council
P&A	Price and Availability
PAC	Patriot Advanced Capability
PACOM	Pacific Command
PLA	People's Liberation Army
PRC	People's Republic of China
ROC	Republic of China
SAO	Security Assistance Organization
SME	Significant Military Equipment

SRBM	Short-Range Ballistic Missile
TMD	Theater Missile Defense
TRA	Taiwan Relations Act
UHF	Ultra High Frequency
VSTOL	Vertical and/or Short Takeoff and Landing
WTO	World Trade Organization

Glossary

1992 Consensus

An informal agreement from a November 1992 meeting in Hong Kong between the mainland-based Association for Relations Across the Taiwan Strait (ARATS) and the Taiwan-based Straits Exchange Foundation (SEF), the 1992 Consensus stated there is only “One China” and each side of the Strait maintained their own definition as to the specifics of the term.

52 Base

52 Base is the People’s Liberation Army (PLA)-level command that is likely responsible for operational planning for a Taiwan contingency. It includes subordinate brigades and regiments deployed in the Fujian, Guangdong, Zhejiang, Anhui, and Jiangxi provinces.

AA-12 “Adder”

AA-12 is the NATO designation for the Russian R-77 (nicknamed Amraamski). The AA-12 is an active radar-homing, all-aspect, all-weather, medium-range air-to-air missile. The missile is comparable in general performance to the U.S. AIM-120A/B (AMRAAM), but with a longer range and a heavier warhead. It is considered to be inferior to the AIM-120 in missile seeker technology and countermeasure capability.

Academy of Military Science (PRC)

The highest-level research institute of the People’s Liberation Army, headquartered in Beijing, the Academy of Military Science (AMS) researches issues related to national defense, armed forces development, and military operations. It also coordinates research conducted by the various PLA institutions; conducts analyses on foreign militaries, strategy, and doctrine; and has consistently taken the lead role in the study of the future of warfare.

Active Electronically-Scanned Array (AESA) Radar

Also known as active phased-array radar, an AESA is a radar system whose transmitter and receiver components spread their broadcasts out across a band of frequencies, making it difficult to detect over background noise. This allows the ships and aircraft that use them to broadcast powerful radar signals while remaining stealthy.

Aegis MK-7 Combat System

Aegis (*shield* in Latin) is the U.S. Navy’s modern surface combat system. Aegis was designed and developed as a complete system, capable of engaging in simultaneous warfare on several fronts. An advanced, automatic detect and track, multi-function phased-array radar, coupled with a computer-based command and decision element, provides the core of the Aegis combat system. This interface makes Aegis capable of simultaneous operation against multi-mission threats: anti-air, anti-surface, and anti-submarine warfare. Its weapons can be trained on targets at a wide range of altitudes and is capable of engaging anti-ship cruise missiles and manned aircraft flying in all speed ranges from subsonic to supersonic. There are currently only four ship classes in the world equipped with the Aegis Combat System, including the U.S. Navy’s Ticonderoga-class and Arleigh Burke-class vessels.

AGM-65 “Maverick”

AGM-65 is a tactical, air-to-surface guided missile for close air support, interdiction, and defense suppression missions that provides stand-off capability and a high probability of strike against a wide range of targets, including armor, air defenses, ships, transportation equipment, and fuel storage facilities. The original AGM-65A/B variants have daylight-only electro-optical television guidance systems, while later variants have an imaging infrared guidance system. The AGM-65G variant has upgraded software and a heavyweight penetrator warhead.

AH-64D “Longbow” Apache

A remanufactured and updated version of the Boeing AH-64 Apache attack helicopter (a line that went into production in the early 1980s), the Longbow Apache is equipped with the AN/APG-78 Longbow fire control radar. This multi-role combat helicopter fulfills attack and reconnaissance requirements for numerous armed forces worldwide, including for the U.S. Army and a growing number of international defense forces. Block II modernizations provide increases in information sharing, targeting, and night capabilities. Block III includes a series of structural, propulsion, and avionics modifications that provide network-centric capabilities.

AIM-9 “Sidewinder”

AIM-9 is a supersonic, heat-seeking, air-to-air missile whose main components are an active infrared homing guidance system, an optical target detector, a high-explosive warhead, and a rocket motor. The M model has improved capability against infrared countermeasures and features modifications that increase its ability to locate and lock-on to a target and decrease the chance of missile detection. The X model has improved range, speed, maneuverability, and greatly enhanced acquisition ranges and IR countermeasures and features compatibility with helmet-mounted displays.

American Institute in Taiwan (AIT)

www.ait.org.tw/en/

The American Institute in Taiwan (AIT) is the non-profit, private corporation established by the Taiwan Relations Act (TRA) to continue commercial, cultural, and other relations between the U.S. and Taiwan after the U.S. switch in official diplomatic relations to the PRC in 1979. The Department of State, through a contract with the Institute, provides a large part of AIT’s funding and guidance in its operations. Congress, in passing the TRA, also assumed an oversight role with respect to the Institute’s operations. In Taipei, the Liaison Affairs Section serves as the representative of the U.S. Department of Defense, while the Technical Section manages the Taiwan security assistance program.

AN/AAQ-19 “Sharpshooter”

An international derivative version of the AN/AAQ-14 targeting pod, the AN/AAQ-19 is part of the LANTIRN (Low-Altitude Navigation and Targeting InfraRed for Night) system. It works in conjunction with the AN/AAQ-20 Pathfinder navigation pod, but is not compatible with the AGM-65 Maverick air-to-ground missile.

AN/AAQ-20 “Pathfinder”

A downgraded-for-export version of the AN/AAQ-13 navigation pod, the AN/AAQ-20 is part of the LANTIRN (Low-Altitude Navigation and Targeting InfraRed for Night) system, but without the terrain-following radar. It works in conjunction with the AN/AAQ-19 Sharpshooter targeting pod. The Pathfinder’s infrared sensor is

capable of providing visual cues of ground features in darkness and adverse weather, but it is up to the pilot to avoid ground obstacles at low-altitude flight.

AN/ALQ-184 ECM Pod

The ALQ-184 is a self-protect electronic countermeasures (ECM) pod that protects aircraft against radio frequency threats in a complex radar-guided threat environment by selectively directing high-power jamming against multiple emitters. The system provides instantaneous RF signal processing and features a high-sensitivity multi-beam receiver with continuous wave, pulse, and pulse Doppler signal processing.

AN/TPQ-37 “Firefinder”

The Firefinder is a mobile radar system designed to detect and track incoming artillery and rocket fire to determine the point of origin for counterbattery fire. A typical system consists of the antenna-transceiver group, command shelter, and 60 kW generator; and the radar is generally trailer-mounted and towed behind a truck.

Arms Control in the Middle East (ACME)

ACME is an arms control initiative involving the five permanent members of the UN Security Council (China, France, UK, U.S., and Russia), calling on arms exporters to refrain from destabilizing arms transfers to the Middle East, calling for regular consultation and for a notification mechanism plus exchanges of annual reports on sales to the region. Three rounds of meetings were held from 1991-1992, agreeing upon some common guidelines. In September 1992, China pulled out of the talks – ostensibly in response to the U.S. sale of F-16s to Taiwan – and the talks have been stalled since.

Arms Export Control Act (AECA)

Enacted in 1976, the AECA provides the legal authority to control U.S. exports of defense articles and services and to conduct end-use monitoring of such exports. The Act sets forth specific requirements and considerations for arms sales to foreign governments. AECA places certain restrictions on American arms traders and manufacturers, prohibiting them from the sale of certain sensitive technologies to certain parties and requiring thorough documentation of such trades to trusted parties. While the President holds statutory executive authority, an Executive Order has delegated the responsibility for enforcing the Act to the U.S. Secretary of State.

Arms Sales Talks

The rounds of official arms sales talks between the U.S. and Taiwan that took place each year between 1983 and 2001. The process involved an annual delegation from Taiwan visiting the U.S. and submitting their official arms sales request list. After internal deliberations, the U.S. would then issue a formal answer to the requests.

Ballistic Missile Defense (BMD)

Ballistic Missile Defense refers to all active and passive measures designed to detect, identify, track, and defeat attacking ballistic missiles, in both strategic and theater tactical roles, during any portion of their flight trajectory (boost, post-boost, mid-course, or terminal phase) or to nullify or reduce the effectiveness of such an attack.

Chiang, Ching-kuo

Chiang Ching-kuo was the son of Chiang Kai-shek and held numerous posts in the Kuomintang (KMT) and in the Taiwan government. He succeeded his father to power, serving as Premier from 1972 to 1978 and as President from 1978 until his death in 1988. Under his tenure, the government, although still authoritarian, became much more open and tolerant of political dissent. Toward the end of his tenure, Chiang relaxed government controls on the press and speech and put native Taiwanese in positions of power, including his successor Lee Teng-hui.

Chien Lung “Sword Dragon”-class Submarine [AKA Hai Lung (“Sea Dragon”)]

Taiwan’s two diesel-electric submarines, Hai Lung (Sea Dragon) and Hai Hu (Sea Tiger), assumed service in the Taiwan Navy in 1987/1988, after being built in the Netherlands. The original order was for six ships, but only two were delivered. The Chien Lung (Sword Dragon)-class, often referred to as Hai Lung, is a variation on the Dutch Zwaardvis MK2 design, itself based on the U.S. Barbel class. It is a conventional attack submarine.

CM-11 “Brave Tiger” Main Battle Tank (MBT)

Also known as an M48H, the Brave Tiger is the Taiwan version of the M60 tank, utilizing a modified M48A2 turret mated to an M60A3 hull. This MBT also has significant upgrades, the turret fitted with a 105 mm main gun, an advanced fire control system, stabilized sights, ballistics computer, and thermal imaging.

Communist Party of China (CPC)/Chinese Communist Party (CCP)

The Communist Party of China, also known as the Chinese Communist Party, is the ruling political party of the People’s Republic of China (PRC). The CCP, created in 1921, found legitimacy following its victory over the Kuomintang (KMT) during the Chinese Civil War, whereupon the KMT government fled to the island of Taiwan. The CCP boasts more than 70 million members and is the largest political party in the world. Chinese President Hu Jintao serves as the party’s General Secretary.

Congressional Notification

Formal declaration to Congress of proposed foreign arms sales, Congressional notifications are managed by the Defense Security Cooperation Agency (DSCA).

Data Links

Data links transmit voice and data messages between two points. See Link-16.

De Facto

From Latin, *de facto* means something that has been established in practice but is not necessarily ordained by law. Contrast with *de jure*.

Defense Security Cooperation Agency (DSCA)

The DSCA, part of the U.S. Department of Defense, provides financial and technical assistance; transfer of defense materiel, training, and services to allies; and promotes military-to-military contacts. The DSCA’s mission is to lead, direct, and manage security cooperation programs to support U.S. national security objectives that strengthen America’s alliances and partnerships.

Defense Support Program (DSP)

The DSP is an Air Force program operating the reconnaissance satellites which form the principal component of the U.S. space-based early warning system. DSP satellites detect missile launches, space launches, and nuclear detonations. The DSP is set to be replaced by the Space-Based Infrared System (SBIS).

De Jure

From Latin, *de jure* means in accordance with law or by legal right. Contrast with *de facto*.

Démarche

A démarche is a formal diplomatic representation of the official position, views, or wishes on a given subject from one government to another. The U.S. government defines it as a request or intercession with a foreign official, including as a protest about a specific government policy or actions.

DF-11

The DF-11 (M-11/CSS-7), or Dongfeng-11 (“East Wind 11”), is a road-mobile short-range ballistic missile (SRBM) designed by Wang Zhenhua at the Sanjiang Missile Corporation in the late 1970s. The DF-11 has range of 300 km and 500 kg payload. An improved DF-11A version has increased range of >825 km. The DF-11 uses solid fuel, which greatly reduces launch preparation time to 15-30 minutes. The DF-11 is the Chinese equivalent of the Scud-series of missiles.

DF-15

The DF-15 (M-9/CSS-6), or Dongfeng-15 (“East Wind 15”), is a single-stage, solid-fuel short-range ballistic missile (SRBM) with 600 km range and 500 kg payload. During the 1995-1996 Taiwan Strait Crisis, the PLA launched 6 DF-15 missiles in what was billed as an exercise to demonstrate the missile’s capability. Although the DF-15 is marketed for export, its range would violate the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR) agreement, and thus no DF-15 has been exported to date. Approximately 300-350 DF-15 are estimated to be in service with the PLA Second Artillery Corps.

DF-21

The DF-21 (CSS-5), or Dongfeng-21 (“East Wind 21”), is a two-stage, solid-propellant, single-warhead medium-range ballistic missile (MRBM) originally deployed in the early 1990s. China’s first solid-fuel land-based missile, it has a maximum range of 1,700 km, and a payload of 600 kg. The DF-21C (CSS-5 Mod-3) is a modified version of the missile with improved navigation and targeting, making it better suitable for precision-strike missions.

DH-10

The DH-10, or Donghai-10 (“East Sea 10”), is a Chinese second-generation land-attack cruise missile (LACM). It features advanced navigation and terrain contour mapping systems, along with a digital scene-matching terminal-homing system. It is estimated to have a circular error probable (CEP) of 10 meters and an estimated range over 4,000 km.

Diesel-Electric Submarines

Diesel-Electric Submarines utilize batteries for running underwater and diesel engines on the surface to provide for propulsion and battery recharging. This provides a very quiet form of propulsion, but such vessels are required to surface fairly frequently to recharge their batteries, as the diesel engines require oxygen from

the atmosphere. The U.S. no longer builds or uses diesel-electric submarines, instead favoring nuclear propulsion.

Direct Commercial Sales (DCS)

DCS refers to overseas sales of weapons and other defense articles, defense services, and military training by private U.S. companies. It is an alternative to defense sales through the Foreign Military Sales (FMS) process.

E-2 “Hawkeye”

The E-2 Hawkeye is an all-weather, tactical airborne early-warning (AEW) aircraft. Additional missions include surface surveillance coordination, strike and interceptor control, search and rescue guidance, and communications relay. The E-2T variant (T standing for Taiwan) is a rebuilt E-2C. The E-2K is based on the updated Hawkeye 2000 variant developed for the U.S. Navy and has new computer, navigation, flight control system, and communications upgrades.

Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement (ECFA)

The ECFA is a preferential trade agreement between Taiwan and China. The agreement, originally called a Comprehensive Economic Cooperation Agreement (CECA), is intended to maintain Taiwan’s economic competitiveness in the world market and allow Taiwan to avoid marginalization. The agreement permits the free flow of many goods, services, and capital between Taiwan and China, but key items such as agricultural produce are exempt, largely as a concession to Taiwan farmers. Discussions on the ECFA formally started in early 2010, and it was signed on June 29, 2010.

F100-PW-220

The F100 family of fighter aircraft engines is a high-pressure-ratio engine originally developed for the F-15. The PW-220 model, introduced in 1986, includes digital electronics allowing for precision control, advanced maintenance features, and added extended durability and reliability of metallurgical and heat-transfer advances.

F100-PW-229

The F100 family of fighter aircraft engines is a high-pressure-ratio engine originally developed for the F-15. The PW-229 model, introduced in 1989, incorporates modern turbine materials, cooling management techniques, compressor aerodynamics, and electronic controls.

F-5 “Tiger II/Freedom Fighter/Peace Tiger 6”

The F-5 is a small, lightweight supersonic fighter aircraft that is easy to fly and simple to maintain. Never a part of the USAF tactical forces, the F-5 has been used to represent a hostile fighter in simulated combat, as some of its characteristics resemble those of the Soviet-built MIG-21. In the 1970s, AIDC cooperated with the U.S. designers to manufacture F-5E for the Taiwan Air Force, and AIDC imitated the F-5E to produce F-5F. “Peace Tiger” was the name for the license production program.

F-16 “Fighting Falcon”

The Fighting Falcon is a highly maneuverable, lightweight fighter aircraft flown in large numbers by the U.S. Air Force and by many other countries. More than 4,000 F-16s have been produced, in over 110 different versions (designated by “block” numbers and letters). Highly versatile and maneuverable, the F-16 is a very popular multi-role fighter.

In 1992, Taiwan acquired 145 F-16A/B fighters, Block 20, from the U.S. The Block 20 version is an Operational Capability Upgrade for Taiwan that features an improved AN/APG-66(V)3 radar, a carriage of AGM-45 Shrike, AGM-84 Harpoon, AGM-88 HARM, and Low-Altitude Navigation and Targeting Infrared for Night (LANTIRN). The computers onboard Block 20 are significantly improved in comparison to that of the earlier versions, with the overall processing speed increased 740 times and the overall memory storage increased 180 times in comparison to that of Block 15 OCU.

The two-seat F-16B was intended for training, but retained combat capabilities. The second additional seat was achieved through fuel load reduction, which also reduced the F-16B's combat range.

The F-16C/D variants requested by Taiwan beginning in 2006 are single-/two-place fighters, incorporating built-in structural and wiring provisions and systems architecture that permit expansion of the multirole flexibility to perform precision strike, night attack, and beyond-visual-range interception missions.

F-35 Joint Strike Fighter (JSF)

The F-35 is the result of the Defense Department's Joint Strike Fighter (JSF) program, seeking to build a multi-role fighter optimized for air-to-ground combat but with secondary air-to-air capability. The F-35 is designed to meet the needs of the Air Force, Navy, Marine Corps, and U.S. allies, with improved survivability, precision engagement capability, and reduced life-cycle costs. Using many technologies developed for the F-22, the F-35 capitalizes on commonality and modularity to maximize affordability. The F-35B variant – produced for the U.S. Marine Corps – will feature a Short Takeoff/Vertical Landing capability (STOVL).

F-CK-1A/B “Ching-kuo” Indigenous Defense Fighter (IDF)

The Ching-kuo, also known as the Indigenous Defense Fighter (IDF), is a fighter aircraft produced by the Aerospace Industrial Development Corporation (AIDC) for the Taiwan Air Force along the same general lines as the F-16 Fighting Falcon. It was named in honor of late Taiwan President Chiang Ching-kuo.

Foreign Military Sales (FMS)

FMS is a program for government-to-government purchases of weapons and other defense articles, defense services, and military training. A foreign military buying weapons through the FMS program does not deal directly with the company that makes an item. Instead, the U.S. Defense Department serves as an intermediary, usually handling procurement, logistics, and delivery and often providing product support and training. The Defense Security Cooperation Agency (DSCA) is the focal point for U.S. FMS programs.

FX (Intermediate Fighter for Export)

The FX fighter program called for private development of a tactical multi-role/air-to-air fighter for circumstances where export of a front-line fighter might be inappropriate under a U.S. arms transfer policy enacted by the Carter administration. The Intermediate Fighter for Export's performance, cost, and capabilities were intended to fall between those of the F-5E and the F-16A. In response, Northrop entered the F-5G, and General Dynamics/General Electric entered a modified, less capable export version of the F-16. Export regulations were later relaxed for the more capable F-16, rendering the program obsolete. The F-5G design was based on a Sparrow-carrying version of the F-5 intended for sale to Taiwan, which had been blocked in 1978. In 1982, the U.S. also blocked the sale of the F-5G to Taiwan.

Harpoon Missile System

The Harpoon missile system is an all-weather, over-the-horizon, anti-ship missile system that uses active radar homing and low-level, sea-skimming trajectory to improve survivability and effectiveness. The air-launched variant of the Harpoon is called AGM-84, the ship-launched version is RGM-84, while the submarine-launched variant is called UGM-84. AGM-84L is the designation for the GPS-equipped Harpoon Block II missiles for export. Taiwan is purchasing UGM-84L Block II variants. ATM-84L (air-launched) and RTM-84L (sea-launched) are training variants of the missile system.

Hawk Missile System

The Hawk surface-to-air missile system provides medium-range, low-to-medium altitude air defense against a variety of targets, including jet and rotary wing aircraft, unmanned aerial vehicles, and cruise missiles.

J-8

The Shenyang Jian-8 is a high-speed, high-altitude Chinese-built interceptor fighter aircraft. A PLA effort to develop an all-weather interceptor to combat high-altitude threats began in 1964 and resulted in China's first domestically designed and built jet fighter. Following their deployment in the People's Liberation Army Air Force and Naval Air Force (PLAAF/PLANAF) in 1980, the J-8 has been improved and upgraded numerous times using Soviet technology. Currently, an estimated 300 J-8s are in service in China, although the J-10 and J-11 variants are expected to replace them over the coming years.

Javelin Missile System

The Javelin medium-range, guided anti-tank missile system is the world's first one man-transportable and employable, fire-and-forget, anti-armor missile system. Javelin's multi-mission capabilities give infantry soldiers the means to engage alternate targets, such as field fortifications, buildings, helicopters, landing craft, and small boats.

Javits Report

The Javits Report is an annual report submitted by the U.S. Department of State to Congress, offering information on current arms sales proposals. The report covers all Foreign Military Sales (FMS) and Direct Commercial Sales (DCS) of major weapons or weapons-related defense equipment for US\$7 million or more, or of any other weapons or weapons-related defense equipment for US\$25 million or more. It brings to the Congress's attention proposed arms sales (that meet the above-delineated dollar value thresholds) that are intended to take place during the calendar year in which it receives the report.

Jiang, Zemin

Born on 17 August 1926, Jiang is a native of Yangzhou, Jiangsu Province. He served as General Secretary of the Communist Party of China from 1989 to 2002, but is best known for being the President of the People's Republic of China from 1993 to 2003. Jiang came to power in the wake of the Tiananmen Square protests of 1989, replacing Zhao Ziyang.

Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS)

The JCS is a body of senior uniformed leaders who advise the Secretary of Defense, the Homeland Security Council, the National Security Council, and the President on military matters, but has no executive authority to commit combatant forces. The JCS is composed of the Chairman, the Vice Chairman, the Chief of Staff of the

Army, the Chief of Naval Operations, the Chief of Staff of the Air Force, and the Commandant of the Marine Corps.

Joint Communiqués

The Joint Communiqués (also known as the Three Communiqués) is a collection of three joint statements made by the governments of the U.S. and the People's Republic of China, laying the political foundations for the bilateral relationship. The first joint statement, also known as the Shanghai Communiqué, was released in 1972. It reaffirmed respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of each, and was released following Nixon's trip to China. The second statement, released in 1979 as the Joint Communiqué on the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations, formally announced the establishment of official relations between the two. The U.S. also declared that it would end formal political relations with the Republic of China (Taiwan) while preserving economic and cultural ties. The third statement, released in 1982 and also known as the August 17 Joint Communiqué, reaffirms the desire of both sides to further strengthen ties. The U.S. also declared its intent to gradually decrease arms sales to Taiwan.

Joint Direct Attack Munitions (JDAM)

JDAM is a guidance kit that converts existing unguided free-fall bombs into accurately guided "smart" weapons. The JDAM kit consists of a new tail section that contains an Inertial Navigation System/Global Positioning System.

Joint Staff

Established in 1947, the Joint Staff – composed of approximately equal numbers of officers from the Army, Air Force, and Navy/Marine Corps – primarily assists the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff in accomplishing his responsibilities, but may also assist the other JCS members as directed by the Chairman. The Joint Staff has no executive authority over combatant forces.

LaFayette Scandal

In 1991, Taiwan bought six PFG-3 "Lafayette" (Kang-Ding class) missile frigates from the French armament company Thomson-CSF (now Thales). Former French Foreign Minister Robert Dumas claimed that large sums of money were used to sweeten the deal for Taiwan, and others have suggested that funds were used to bribe government officials both in France, Taiwan, and mainland China. Eight deaths among those involved in the contract have fueled further scandal, and six naval officers were indicted on corruption charges relating to the affair.

Lee, Teng-hui

Lee was the President of Taiwan and Chairman of the Kuomintang (KMT) from 1988 to 2000. His tenure was marked with major extensions to the democratic reforms, initiated by Chiang Ching-kuo, which ceded power to the Taiwan electorate. He also promoted the Taiwan localization movement and led an aggressive foreign policy to gain diplomatic allies. He is the founder of the Taiwan Solidarity Union (TSU), which advocates for Taiwan independence.

Letter of Offer and Acceptance (LOA)

The LOA is the Standard Department of Defense form on which the U.S. government documents its offer to transfer U.S. defense articles and services to a foreign government or international organization via foreign military sales, pursuant to the Arms Export Control Act.

Letter of Request (LOR)

The Letter of Request document starts the Foreign Military Sales (FMS) government-to-government sales process. The LOR can be a formal letter, email, or message requesting articles, military construction, or other services, as well as Price and Availability (P&A) data. In the U.S., each LOR is reviewed and validated by the Military Department affected, by the DSCA, and by the U.S. Department of State. The LOR carries no obligation to purchase the article or service.

Link-16 (TADIL J)

Link-16 is a tactical data link employed by the U.S. Navy, the Joint Services, Japan, and some nations of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Link-16 has certain technical and operational improvements over older tactical data link (Link-11/Link-4A) capabilities, with some data exchange elements. It provides significant improvements, including improved security, increased data rate (throughput), increased amounts/granularity of information exchange, and reduced data terminal size (allowing installation in fighter and attack aircraft). It also offers digitized, jam-resistant, and secure voice capability; relative navigation; precise participant location and identification; and an increased number of participants.

Lockheed Martin

www.lockheedmartin.com

Headquartered in Bethesda, Maryland, USA, Lockheed Martin is a multinational aerospace and defense manufacturer and advanced technology company that employs about 146,000 people worldwide. The majority of Lockheed Martin's business is with the U.S. Department of Defense and U.S. federal government agencies, but the company also does business with international governments and has some commercial sales of its products, services, and platforms.

Long March

Long March is the designation for a family of expendable launch-system rockets operated by the People's Republic of China, abbreviated as CZ- within China and as LM- for export (Chang Zheng means "Long March"). The development and design of the rocket system was under the auspices of China Academy of Launch Vehicle Technology.

M1 "Abrams"

The M1 Abrams main battle tank is the principal combat tank of the U.S. Army and the U.S. Marine Corps, with three main versions being deployed starting in 1980: the M1, M1A1, and M1A2. The latest versions of the M1A2 have new armor and electronics packages. M1A2 SEP (System Enhancement Package) added digital maps and additional computer systems. The Abrams is named after General Creighton Abrams, former Army Chief of Staff and commander of the Army's 37th Armored Battalion. The M1 Abrams replaced the M60 tank in U.S. service.

M109A6 "Paladin"

A 155 mm self-propelled cannon artillery system acting as the primary indirect-fire support weapon for armored and mechanized infantry divisions. Enhances previous versions of the M109 by implementing onboard navigational and automatic fire control systems, as well as providing onboard nuclear, biological, and chemical protection. It has the ability to fire four rounds in less than 60 seconds up to ranges of 30 km and travel at a speed of 38 mph.

Mark “Mk” Torpedo

Mark “Mk” is the designation for a series of torpedoes. Mk 46 is a lightweight air-launched and ship-launched torpedo with a two-speed, reciprocating external combustion engine and active or passive/active acoustic homing. Mk 48 is a heavyweight submarine launch torpedo designed to sink fast, deep-diving nuclear-powered submarines and high-performance surface ships. The latest model of the Mk 48 is the Mk 48 Mod 7 introduced in 2008. Mk 54 is a lightweight anti-submarine torpedo created by Raytheon and the U.S. Navy for use against fast, deep-diving submarines. Introduced in 2003, the Mk 54 can be used in any depth water, improving on previous models that were limited to deep-water use.

Medeiros, Evan S.

Medeiros is Director for Asian Affairs at the National Security Council. Prior to his appointment, he was a senior political scientist at the RAND Corporation, specializing in research on the international politics of East Asia, China’s foreign and national security policy, U.S.-China relations, and Chinese defense industrial issues. He holds a Ph.D. in International Relations from the London School of Economics and Political Science, an M.Phil in International Relations from the University of Cambridge (where he was a Fulbright Scholar), and an M.A. in China Studies from the University of London’s School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS).

Medium-Range Ballistic Missile (MRBM)

The U.S. military designates MRBMs as missiles that have a maximum range of between 1,000 and 3,000 km. MRBMs are part of a wider grouping of theater ballistic missiles that includes any ballistic missile with a range of less than 3,500 km.

Ministry of National Defense (MND)

The MND is responsible for formulating military strategy, setting military personnel policies, formulating draft and mobilization plans, delineating supply distribution policies, arranging the research on and development of military technology, compiling the national defense budget, setting military regulations, conducting court martial proceedings, and administering military law. Within the MND is the General Staff Headquarters (GSH), under which are the various services, including the Army, Navy, Air Force, Combined Services Forces, Armed Forces Reserve Command/Coast Guard Command, and Military Police Command. The MND also has other subordinate agencies such as military academies, military courts, prosecutorial bureaus, and jails, as well as R&D institutions like CSIST.

Mirage 2000-5 [Ei/Di]

The Mirage 2000-5 by Dassault Aviation is a multi-role fighter, with its multiple-target air-to-ground and air-to-air firing procedures linked to the use of RDY radar and a visualization and control system. As a combat aircraft with versatile air-to-air mission capabilities, the Mirage 2000-5 is designed for the most-advanced armaments. Taiwan currently fields both the Ei and Di variants.

Missile Defense

Missile defense is an overarching term for the systems, weapons programs, and technology that is used in the defense against an offensive missile strike.

Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR)

MTCR is an informal association of 34 countries which advocates non-proliferation of missile technology and coordinates national export licensing measures on rocket and other unmanned air vehicle delivery systems or

related equipment, material, and technology. Established in 1987 by Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the UK, and the U.S., and initiated partly in response to the increasing proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD).

Modified Air Defense System (MADS)

See PAC-2+ “Patriot.”

Mullen, Michael

Admiral Michael Glenn “Mike” Mullen was the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, serving as the principal military advisor to the President, Secretary of Defense, the National Security Council, and the Homeland Security Council. His previous assignments include Chief of Naval Operations and Commander of U.S. Naval Forces Europe. Admiral Mullen graduated from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1968. He is also a graduate of the Advanced Management Program at Harvard Business School and earned a Master of Science degree in Operations Research from the Naval Postgraduate School.

National Defense University (PRC)

National Defense University (NDU) is a state university administered by the PLA and serving as the highest military educational institution in China. Often described as the Chinese equivalent of West Point, the university was formed in 1985 through a merger of parts of the PLA Military Academy, the PLA Political Academy, and the PLA Logistics Academy. It is located in Beijing.

National Defense University (Taiwan)

NDU is the leading military academic institution in Taiwan. NDU’s mission is to establish a first-class academy to prepare national defense leaders and studies of defense issues according to national defense perspective and needs. It aims to prepare professional officers and social leaders with expertise in war strategy and related military issues.

National Security Council (NSC)

The NSC’s function, in both the U.S. and Taiwan, is to advise the President on matters of national security and foreign affairs. In the U.S., the NSC is part of the Executive Office of the President, and includes the Vice President; Director of National Intelligence; and the Secretaries of State, Treasury, and Defense, among others. In 1967, the Taiwanese National Defense Council was renamed the National Security Council, but maintained its oversight role of the National Security Bureau (Taiwan’s national intelligence agency). The NSC is still presided over by the Taiwan President.

Northrop Grumman

www.northropgrumman.com

Northrop Grumman is a leading global security company with approximately 120,000 employees. The company focuses on providing systems, products, and solutions in aerospace, electronics, information systems, shipbuilding, and technical services to government and commercial customers worldwide.

One China

A concept with many interpretations, asserting that there is only one state called China, despite the fact that two governments claim to be China. It differs from the PRC’s “One China Principle,” which holds that there is but one China, of which Taiwan is an inalienable part. The “1992 Consensus” between the PRC and Taiwan stated that there is only “One China” and that each side of the Taiwan Strait would maintain their own

definition as to the specifics of the term. The U.S. adheres to its own ambiguous version of the policy, in which it acknowledges the views of both parties, does not recognize Taiwan independence or PRC sovereignty over Taiwan, and regards Taiwan's status as undetermined.

P-3C "Orion"

The P-3C is an anti-submarine warfare (ASW) patrol aircraft capable of long-range and long-loiter-time missions over both sea and land. The aircraft has advanced submarine detection sensors such as directional frequency and ranging (DIFAR) sonobuoys, as well as magnetic anomaly detection (MAD) equipment. The P-3C can carry a mixed payload of weapons internally and on wing pylons.

PAC-2+ "Patriot" (Patriot Advanced Capability 2+)

Acquired by Taiwan in 1994, the Modified Air Defense System (MADS) is an upgraded version of the Patriot missile system, with improved intercept capability and incorporating lessons learned by the U.S. in the Persian Gulf War. The Patriot PAC-2+ systems, comprising missiles, wheeled vehicles, and a multifunctional radar, provide medium- and high-altitude air defense and protection against short- and medium-range ballistic missiles.

PAC-3 "Patriot" (Patriot Advanced Capability 3)

The Patriot Advanced Capability 3 is an advanced surface-to-air guided missile defense system effective against low-to-high-altitude air threats in defense of ground combat forces and critical assets. Its key features are the multifunction phased array radar, missiles with semi-active and active guidance, and automated operations with capabilities for human override. The PAC-3 missile is a highly agile hit-to-kill interceptor for defense against tactical ballistic missiles, cruise missiles, and air-breathing threats, and destroys its targets by direct, body-to-body impact.

The PAC-3/Configuration 3 is an improved PAC-2+ system, introducing an upgraded AN/MPQ-65 radar to increase detection in high-clutter environments and to improve discrimination of closely spaced objects (better decoy recognition).

Panetta, Leon E.

Leon Panetta is the current Secretary of Defense, a post he has held since July 2011. Prior to joining DoD, he served as the director of the Central Intelligence Agency. Before joining CIA, he co-directed the Leon & Sylvia Panetta Institute for Public Policy, was the chief of staff to President Bill Clinton, served as director of the Office of Management and Budget, and represented California in Congress. Panetta has also served in various capacities as a public servant, as a practicing lawyer, and as an Army intelligence officer. He holds a BA in Political Science and a law degree from Santa Clara University.

Peace Pearl

Peace Pearl is the name of the security assistance program in the 1980s whereby the U.S. was assisting the PRC with upgrades to the avionics systems on China's J-8-II fighter jets. The US\$550-million arms deal was a linchpin of bilateral military cooperation efforts, but China pulled out of the deal in 1990.

People's Liberation Army (PLA)

The PLA serves as the military of the People's Republic of China (PRC) and is comprised of Ground Forces, Navy (PLAN), Air Force (PLAAF), two Artillery Corps (strategist missile forces), and the People's Armed Police

Force. Estimated at 2.3 million personnel, the PLA is the largest standing military in the world. The PLA was established in 1927 as the military arm of the Communist Party of China and was originally designated the Red Army. The semi-autonomous organization reports to two Central Military Commissions, one belonging to the state and one belonging to the party.

People's Republic of China (PRC)

The official name of the Mainland China-based government is the People's Republic of China.

PFG-2 "Perry" (Cheng Kung "Glorious China"-class) Frigate

The Taiwan PFG-2 frigates are designed for anti-submarine warfare (ASW) and ship escorts. They are to be used mainly for coastal patrol and border defense, with the capability to protect the sea lanes beyond the range of coastal aircraft. The PFG-2 is the Taiwan (China Shipbuilding-built) version of the Oliver Hazard Perry-Class frigate and is nearly identical to the U.S. Navy's FFG-7.

PFG-3 "Lafayette" (Kang-Ding-class) Frigate

Acquired in the early 1990s – during the second phase of Taiwan's Kuang Hua [Glorious China] naval modernization program – the Taiwan Navy's six French Lafayette frigates are primarily intended to protect the sea lanes beyond the range of coastal aircraft. The Lafayette-class frigate has integrated exterior, IR, and sonar stealth technology, with advanced armament and ultra high stealth capability. Taiwan's Lafayette frigates are armed with indigenous and U.S.-produced weapons systems.

Price and Availability Data (P&A)

P&A is the estimated cost and delivery data for one or all the items associated with a project, gathered to prepare a feasibility study. In military terms, it is one of the first steps in an FMS case. A foreign government will request price and availability data on the U.S.-produced items it is interested in purchasing.

RAND Corporation

www.rand.org

The RAND Corporation (Research ANd Development) is a non-profit global policy think-tank initially formed to offer research and analysis to the U.S. armed forces. It is financed by the U.S. government and from a private endowment, as well as by contributions from corporations, universities, and private individuals. RAND aims for interdisciplinary and quantitative problem solving via translating theoretical concepts from formal economics and the hard sciences into novel applications in other areas.

Raytheon Company

www.raytheon.com

Raytheon is a major American defense contractor and industrial corporation with core manufacturing concentrations in defense systems and defense and commercial electronics. The company was founded in 1922 and is currently headquartered in Waltham, Massachusetts. Raytheon is the sixth largest defense contractor in the world and the fifth largest U.S. firm.

The Republic of China (ROC)

The official name for Taiwan is the Republic of China.

Rotterdamsche Droogdok Maatschappij (Rotterdam Dry Dock Company/RDM)

RDM was a Dutch shipbuilding and repair company, active between 1902 and 1996. RDM primarily conducted repairs in its dry docks, but also manufactured passenger ships and vessels for the Dutch navy, including cruisers and Walrus-class submarines.

Security Assistance

Security Assistance is the transfer of military articles and services from the U.S. to friendly foreign governments. It can include delivery of defense weapon systems, training, advisory services, guidance and assistance in establishing infrastructure, etc. The U.S. conducts Security Assistance business with over 150 nations around the world. The most common options are Foreign Military Sales (FMS) and Direct Commercial Sales (DCS). The legal basis for these programs comes from the Arms Export Control Act (AECA) and the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (FAA).

Senate Committee on Foreign Relations

The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations is a standing committee of the U.S. Senate charged with reviewing and considering all diplomatic nominations and international treaties, as well as legislation relating to U.S. foreign policy. The Committee was established in 1816 as one of the original 10 standing committees of the Senate. Its sister committee in the House of Representatives is the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Shear, David

David Shear was the Deputy Assistant Secretary for East Asian and Pacific Affairs at the U.S. Department of State between 2009 and 2011, when he became the U.S. Ambassador to Vietnam. After joining the Foreign Service in 1982, Shear served in Sapporo, Beijing, Tokyo, and Kuala Lumpur. In Washington, he served in the Offices of Japanese, Chinese, and Korean Affairs and as the Special Assistant to the Under Secretary for Political Affairs. He was also Director of the Office of Chinese and Mongolian Affairs from 2008 to 2009.

Short-Range Ballistic Missile (SRBM)

An SRBM is a ballistic missile with a range of about 1,000 km or less that is usually mobile. Warheads can include conventional high-explosive, chemical/biological and nuclear warheads. In potential regional conflicts, these missiles would be used because of the short distances between some countries and their relative low cost and ease of configuration.

Significant Military Equipment (SME)

Defense articles for which special export controls are warranted because of their capacity for substantial military utility or capability.

Six Assurances

Promises made to Taiwan by President Ronald Reagan in June 1982. The six assurances were that the U.S. would not set a date for termination of arms sales to Taiwan; would not alter the terms of the Taiwan Relations Act; would not consult with China in advance before making decisions about U.S. arms sales to Taiwan; would not mediate between Taiwan and China; would not alter its position about the sovereignty of Taiwan (which was that the question was one to be decided peacefully by the Chinese themselves, and would not pressure Taiwan to enter into negotiations with China); and that the U.S. would not formally recognize Chinese sovereignty over Taiwan.

SM-3 (Standard Missile -3)

The RIM-161 Standard Missile 3 (SM-3) is a ship-based upper-tier ballistic missile defense weapon used to intercept short- to intermediate-range ballistic missiles. Although primarily designed as an anti-ballistic missile, the SM-3 has also been employed in an anti-satellite capacity.

Stinger

A man-portable, shoulder-fired anti-aircraft missile designed to counter fast, low-flying ground attack aircraft, guided to its target by an infrared, heat seeking guidance system. The Stinger's fire-and-forget homing ability allows gunners to take cover or to engage new targets immediately after firing. The Stinger system consists of the launcher assembly, a missile, and grip-stock. It is a lightweight, self-contained air defense system that can be rapidly deployed on many military platforms in many combat situations.

SU-27

The Sukhoi Su-27 is a one-seat Mach-2 class jet fighter with a 3,530 km range, heavy armament, sophisticated avionics, and high agility. Originally manufactured by the Soviet Union, China acquired 76 Su-27 fighters from Russia before signing an agreement in 1998 to redesign China's own versions of the plane as the Shenyang J-11.

Taipei

Taipei City, situated at the northern tip of the island, is the capital and largest city in Taiwan, center of Taiwan's culture and economy. It is a direct-controlled municipality under the Executive Yuan, having the status of a province. It is governed separately from the adjacent New Taipei City (formerly Taipei County).

Taiwan Relations Act (TRA)

Following termination of official relations between the U.S. and Taiwan on January 1, 1979, Congress signed into law the Taiwan Relations Act to authorize "the continuation of commercial, cultural, and other relations" between the U.S. and Taiwan. The Act also established the American Institute in Taiwan as the organization through which such relations would be handled, stipulated that the U.S. would "provide Taiwan with arms of a defensive character," and set the legal framework for the current relationship.

Taiwan Strait

The Taiwan Strait is a 180 km-wide section of ocean between Fujian Province on mainland China and the island of Taiwan. The strait is part of the South China Sea and connects to East China Sea to the northeast. The narrowest part is 131 km wide. Beijing and Taipei respect a "middle line" in the Taiwan Strait, sometimes called the Taiwan Strait Meridian, and have generally kept their warplanes and ships from crossing this line. The "middle line" or Taiwan Strait Meridian was drawn by the U.S. when it signed the – since obsolete – Mutual Defense Treaty with Taiwan in 1954.

Theater Missile Defense

The term for an anti-missile system intended to detect, identify, locate, track, minimize the effects of, or destroy enemy theater missiles over an entire localized region of military operations, typically a radius of several hundred kilometers, and primarily intended to protect forward-deployed U.S. forces and allies.

Tiananmen Square Incident

A series of 1989 demonstrations in and near Tiananmen Square in Beijing, China, led mainly by students and intellectuals, the protests were sparked by the death of pro-reform Communist Party official Hu Yaobang. The movement lasted seven weeks until June 4, when the PRC government sent in the military and tanks to remove

the protestors. The resulting number of deaths is not known and many different estimates exist, ranging from a few hundred to a few thousand. There was widespread international outcry over the Chinese government's use of force.

TK Tien-Kung “Sky Bow” Missile System

A surface-to-air missile system, derivative of the Patriot system, designed for air defense against intensive aircraft attack. The TK-1 missile is designed for mid-range interception against aerial saturation attack and is equipped with a semi-active radar homing seeker. TK-2 missiles further extend the range and firepower by adopting the active radar homing seeker. An indigenous anti-tactical ballistic missile system is called TK-3.

UH-60 “Black Hawk”

The Sikorsky UH-60 Black Hawk is a medium-lift utility and assault helicopter with a variety of roles, including tactical troop transport, medical evacuations, and electronic warfare. Variants include the new MH-60M, which is designated for high-altitude, harsh weather performance. The UH-60M provides additional payload and range, advanced digital avionics, better handling qualities and situational awareness, active vibration control, and improved survivability.

UHF Radar

UHF is a radar system that takes advantage of the qualities of “Ultra High Frequency” radio waves. The system runs between 300-1,000 MHz and is capable of operating at very long ranges. The system is especially well suited for ballistic early warning.

U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission (USCC)

The Commission was created in October 2000 by the Floyd D. Spence National Defense Authorization Act of 2001 to monitor, investigate, and submit to congress an annual report on the national security implications of the bilateral trade and economic relationship between the U.S. and the People's Republic of China and to provide recommendations, where appropriate, to Congress for legislative and administrative action.

U.S. Department of Defense (DoD)

DoD is the federal department that coordinates and supervises all agencies and functions relating directly to national security and the armed forces (Army, Navy, Air Force, Marine Corps). It is the parent agency for the U.S. military, as well as for several U.S. intelligence agencies. The department is headed by the U.S. Secretary of Defense.

U.S. Department of State (State)

The State Department was created in 1789, making it the first Executive department established in the U.S. It is the lead foreign affairs agency responsible for the international relations of the U.S. The department is headed by the U.S. Secretary of State.

U.S. Pacific Command (PACOM)

The U.S. Pacific Command (USPACOM), led by the Commander, Pacific Command (CDRUSPACOM), is the supreme military authority for the various branches of the Armed Forces of the U.S. serving within its area of responsibility. Only the President of the U.S., who is Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, and his council of joint chiefs has greater authority. It is the oldest and largest of the unified commands. Based in Honolulu, Hawaii, on the island of O'ahu, the U.S. Pacific Command's sphere of control extends from the west coast of the U.S. mainland to the east coast of Africa, encompassing all of Asia, Australia, East Africa, and the

Pacific Rim. It also has control over U.S. military operations in the Pacific, including the state of Hawaii and Indian Oceans as well as over forces in Alaska.

U.S. Senate

The U.S. Senate is one of the two houses of the Congress of the U.S., the other being the U.S. House of Representatives. It is conventional to consider the Senate as the “upper house” and the House as the “lower house,” although the U.S. Constitution, while making the functions of the two houses different in various ways, does not use such language. Each state is represented by two Senators, regardless of population. The 100 Senators serve staggered six-year terms. The Vice President is the President of the Senate, with authority to preside over sessions, but can only vote to break a tie. The Majority and Minority Leaders represent their parties’ interests on the Senate floor.

U.S.-Taiwan Mutual Defense Treaty

The U.S.-Taiwan Mutual Defense Treaty was signed on December 2, 1954. The text of the treaty committed the U.S. “to resist armed attack and Communist subversive activities” aimed at Taiwan’s “territorial integrity and political stability.” (Article II). The U.S. pledged (Article V) that it would regard any “armed attack in the west Pacific area directed against the territories of [Taiwan]” to be “dangerous to its own peace and safety,” and “would act to meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional processes.” One year after the switch in recognition, on January 1, 1980, the U.S. Department of State formally notified Taiwan that the treaty was terminated.

Vertical and/or Short Takeoff and Landing (VSTOL)

VSTOL is a term used to describe aircraft that are able to take off and/or land vertically on very short runways. VSTOL abilities have been developed to allow jets to be operated from forest clearings, short runways, and highways close to the enemy and from small aircraft carriers that would previously only have been able to carry helicopters.

Walrus-Class Submarines

The Walrus is an RDM-built diesel-electric attack submarine, built using stealth technologies and with a construction that mounts four combined rudders and diving planes in an “X” configuration. The Royal Netherlands Navy operates four Walrus-class submarines, primarily used for reconnaissance and in international service in peacetime, including fighting against pirates off the coast of Somalia.

Willard, Robert F.

Admiral Robert F. Willard is Commander of the U.S. Pacific Command. He was previously the Commander of the U.S. Pacific Fleet and Vice Chief of Naval Operations. An F-14 aviator, Willard has served in a variety of fighter squadrons and aircraft carriers. He is a 1973 graduate of the U.S. Naval Academy and also possesses a master’s in Engineering Management from Old Dominion University.

World Trade Organization (WTO)

The World Trade Organization deals with the rules of trade between nations at a global or near-global level. The WTO’s chief purpose is to liberalize trade and limit unfair export policies, but maintaining trade barriers between certain countries is also an important concern.

Chronology

Chronology of events related to Taiwan arms sales and/or to discussions in this report.

1979	
January 1	China and the United States formally establish diplomatic relations. On the same day, the PRC Standing Committee of the National People’s Congress issues a message to Taiwan, pronouncing the Chinese Government’s basic position regarding peaceful settlement of the Taiwan question. The message calls for talks between the two sides of the Strait to seek an end to the military confrontation. It pledged that in the pursuit of national reunification, the PRC “ <i>will respect the status quo on Taiwan and the views of people of all walks of life there and adopt reasonable policies and measures.</i> ” ⁵³
April 10	President Jimmy Carter signs the Taiwan Relations Act.
December	Congressional notification for 500 AGM-65B Maverick air-to-surface missiles worth US\$25 million.
1980	
January 1	Termination of the Mutual Defense Treaty with Taiwan, originally signed on December 2, 1954, and in force since March 3, 1955.
January 3	The U.S. informs Taiwan that it will resume arms sales after a one-year suspension. The U.S. State Department announces that the U.S. will sell US\$280 million in defensive arms to Taiwan, but no advanced fighter jets for now.
January 16	Deng Xiaoping makes his “Speech to the 10,000 Cadres,” in which he says that “ <i>the return of Taiwan to the motherland</i> ” is one of the CCP’s three major tasks.
January 24	The Pentagon states that the U.S is prepared to consider, on a case-by-case basis, the sale to China of carefully selected dual-use support equipment such as trucks, communications gear, and certain types of early-warning radar. However, it also states that the U.S. still has no plans to sell arms or weapons systems to China. ⁵⁴

⁵³ “*The Taiwan Question and Reunification of China*” Taiwan Affairs Office & Information Office State Council White Paper at us.china-embassy.org/eng/zt/twwt/White%20Papers/t36704.htm.

⁵⁴ “*U.S.-China Discuss Sale of Military Technology*” U.S. Department of State, Office of Public Communication, Bureau of Public Affairs, Department of State Bulletin, Volume 80, #2036, March 1980, p45, at www.archive.org/details/departmentofstata8080unit#page/45/.

	1981
June 14	Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig, Jr. says closer U.S.-China ties are a “strategic imperative” in face of the growing Soviet threat. While visiting Beijing June 14-16, Haig announces the U.S. decision in principle to sell arms to the PRC.
July 9	President Ronald Reagan announces a new U.S. arms transfer policy. ⁵⁵
September 30	Chairman Ye Jianying of the NPC Standing Committee elaborates on China’s unification policy and principles for settling the Taiwan question. He affirms that “ <i>after the country is reunified, Taiwan can enjoy a high degree of autonomy as a special administrative region</i> ” and proposes that talks be held on an equal footing between the ruling Parties on each side of the Taiwan Strait, i.e., the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and the Kuomintang (KMT).
	1982
January 11	Referring to Ye Jianying’s remarks, Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping points out that this in effect means “one country, two systems,” i.e., on the premise of national reunification, the main body of the nation would continue with its socialist system while Taiwan could maintain capitalism.
January 12	U.S. approves the sale of additional F-5E fighter aircraft to Taiwan, but rules out a sale of more sophisticated planes.
January 12	China protests the U.S. decision on F-5Es to Taiwan.
January 31	China declares its willingness to discuss a schedule for ending U.S. military sales to Taiwan.
March 13	China warns the Reagan administration that Sino-American relations will suffer “grave consequences” if U.S. insists on making “long-term” arms sales to Taiwan.
April 13	U.S. announces sale of US\$60 million in military spare parts to Taiwan.
April 14	China protests the arms sale.
April 16	China says that U.S.-PRC relations are at “critical juncture” and warns against arms sales to Taiwan.
May 5-9	Vice President George H. W. Bush visits China and meets with government leaders, but fails to break impasse over U.S. arms sales to Taiwan.

⁵⁵ Reagan, Ronald, “*Announcement Concerning a Presidential Directive on United States Conventional Arms Transfer Policy*” July 9, 1981, at www.reagan.utexas.edu/archives/speeches/1981/70981e.htm.

June 10	Taiwan Premier Sun Yun-suan rebuts China's unification proposals, arguing that differences between Taiwan and China on political, economic, social, and cultural standards are a hindrance to unification.
July 16	The Reagan administration says that it has notified China that the U.S. will proceed with co-production of F-5E fighter aircraft with Taiwan.
July 16	China protests the U.S.-Taiwan co-production of F-5E fighters.
August 17	After 10 months of secret negotiations, the U.S. and China sign a Joint Communiqué governing both nations' relations with Taiwan. China pledges to seek reunification with Taiwan only by peaceful means, while the U.S. promises not to exceed – and gradually to reduce – the 1982 level of arms sales. Taiwan expresses its “profound regret” over the U.S.-PRC agreement. This agreement is referred to as the “1982 Joint Communiqué.”
September 6-11	Former President Richard M. Nixon visits China to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the Shanghai Communiqué. He urges the U.S. and PRC to “seize the hour” and expand mutual relations.
	1983
February	U.S. announces the sale of 66 F-104G fighters to Taiwan.
February 25	China charges the U.S. with violating the spirit of the 1982 Joint Communiqué.
February 26	U.S. denies the accusation, stresses commitment to strong U.S.-China relations.
July 15	U.S. announces plans to sell US\$530 million in new arms to Taiwan, including Chaparral missiles, SM-1 Standard missiles, AIM-7F Sparrow missiles, conversion kits for M-4 tanks, tank-recovery vehicles, and aircraft spare parts.
July 22	China denounces the Taiwan arms sales, charging the U.S. with violating the 1982 Joint Communiqué.
September 25-29	U.S. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger visits China, marking increased U.S.-Chinese military cooperation. Preliminary meetings held with China's Commission for Science, Technology, and Industry for National Defense (COSTIND).
	1984
January 12	During a visit to the U.S. by Chinese Prime Minister Zhao Ziyang, the U.S. and China sign agreements extending its current scientific exchanges and initiating new cooperation in industry and trade.
June	Congressional notification for 12 C-130H to Taiwan, estimated value at US\$325 million.

June 14	Visit to the U.S. by Chinese Defense Minister Zhang Aiping. The U.S. announces agreement “in principle” on sale to China of U.S. anti-aircraft and anti-tank weapons. This begins military technology cooperation in four mission areas: anti-tank, artillery, air defense, and surface-ship/anti-submarine warfare.
	1985
January	The Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General John Vessey, and Commander in Chief, U.S. Pacific Command, Admiral William Crowe, visit China.
June	Congressional notification for MIM-72 Chaparral surface-to-air missiles to Taiwan, estimated value at US\$94 million.
July 21-31	Chinese President Li Xiannian visits the U.S. It is the first visit to the U.S. by a Chinese head of state.
October 13-18	Vice President George H. W. Bush visits China and announces the U.S. agreeing to speed export of some high-technology products to China. The Taiwan issue is raised by Chinese leaders as an obstacle to Sino-U.S. relations.
	1986
April 8	The Reagan administration informs the U.S. Congress of its intent to sell US\$550 million in aviation electronics to China. This is the largest military sale to Beijing since 1972.
September 28	Founding of the DPP. The KMT government had previously outlawed new political parties, permitting non-KMT candidates to run for office only as independents. The founding of the DPP, carried out by a large gathering of opposition politicians meeting in Taipei’s Grand Hotel, defies this ban. The KMT government declares the new party illegal, but does not arrest its members.
November 5-11	Three U.S. Navy warships make a port visit at Qingdao. These are the first American military vessels to visit China since 1949.
	1987
July 15	End of martial law declared in Taiwan.
September 16	The Lee Teng-hui administration in Taiwan initiates an assessment of new cross-Strait initiatives, including lifting restrictions on cross-Strait visits.
October 22	The U.S. announces new restrictions on technology transfers to China in retaliation for China’s sale of Silkworm missiles to Iran.
November 2	The Lee administration lifts the ban on Taiwan visits to China.

	1988
September	Defense Secretary Frank Carlucci visits China and re-commits to technology transfers and military programs.
	1989
June 4	President George H. W. Bush announces sanctions against the Chinese government in the wake of the Tiananmen crackdown, which includes the suspension of military sales.
	1990
February	Congress codifies U.S. sanctions against China, prohibiting weapon sales to the PRC under Public Law 101-246.
February	The PLA allegedly begins negotiations for procurement of Su-27s from the former Soviet Union.
July 26	Congressional notification for a Cooperative Logistics Supply Support package for Taiwan, at an estimated cost of US\$108 million.
September 6	Congressional notification for one C-130H transport aircraft for Taiwan, at an estimated cost of US\$45 million.
	1991
January 7	Congressional notification for 100 MK-46 torpedoes, at an estimated cost of US\$28 million.
January 28	Mainland Affairs Council established to regulate growing interactions between Taiwan and mainland China in the non-governmental sphere.
February 23	Taiwan's National Unification Guidelines (NUG) promulgated. Specifies how the goals of democracy, freedom, equitable prosperity, and national unification are to be pursued through peaceful, democratic means.
March 14	The National Unification Guidelines are approved by the Executive Yuan.
May 1	President Lee Teng-hui declares the "Period of Communist Rebellion" to be terminated, leading to the abolishment of a series of temporary constitutional provisions enacted in 1948. This ends the Taiwan government's 40-year pretense of controlling the mainland.

May 27	In response to Chinese M-11 sales to Pakistan, the Bush administration announces economic sanctions on China in three areas: (1) Prevention of the sale of 20 high-speed computers which can be used in missile flight analysis to Chinese arms export-related firms; (2) U.S. firms are not allowed to participate in seven Chinese satellite launches; (3) U.S. companies are restricted from sales to sanctioned Chinese companies. ⁵⁶
July 24	Congressional notification for 97 SM-1 Standard air defense missiles, at an estimated cost of US\$55 million.
August 1	PLA forms operational evaluation unit established to prepare for deployment of initial conventional ballistic missiles directed against Taiwan.
September 13	Congressional notification for 110 M60A3 tanks to Taiwan, at an estimated cost of US\$119 million.
November 4-7	Initial cross-Strait negotiations between China and Taiwan, focusing on maritime crime. No concrete results.
November 15-17	U.S. Secretary of State James Baker visits Beijing to discuss trade, human rights, and arms sales in the bilateral relationship. Obtains limited Chinese concessions on missile sales. Chinese concessions alleged to be on condition that the U.S. end trade sanctions against two Chinese firms implicated in missile deals with Syria and Pakistan.
November 18	Congressional notification for Phase III PIP Mod Kits for Hawk air defense systems to Taiwan, at an estimated cost of US\$170 million.
1992	
February 26	The U.S. officially issues a waiver that lifts missile-related sanctions on China. ⁵⁷
March 22-27	Second round of cross-Strait talks to address postal and other cross-Strait exchange issues. No concrete results.
May 27	Congressional notification for weapon systems, ammunition, and other support for three leased ships, at an estimated cost of US\$212 million.
May 27	Congressional notification for a supply support arrangement, at an estimated cost of US\$107 million.

⁵⁶ Kennedy, Bingham, Jr., "Curbing Chinese Missile Sales: From Imposing to Negotiating China's Adherence to the MTCR" *Journal of Northeast Asian Studies*, Volume 15, #1, Spring 1996, p. 60. See also "A Chronology: The Credibility of China's Nonproliferation Pledges and United States Sanctions: 1984-1996" Minority Staff, U.S. Senate Committee on Governmental Affairs, Summer 1996.

⁵⁷ "A Chronology: The Credibility of China's Nonproliferation Pledges and United States Sanctions: 1984-1996" Minority Staff, U.S. Senate Committee on Governmental Affairs, Summer 1996.

August 1	Taiwan's National Unification Council passes a resolution highlighting the divergence between China and Taiwan in interpreting the "One China principle." While "One China" means the PRC to Beijing, it means the Republic of China (ROC) to Taipei, which has "de jure sovereignty over all of China." However, the resolution states that Taiwan's current jurisdiction only covers the islands of Taiwan, Penghu, Jinmen (Quemoy), and Matsu.
August 4	Congressional notification for 207 SM-1 Standard air defense missiles to Taiwan, at an estimated cost of US\$126 million.
August	Final People's Liberation Army DF-15 SRBM acceptance testing.
September 2	During a visit to Fort Worth, Texas, President George H. W. Bush announces his administration's release of 150 F-16 fighters to Taiwan.
September 11	President Bush informs Congress of his decision to lift the June 1991 restrictions on exports of satellites and related components to China and to grant licenses to U.S. manufacturers for export of six communications satellites to be launched on Long March vehicles. Exports are expected to result in US\$650 million for the U.S. satellite and electronic industries.
September 14	Congressional notification for 150 F-16A/B fighters to Taiwan, at an estimated cost of US\$5.8 billion, as well as of three fire units of Patriot-derived Modified Air Defense System (MADS), at an estimated cost of US\$1.3 billion.
September 15	China suspends its participation in the arms control in the Middle East (ACME) talks, citing U.S. violation of the 1982 Joint Communiqué. The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress issues a statement opposing the U.S. government's decision to sell F-16 fighters to Taiwan.
September 18	Congressional notification for 12 SH-2F LAMPS anti-submarine helicopters, at an estimated cost of US\$161 million.
October 12	CCP Secretary General Jiang Zemin issues a statement regarding Taiwan: " <i>We shall work steadfastly for the great cause, adhering to the principles of peaceful reunification and 'one country, two systems'. We reiterate that the Chinese Communist Party is ready to establish contact with the Chinese Kuomintang at the earliest possible date to create conditions for talks on officially ending the state of hostility between the two sides of the Taiwan Straits and gradually realizing peaceful reunification.</i> " ⁵⁸
October 26-29	Third round of working-level cross-Strait consultations. Breakthrough achieved by the understanding that both sides recognize that there is "One China," but that each has their respective definition. Paves way for the Koo-Wang talks of 1993.

⁵⁸ See "The Taiwan Question and Reunification of China" Taiwan Affairs Office & Information Office State Council White Paper at us.china-embassy.org/eng/zt/twwt/White%20Papers/t36704.htm.

	1993
April 27-29	Cross-Strait “Koo-Wang” talks held in Singapore between Association for Relations Across the Taiwan Strait (ARATS) Chairman Wang Daohan for the Chinese side and Straits Exchange Foundation (SEF) Chairman Koo Chen-fu for the Taiwan side.
June 17	Congressional notification for 12 C-130H transport aircraft, at an estimated cost of US\$620 million.
June 25	Congressional notification for a Supply Support arrangement, at an estimated cost of US\$156 million.
July 29	Congressional notification for 38 Harpoon anti-ship missiles, at an estimated cost of US\$68 million.
July 30	Congressional notification for logistics support services for 40 leased T-38 trainers, at an estimated cost of US\$70 million.
August 23	China issues a white paper entitled “The Taiwan Question and Reunification of China.”
August	Congressional notification for four E-2T Hawkeye airborne early warning aircraft to Taiwan, at an estimated cost of US\$700 million, in a commercial sale.
August 24	The U.S. initiates category 2 trade sanctions against China and Pakistan for the alleged sale by China of M-11 missile components to Pakistan. U.S. officials refuse to clarify whether China was denying that any transfers took place or denying that the transfers violated the MTCR. Chinese Vice Foreign Minister Liu Huaqiu, in a protest to the U.S. Ambassador to China Stapleton Roy, said that “ <i>China has honored its commitments to act in accordance with the MTCR guidelines and parameters and has done nothing in contradiction of that commitment.</i> ” China also threatened to “ <i>reconsider its commitment to MTCR.</i> ” ⁵⁹
September 8	Congressional notification for logistics support services for MADS, at an estimated cost of US\$175 million.
November 4	Congressional notification for 150 MK-46 Mod 5 torpedoes, at an estimated cost of US\$54 million.
November 9	Congressional notification for weapons, ammunition, and support for three leased frigates, at an estimated cost of US\$238 million.
November 23	The PLA Second Artillery conducts its first operational test launch of a short-range ballistic missile. This signifies the formal establishment of the first SRBM brigade opposite Taiwan.
November 23	Congressional notification for MK-41 Mod Vertical Launch Systems for ship-based air defense missiles, at an estimated cost of US\$103 million.

⁵⁹ “A Chronology: The Credibility of China’s Nonproliferation Pledges and United States Sanctions: 1984-1996” Minority Staff, U.S. Senate Committee on Governmental Affairs, Summer 1996.

1994	
July 5	In response to China's August 1993 white paper, Taiwan releases its own report outlining its "One Country, Two Political Entities" interpretation of the "One China principle." The report traces the concept back to an agreement reached during a June 1990 National Affairs Conference, indicating that the governments on the two sides of the Strait are "political entities with de facto authority."
August 1	Congressional notification for 80 AN/ALQ-184 electronic countermeasure (ECM) pods, at an estimated cost of US\$150 million.
September 12	Congressional notification for MK-45 Mod 2 gun system, at an estimated cost of US\$21 million.
September 27	Conclusion of the U.S. government's "Taiwan Policy Review," conducted under the Clinton administration, which includes clearance for selected senior level visits to Taiwan.
October 4	Secretary of State Warren Christopher and China's Foreign Minister Qian Qichen sign a joint statement saying that Washington will waive the August 1993 sanctions and that Beijing will not export "ground-to-ground missiles" "inherently capable" of delivering a 500 kg warhead 300 km.
November 1	The August 1993 category 2 sanctions on China are lifted.
1995	
January 21-28	Cross-Strait talks between Chiao Jen-ho of the SEF and Tang Shubei of ARATS, following up on the 1993 Koo-Wang talks.
January 30	Chinese President Jiang Zemin releases his "Eight Points," reaffirming China's position on the "One China principle" and warning against any movement toward an independent Taiwan. The statement also provides specifics on the PRC's Taiwan policy, including hopes of more unofficial exchanges. Statement suggests an " <i>agreement reached on officially ending the state of hostility between the two sides in accordance with the principle that there is only one China.</i> " States " <i>our not undertaking to give up the use of force is not directed against our compatriots in Taiwan, but against the schemes of foreign forces to interfere with China's unification and to bring about the 'independence of Taiwan.'</i> " ⁶⁰
March 24	Congressional notification for six MK-75 shipboard gun systems and six Phalanx Close-In Weapon Systems, at an estimated cost of US\$75 million.

⁶⁰ Zemin, Jiang, "Continue to Promote the Reunification of the Motherland" Speech at www.fmprc.gov.cn/eng/ljzg/3568/t17784.htm.

May 22	The Clinton administration announces its decision to issue a visa for Taiwan President Lee Teng-hui to visit his alma mater Cornell. For China, this visit was seen as promoting “Two Chinas,” and as damaging to the China/Taiwan reunification process, while also violating the Joint Communiqués and infringing on Chinese sovereignty.
May 27-29	Follow-on round of cross-Strait talks between Chiao Jen-ho and Tang Shubei.
June 7	Congressional notification for supply support arrangements, at an estimated cost of US\$192 million.
	1996
March 23	Lee Teng-hui of the Kuomintang (KMT) becomes the first-ever directly elected President in Taiwan.
May 10	Congressional notification for an Improved Mobile Subscriber Equipment communications system, at an estimated cost of US\$188 million, 30 TH-67 training helicopters, and 30 sets of AN/AVS-6 night vision goggles, at an estimated cost of US\$53 million.
May 23	Congressional notification for 465 Stinger missiles and 55 dual-mounted Stinger launcher systems, at an estimated cost of US\$84 million.
May 23	China’s Foreign Ministry spokesperson Shen Guofang states that the sale of Stingers to Taiwan breaches the 1982 Joint Communiqué: “ <i>We have taken note of the fact that the U.S. has always called for the non-proliferation of weapons, but it is very irresponsible for the U.S. to sell advanced weapons to such a sensitive region at such a sensitive time.</i> ” ⁶¹
June 24	Congressional notification for 300 M60A3 main battle tanks, at an estimated cost of US\$223 million.
August 23	Congressional notification for 1,299 Stinger surface-to-air missiles, 74 Avenger vehicle-mounted guided missile launchers, and 96 high-mobility multi-purpose wheeled vehicles. Total value estimated at US\$420 million.

⁶¹ Crothall, Geoffrey, “PRC: Spokesperson: Missile Sale Violates Agreement on Arms Sales” Hong Kong South China Morning Post, March 22, 1996, in FBIS-CHI-96-057 at hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015036098484.

August 27	Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesperson Shen Guofang protests the U.S. announcement of an intended Stinger missile sale to Taiwan. He criticizes the U.S. argument that its arms sales to Taiwan are not a violation of the 1982 Joint Communiqué and argues that the communiqué does not permit U.S. sales of defensive weapons to Taiwan. Shen specifically mentions U.S. missile sales to Taiwan, including the Patriot and Avenger systems. Shen also mentions U.S. assistance in expanding Taiwan's Hawk missile sites from 13 to 20 and U.S. help establishing missile maintenance centers. Shen states that the types of arms sold by the U.S. to Taiwan have gone well beyond the scope of the Joint Communiqué in both qualitative and quantitative terms, and that <i>"therefore, the defensive argument of the U.S. on its arms sales to Taiwan does not hold water."</i> ⁶²
September 5	Congressional notification for 110 MK-46 MOD 5 anti-submarine torpedoes, at an estimated cost of US\$66 million.
November 5	U.S. Undersecretary of State Lynn Davis holds talks on proliferation issues with Chinese officials in Beijing. Viewing Taiwan as the main topic of the talks, Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesperson Cui Tiankai said that <i>"The most sensitive and important issue is that the United States has violated the 17 August [1982] communiqué by exporting large numbers of advanced weapons to Taiwan."</i> Regarding U.S. sales of Stinger missiles and launchers to Taiwan, Cui added <i>"We have repeatedly expressed our view to the U.S. side and hope the U.S. will pay attention to it."</i> Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen also reportedly said that the U.S. should strictly abide by the 1982 Joint Communiqué and should reduce and eventually halt its arms sales to Taiwan. ⁶³
November 14	U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher says that the issue of U.S. arms sales to Taiwan will probably be discussed in upcoming talks with Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen. He says <i>"I don't see any changes in our position, but we are willing to talk to the Chinese about them."</i>
1997	
February 14	Congressional notification for 54 Harpoon anti-ship missiles to Taiwan, at an estimated cost of US\$95 million.
May 23	Congressional notification for 1,786 TOW 2A anti-armor guided missiles to Taiwan, 114 TOW launchers, and 100 HMMWVs, at an estimated cost of US\$81 million.

⁶² "US Statement About Arms Sales To Taiwan Unfounded" Embassy of the PRC in the USA, 1996, at web.archive.org/web/19961122012541/http://www.china-embassy.org/Cgi-Bin/Press.pl?134.

⁶³ Hillis, Scott, "U.S. Officials Start Proliferation Talks In China" Reuters, November 4, 1996. See also Dickie, Mure, "U.S. Arms Official Encouraged By China Steps" Reuters, November 5, 1996. Roell, Sophie, "U.S. 'Encouraged' By China Nuclear Arms Sales Stance" Financial Times, November 6, 1996, p. 6. Giacomo, Carol, "No Nuclear Know-how Yet For China-U.S. Official" Reuters, November 14, 1996. Smith, R. Jeffrey, "China May Cancel Proposed Sale Of Nuclear Facility To Iran" Washington Post, November 6, 1996, p. 9.

July 24	Congressional notification for 21 AH-1W Super Cobra helicopters valued at US\$479 million.
September 3	Congressional notification for 13 OH-58D Kiowa Warrior Armed Scout helicopters, at an estimated cost of US\$172 million.
October 29	Jiang Zemin visits Washington, D.C. President Bill Clinton and Jiang Zemin hold a summit discussing issues including cross-Strait relations and non-proliferation. Summit concludes with a Joint U.S.-China Statement, where China says that “ <i>the Taiwan question is the most important and sensitive central question in China-U.S. relations,</i> ” while the U.S. “ <i>reiterates that it adheres to its ‘one China’ policy and the principles set forth in the three U.S.-China joint communiqués.</i> ” ⁶⁴
November 6	The U.S. House of Representatives passes the U.S.-Taiwan Anti-Ballistic Missile Defense Cooperation Act (H.R. 2386, 105th Congress). The bill would require the Secretary of Defense to report by July 1, 1998, on the establishment of a TMD system that would be able to protect Taiwan from ballistic missile attack. In the U.S. Senate, the bill is read twice and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.
November 9	Congressional notification for pilot training and logistics support for F-16 fighters, at an estimated cost of US\$280 million, and for spare parts for various aircraft, at an estimated cost of US\$140 million.
December 7	First U.S.-Taiwan Monterey Talks held. The talks are chaired on the U.S. side by Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense Kurt Campbell and on the Taiwan side by Major General Liu Hsiang-pin, Director of the Institute of Strategic Studies at Taiwan’s National Defense University.
	1998
January 28	Congressional notification for three Knox-class frigates and MK 15 Phalanx Close-in Weapons Systems, at an estimated cost of US\$300 million.
June 1	Congressional notification for 28 Pathfinder/Sharpshooter navigation and targeting pods for F-16 fighters, at an estimated cost of US\$160 million.
June 27-30	During a visit to China, President Bill Clinton makes a statement in Shanghai where he articulates the “Three Noes” (no two Chinas, no Taiwan independence, and no Taiwan membership in the UN). During the U.S.-China Summit meetings in Beijing, the Clinton administration considered but then rejected China’s request for a U.S. pledge not to share TMD technologies with Taiwan under the pre-condition that China halts all ballistic missile cooperation with Iran.

⁶⁴ “U.S.-China Joint Statement” October 29, 1997 at www.china-embassy.org/eng/zmgx/zywj/t36259.htm.

August 15	The PLA conducts the first successful flight test of the DF-11A, clearing the way for establishing a second SRBM brigade opposite Taiwan.
August 27	Congressional notification for 58 Harpoon anti-ship missiles, at an estimated cost of US\$101 million; 61 Dual-mount Stinger surface-to-air missiles, at an estimated cost of US\$180 million; and 131 MK 46 Mod 5(A) anti-submarine torpedoes, at an estimated cost of US\$69 million.
October 1	Congress passes the “Strom Thurmond National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1999” (Public Law 105-261, 105th Congress, October 17, 1998). The law authorizes the Secretary of Defense to carry out a study of “ <i>the establishment and operation of a theater missile defense system in the Asia-Pacific region that would have the capability to protect key regional allies of the United States.</i> ”
October 6	At a news briefing in Beijing and in response to U.S. plans to develop TMD in the Asia-Pacific, China’s Foreign Ministry spokesperson, Zhu Bangzao, says, “ <i>China hopes that the government of the United States will take effective measures to prevent the anti-China clauses from becoming law. If this act becomes law, it will create obstacles to the improvement and development of Sino-U.S. relations, and will also be detrimental to the security and stability of Taiwan and the Asia-Pacific region.</i> ” ⁶⁵
October 9	Congressional notification for nine CH-47SD Chinook helicopters, at an estimated cost of US\$486 million.
October 14-19	Second round of Koo-Wang Talks takes place in Shanghai.
	1999
January 11	Taiwan Vice-Minister of National Defense, Wang Wen-hsieh, states that Taiwan is not yet ready to participate with the U.S. in a TMD system, but would not rule out participation in the future. Wang said that the Ministry of National Defense is assessing the value of a TMD system against its cost and has changed its position from one of not joining to one of waiting to assess the performance of the system before making a decision.

⁶⁵ “Beijing Slams as ‘Anti-China’ U.S. Plan for Missile Defense in Asia” Inside China Today, October 7, 1998.

<p>January 12</p>	<p>China's arms control official in the Foreign Ministry, Sha Zukang, explains China's opposition to TMD in a speech at an international non-proliferation conference in Washington, D.C. Sha said that <i>"transferring TMD systems to other countries or regions, or jointly developing them with other countries, will inevitably result in the proliferation of missile technology. Missile and anti-missile technologies are related. Many of the technologies used in anti-missile systems are easily applicable in offensive missiles. This is one of the main reasons why China stands against the cooperation between the United States and Japan to develop TMD and opposes any transfer of TMD systems to Taiwan."</i></p> <p><i>"We hope that the U.S. government could take a more cautious and responsible attitude on this matter. China's opposition to U.S. transfers of TMD to Taiwan is also based on another major concern, namely, its adverse impact on China's reunification. TMD in Taiwan will give the pro-independence forces in Taiwan a sense of security, which may incite them to reckless moves. This can only lead to instability across the Taiwan Strait or even in the entire Northeast Asian region."</i>⁶⁶</p>
<p>January 13</p>	<p>China calls for transforming the Anti-Ballistic Missile treaty into a multilateral accord.</p>
<p>January 21</p>	<p>In a news briefing, Foreign Ministry spokesperson Sun Yuxi expresses China's grave concern over the U.S. plan to develop National Missile Defense (NMD) and Theater Missile Defense (TMD) systems, emphasizing that any country's provision of any weaponry systems, including a TMD system to Taiwan, would constitute a serious encroachment on China's sovereignty and territorial integrity.</p>

⁶⁶ "Some Thoughts on Non-Proliferation' Statement by Mr. Sha Zukang at the Seventh Annual Carnegie International Non-Proliferation Conference on Repairing the Regime" Ministry of Foreign Affairs, PRC, January 12, 1999, at www.fmprc.gov.cn/eng/wjdt/zyjh/t24928.htm.

<p>January 24</p>	<p>The <i>PLA Daily</i> states in an article on TMD that “<i>Experts believe that the U.S. attempt to seek strategic superiority by developing this or that sort of missile defense system is not a wise move. As is known to all, offense and defense constitute a perpetual contradiction in the military field. Under the conditions of unprecedented extensive strategic options provided by science and technology, it would be impossible for any country to build a ‘reliable or comprehensive anti-missile system.’ From the ‘Strategic Defense Initiative’ to ‘Dealing With Limited Attack on Global Defense System’ and then to ‘National Missile and Theater Missile Defense System,’ the history of the U.S. anti-missile system indicates that although the missile defense system is a high-tech military system which requires high-input, but results in low efficiency, the United States will not spare the cost of failures in numerous experiments for the sake of seeking strategic superiority and hegemonic status.</i>”</p> <p>“<i>We should be more vigilant because there are some forces in the United States that intend to include Taiwan into the U.S. TMD in the East Asian Region. This is unacceptable to the Chinese government, the people and Army. Any arms system, including TMD, offered by a country to China’s Taiwan province, would constitute a serious encroachment on China’s sovereignty and territorial integrity, and inevitably will meet the strong objection from the Chinese people. On this issue, the United States should abide by the three Sino-U.S. joint communiqués and relevant commitments, and not engage in the proliferation of TMD and relevant technology to Taiwan in any form.</i>”⁶⁷</p>
<p>January 27</p>	<p>A <i>China Daily</i> article warns that if the U.S. brings Taiwan into a TMD plan, “<i>Sino-U.S. relations would suffer a setback unprecedented since the normalization of bilateral ties.</i>” In the article, Ouyang Liping, an analyst at the China Institute of Contemporary International Relations, said that “<i>if there is action, there must be reaction ... By bringing Taiwan in, the US would forge a de facto military alliance with Taiwan.</i>” “<i>Although the United States has further strengthened its military superiority in the Asia-Pacific region and the world, it will irk countries under the threat and prompt them to develop missiles or forge alliances for self-defense. The path of nonproliferation of weapons of mass destruction which the United States has been following is in danger of being reversed.</i>”⁶⁸</p>
<p>February 10</p>	<p>According to a <i>Financial Times</i> report, China has increased the number of missiles in its southern regions from 30-50 in 1995 and 1996 to 150-200 in 1999, and that China plans to increase the number of missiles to 650 over the next several years.⁶⁹</p>

⁶⁷ “*Army Paper Criticizes TMD Plan*” *PLA Daily*, January 24, 1999, p.4, in FBIS-CHI-99-024.

⁶⁸ Chen, Yali, “*TMD Issue Detrimental to Sino-US Relations*” *The China Daily*, January 27, 1999.

⁶⁹ Walker, Tony and Stephen Fidler, “*China Builds Up Taiwan Missiles*” *Financial Times*, February 10, 1999.

February 23	According to a <i>Washington Times</i> report, U.S. government officials believe that China has shared space technology with North Korea, including assisting North Korea in developing satellite technology. The article also says that although U.S. intelligence agencies suspected a link due to hardware similarities with China's CSS-2 missile, they had not been able to link the assistance to North Korea's missile program. ⁷⁰
February 26	The U.S. Department of Defense releases a report entitled "The Security Situation in the Taiwan Strait," submitted to Congress in response to language in the FY99 appropriations bill. The report addresses Taiwan's ability to defend against current and emerging PLA capabilities. ⁷¹
March 1	China's Foreign Ministry spokesperson issues a statement critical of the DoD report, arguing that " <i>the report was spreading word of the so-called Chinese mainland's missile threats to Taiwan, in an attempt to mislead the public opinion and use it as an excuse for selling advanced weapons to Taiwan. Such an act by the U.S. side was a serious interference in China's internal affairs, and the Chinese side hereby expressed its strong dissatisfaction and firm opposition.</i> " ⁷²
March 10	Media reports that Taiwan plans to allocate US\$600 million to indigenous missile programs during the next fiscal year. Possible missile programs include modification of the anti-ship missile Hsiung Feng II into a land-attack cruise missile, as well as a revival of the Tien Ma surface-to-surface missile for interdiction of Chinese missile operations. ⁷³
March 24	Jesse Helms (R-NC) introduces S.693, the "Taiwan Security Enhancement Act" in the U.S. Senate. The Act is referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, which later holds hearings (printed in S.Hrg. 106-230) on the matter.

⁷⁰ Gertz, Bill, "China Assists North Korea in Space Launches" *The Washington Times*, February 23, 1999.

⁷¹ "The Security Situation in the Taiwan Strait" U.S. Department of Defense, January 26, 1999 at www.dod.gov/pubs/twstrait_02261999.html.

⁷² See "The Taiwan Question and Reunification of China" Taiwan Affairs Office & Information Office State Council White Paper at us.china-embassy.org/eng/zt/twwt/White%20Papers/t36704.htm.

⁷³ Bender, Bryan and Robert Karniol, "Taiwan Puts \$600m into Missile Programs" *Jane's Defense Weekly*, March 10 1999, p. 4.

April 28	China's arms control official in the Foreign Ministry, Sha Zukang, warns of the consequences of the U.S. including Taiwan in a TMD system in a speech at an international non-proliferation conference in Monterey, California, saying that it " <i>will enable Taiwan to directly threaten the air-space security over the Taiwan Straits.</i> " " <i>This will be very serious proliferation of weapons and missile technologies. If the US further provides missile early warning assistance to Taiwan, it will lead to de facto 'para-military alliance' between the US and Taiwan.</i> " He also reiterates the Chinese Government's commitment to " <i>peaceful reunification and one country, two systems.</i> " ⁷⁴
April	In late April, the U.S. and Taiwan hold their Annual Arms-Sales Talks, at which the U.S. agrees to sell long-distance early-warning radar and other advanced weaponry systems to Taiwan.
May 18	Tom DeLay (R-TX) introduces H.R. 1838, the "Taiwan Security Enhancement Act" in the U.S. House of Representatives.
May 26	Congressional notification for 240 AGM-114KS Hellfire II air-to-surface missiles to Taiwan, at an estimated cost of US\$23 million; five AN/VRC-92E SINCGARS radio systems, five Intelligence Electronic Warfare systems, and five HMMWVs, at an estimated cost of US\$64 million.
July 9	Lee Teng-hui conducts a radio interview where he outlines his "Special State-to-State" concept for cross-Strait relations.
July 21	President Bill Clinton says that the U.S. would be gravely concerned if China and Taiwan were to abandon efforts to resolve their differences peacefully. After at the last minute delaying a Pentagon mission to Taiwan to assess its air defense needs, he said that " <i>I didn't think this was the best time to do something which might excite either one side or the other, and imply that a military solution is an acceptable alternative.</i> " ⁷⁵
July 30	Congressional notification for spare parts for F-5E/F, C-130H, F-16A/B, and IDF aircraft, at an estimated cost of US\$150 million, and for two E-2T Hawkeye 2000E airborne early warning aircraft, at an estimated cost of US\$400 million.

⁷⁴ "Can BMD Really Enhance Security?" Statement by Mr. Sha Zukang at 2nd China-US Conference on Arms Control, Disarmament and Non-proliferation" Ministry of Foreign Affairs, PRC, April 28, 1999, at www.fmprc.gov.cn/eng/wjw/zjg/jks/cjkk/2622/t15408.htm.

⁷⁵ Drogin, Bob, "Clinton Orders Pentagon to Delay Mission to Taiwan" Los Angeles Times, July 22, 1999, at articles.latimes.com/1999/jul/22/news/mn-58583.

August 2	Vice Foreign Minister Yang Jiechi summons James Moriarty, Charge d'affaires ad interim at the U.S. Embassy in China, to lodge a strong protest against the Taiwan arms sales notified to Congress on July 30. He expresses China's "strong indignation" at this "faithless act" and demands that the U.S. government " <i>correct its mistake through concrete actions by canceling the arms sales.</i> " ⁷⁶
August 2	China announces the test launch of a new type of long-range ground-to-ground missile, the DF-31. The missile is reported to be capable of carrying a 1,500 pound payload more than 5,000 miles. According to a western diplomat, a test of the DF-31 was expected to occur since the model was in the final stages of development.
August 3	Responding to the missile test, the Pentagon spokesperson stated that the Chinese " <i>are not close to deploying a new mobile missile as far as we can tell. If they choose to deploy, it will be several years off. So I don't think this [the test launch] was a direct response to what's going on in the strait. I think they've been working on this for some time, and it is part of an evolutionary improvement in their strategic force which remains quite a small force – some 20 or slightly more intercontinental ballistic missiles.... I would say it does not give them a significantly enhanced military capability.</i> " ⁷⁷
August 18	Taiwan President Lee Teng-hui expresses his support for Taiwan joining a proposed U.S.-Japan theater missile shield. Lee said that " <i>setting up a TMD system would cope with the current situation and be in the nation's interest.</i> " ⁷⁸
August 20	In response to Lee Teng-hui's comments on Taiwan joining the U.S.-Japan TMD system, China's Foreign Ministry spokesperson " <i>pointed out that it would be an encroachment on China's sovereignty and a serious threat to China's national security if any country attempts to include Taiwan into the TMD system in any form. And such a move would definitely bluster the attempt at the independence of Taiwan and set obstacles for China's peaceful reunification, thus undermining peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific Region. The Chinese Government and people stand firmly against this.</i> " ⁷⁹
September 19	A technical team from the U.S. Department of Defense begins a 10-day assessment of Taiwan's air and missile defense requirements.
October 26	The House Committee on International Relations votes 32-6 to report H.R. 1838, the "Taiwan Security Enhancement Act," favorably to the full House.

⁷⁶ "China Lodges Strong Protest Against US Arms Sales To Taiwan" People's Daily, August 3, 1998, at english.peopledaily.com.cn/features/ldh/080302.html.

⁷⁷ "DoD News Briefing" U.S. Department of Defense, August 3, 1999, at www.defense.gov/transcripts/transcript.aspx?transcriptid=388.

⁷⁸ "Lee backs Taiwan's participation in TMD" China News, August 19, 1999.

⁷⁹ See "The Taiwan Question and Reunification of China" Taiwan Affairs Office & Information Office State Council White Paper at us.china-embassy.org/eng/zt/twwt/White%20Papers/t36704.htm.

October 30	A <i>People's Daily</i> editorial denounces the House International Relations Committee voting to move forward with the Taiwan Security Enhancement Act. <i>"The act dished up by a few congressmen is in essence an attempt to provide a legal basis for the US to enforce its domestic legislation for the purpose of offering all sorts of sophisticated arms and equipment to Taiwan and building up and brodening [sic] direct ties between the US-Taiwan armed forces in a bid to hinder China's cause for reunification. The bill, if enacted, will pose a serious threat to peace and stability across the Taiwan Straits and in the Asian-Pacific region and jeopardize the Sino-US relations."</i> ⁸⁰
November	PACOM Commander Admiral Dennis Blair dismisses Chinese objections to U.S. missile-defense assistance to Taiwan, saying that such cooperation is needed to counter China's missile buildup, and that it is allowed under the Taiwan Relations Act. ⁸¹
2000	
January 27	China's missile buildup opposite Taiwan has been described as a key factor in U.S. plans to incorporate Taiwan into a missile defense system. Commenting on a meeting with PLA Lieutenant General Xiong Guangkai, Under Secretary of Defense for Policy Walter Slocombe said that <i>"We made it clear that we will continue our sales of defensive arms to Taiwan so as to provide them, under the terms of the Taiwan Relations Act, a sufficient defense capability."</i> <i>"We also made clear that one of the reasons this is an issue is the buildup of Chinese missile capability."</i> ⁸²
February 1	The U.S. House of Representatives passes the Taiwan Security Enhancement Act by 341-70. The bill is intended to enhance U.S.-Taiwan military-to-military communications, increase technical staff at the American Institute in Taiwan, and expand U.S. training for Taiwan military officers. It would also require consultations with Congress in determining Taiwan's defense needs and in making decisions on arms sales. Before becoming law, the bill would have to be reconciled with the Senate version (S.693). President Clinton indicates his intent to veto the measure. ⁸³

⁸⁰ *"Taiwan Security Enhancement Act' Censured'* Editorial, *People's Daily*, English Edition, October 30, 1999, at english.peopledaily.com.cn/english/199910/30/eng19991030C104.html.

⁸¹ Gertz, Bill, *"Admiral calls for Pacific missile defense system"* *Washington Times*, November 12, 1999.

⁸² *"DoD News Briefing"* U.S. Department of Defense, January 27, 2000, at www.defense.gov/transcripts/transcript.aspx?transcriptid=922.

⁸³ Pomfret, John, *"China Assails Bill on Taiwan"* *Washington Post*, February 3, 2000.

February 2	Deputy Foreign Minister Yang Jiechi summons U.S. Ambassador Joseph Prueher to express China's displeasure and "utmost indignation" over the House passage of the bill. Yang calls the measure " <i>a complete violation of the three Sino-U.S. joint communiques and relevant commitments made by the U.S. side, a serious encroachment on China's sovereignty, a gross interference in China's internal affairs, and an attempt to make 'one China, one Taiwan', or 'two Chinas'.</i> " ⁸⁴
February 21	<p>China issues a White Paper entitled "The One-China Principle and the Taiwan Issue." In the paper, China chastises the U.S. and describes its stance on Taiwan arms sales.</p> <p><i>"No country maintaining diplomatic relations with China should provide arms to Taiwan or enter into military alliance of any form with Taiwan. All countries maintaining diplomatic relations with China should abide by the principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, and refrain from providing arms to Taiwan or helping Taiwan produce arms in any form or under any pretext."</i></p> <p><i>"The Taiwan question is the most crucial and most sensitive issue in the relations between China and the U.S. The three Sino-U.S. joint communiques are the basis for the healthy and stable development of relations between the two countries. For over twenty years, the U.S. has promised to adhere to a one-China Policy, which has brought to itself benefits such as the establishment of diplomatic relations with China, the development of Sino-U.S. relations and the relative stability of the Taiwan situation. Regrettably, the U.S. has repeatedly contravened its solemn undertakings to China made in the August 17 Communique and continued its sale of advanced arms and military equipment to Taiwan."</i></p> <p><i>"Recently, some people in the U.S. Congress have cooked up the so-called Taiwan Security Enhancement Act and are attempting to include Taiwan in the TMDS. This is gross interference in China's internal affairs and a grave threat to China's security, obstructing the peaceful reunification of China and jeopardizing the peace and stability of the Asia-Pacific region and the world at large. The Chinese government is firmly against such actions."</i>⁸⁵</p>
March 2	Congressional notification for modernization of the TPS-43F air defense radar to TPS-75V configuration, at an estimated cost of US\$96 million, and for 162 Hawk Intercept guided air defense missiles, at an estimated cost of US\$106 million.

⁸⁴ "China Indignant over U.S. Anti-China Act" People's Daily, English Edition, February 3, 2000, at english.peopledaily.com.cn/english/200002/03/eng20000203N101.html.

⁸⁵ "The One-China Principle and the Taiwan Issue" Taiwan Affairs Office and the Information Office of the State Council, February 21, 2000, at www.gov.cn/english/official/2005-07/27/content_17613.htm.

<p>March 9</p>	<p>China issues a statement on the proposed U.S. sale of radar upgrade equipment and Hawk missiles to Taiwan. Statement indicates that China has lodged a complaint with the U.S. over the matter. The statement says that the proposed sale “<i>fans up the aggressive clamoring of the forces for ‘Taiwan’s independence’ to split the motherland, and is a major cause for the tension in the Taiwan Strait.</i>” It goes on to say that “<i>At present, China-US relations and cross-strait relations are both in a crucial moment of high sensitivity.</i>”⁸⁶</p>
<p>March 18</p>	<p>Chen Shui-bian of the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) is elected President of Taiwan.</p>
<p>March 23</p>	<p>U.S. Secretary of Defense William Cohen addresses the question of if U.S. arms sales to Taiwan violate the 1982 Joint Communiqué. “<i>It depends on what kind of threat is posed to Taiwan. We have agreed to provide them with their defensive needs. To the extent that the threat continues to escalate, then obviously their capability to defend against it will escalate. That’s one of the reasons we are hoping that both sides will simply pull back from this rhetoric that continues to get higher, or the deployment of assets by the Chinese to threaten Taiwan. If they continue or should continue to build up an offensive capability against Taiwan, Taiwan would say we need greater defenses. So it goes up the ladder. What we are trying to do is to encourage both of them to back away from this and negotiate peacefully.</i>”⁸⁷</p>
<p>April 14</p>	<p>China’s Director-General of the Department of Arms Control & Disarmament, Sha Zukang, states that the U.S. development of missile defenses “<i>may force China to review its policies on a wide range of arms control and non-proliferation issues.</i>” Sha also stated that arms control negotiations “<i>must not undermine the global strategic balance and stability</i>” and must protect “<i>China’s important strategic security interests.</i>”⁸⁸</p>
<p>April 17</p>	<p>In the wake of the 2000 Arms Sales Talks, the Clinton administration approved the sale of Maverick air-to-ground missiles, advanced medium-range air-to-air missiles (AMRAAM), and Pave Paws radar to Taiwan, which would allow Taiwan to monitor the launch of Chinese ballistic missiles or manned bombers. However, it deferred Taiwan’s request for four Aegis-equipped warships, and AMRAAM is to be stored in the U.S. unless China acquires similar missiles.</p>

⁸⁶ “Spokesperson on the reported U.S. arms sale to Taiwan” Ministry of Foreign Affairs, PRC, March 15, 2000, at www.fmprc.gov.cn/eng/wjbm/zjg/bmdyys/gjlb/3432/3436/3440/t17280.htm.

⁸⁷ “Cool it...” Far Eastern Economic Review, March 23, 2000.

⁸⁸ “US Nuke Action Concerns China” People’s Daily, April 14, 2000, at english.people.com.cn/english/200004/14/eng20000414_38936.html.

April 18	At a press conference, Foreign Ministry spokesperson Sun Yuxi calls on the U.S. to halt weapons sales to Taiwan. He states that <i>“the Chinese government demands that the United States government prohibit all sales of advanced weapons to Taiwan, including the Aegis-armed destroyer and long- range radar.”</i> Sun said that China is consistently and firmly opposed to any U.S. arms sales to Taiwan and has repeatedly lodged representations to the U.S. side on the matter. He added that <i>“supplying weapons to Taiwan means lending help to the Taiwan- independence activists and will seriously compromise cross-straits relations, leading to further tensions across the Taiwan Straits.”</i> ⁸⁹
June 7	Congressional notification for 39 Pathfinder/Sharpshooter navigation and targeting pods for F-16 fighters, at an estimated cost of US\$234 million, and for 48 AN/ALQ-184 ECM pods for F-16s, at an estimated cost of US\$122 million.
June 22	During a meeting with U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, Chinese Foreign Minister Tang Jiaxuan said that <i>“the Taiwan issue is the most important and sensitive issue in the Sino-U.S. relations. China urges the U.S. to adhere to the One-China Principle, the three joint comuniques [sic] and other commitments by U.S. leaders, refrain from any official contacts with Taiwan, stop sales of advance weapons to Taiwan and prevent it from being included in the U.S.-sponsored Theater Missile Defense system in the region.”</i> ⁹⁰
July 11	U.S. Secretary of Defense William Cohen arrives in China. An unidentified U.S. official comments that <i>“The Chinese would like to tie Taiwan arms sales into nonproliferation discussions, NMD, TMD – all these things from the Chinese point of view tie into the discussion of proliferation, and it’s a contentious issue.”</i> The PRC also reportedly warns that if the U.S. exports technology to Taiwan for a theater missile defense system, they will continue to sell missile technology to Pakistan and possibly to countries in the Middle East. ⁹¹

⁸⁹ “China Opposes U.S. Sales of Aegis Destroyer, Radar to Taiwan: FM Spokesperson” People’s Daily, April 18, 2000, at english.people.com.cn/english/200004/18/eng20000418_39190.html.

⁹⁰ “No. 2000-0012” Chinese Embassy Newsletters, Embassy of the PRC in the USA, June 30, 2000, at www.china-embassy.org/eng/sgxx/sggg/sstx/2000/t35061.htm.

⁹¹ Pomfret, John, “China Again Demands U.S. Drop Missile Defense Plan: Beijing Links Weapons Exports To American Verdict on System” Washington Post, July 12, 2000.

<p>September 15</p>	<p>Chinese Foreign Minister Tang Jiaxuan, in New York attending the UN General Assembly, gives an interview to Zheng Yide, editor-in-chief of <i>Qiao Bao</i> (an overseas Chinese newspaper). In answering a question regarding U.S. arms sales to Taiwan and the possibility of the U.S. including Taiwan in a regional missile defense system, Tang comments as follows.</p> <p><i>“The Chinese government is resolutely opposed to the USA selling any weaponry to Taiwan. In the important bilateral meetings and contacts, including the U.S. Defense Secretary Cohen’s visit to China last July, the Chinese side expressed its solemn stand on various occasions. For many years, the USA has failed to fulfill its commitment made in the ‘17th August Communiqué’ by selling various kinds of advanced weaponry to Taiwan and raising the functions and quantities of the weapons sold to Taiwan. What the USA did has encouraged the ‘Taiwan independence’ forces’ arrogance in trying to split China, aggravated the tension in the Taiwan Strait and also seriously impaired the relations between China and the USA.”</i></p> <p><i>“The Chinese government required that the U.S. side fully understand the serious harmfulness of its arms sales to Taiwan, carry out the ‘one China’ policy earnestly, abide by the stipulations set forth in the three Sino-U.S. Joint Communiqués, particularly those in the Sino-U.S. 17th August Communiqué and pertinent commitments made by the U.S. side, and stop all arms sales to Taiwan lest it should cause new damage to the peace and tranquility of the Taiwan Strait and the Asia-Pacific Region and to the relations between China and the USA. Any country’s attempt to include Taiwan in its missile defense system or to transfer missile defense systems and relevant component and technology has the nature of brazenly intervening in China’s internal affairs and helping Taiwan to resist unification by force, which will certainly be opposed by the Chinese people resolutely.”⁹²</i></p>
<p>September 28</p>	<p>Congressional notification for 146 M109A5 howitzers, 152 SINCGARS radio systems, at an estimated cost of US\$405 million. 200 AIM-120C AMRAAMs for F-16 fighters, at an estimated cost of US\$150 million. Improved Mobile Subscriber Equipment (IMSE) communication system, at an estimated cost of US\$513 million, and 71 RGM-84L Harpoon anti-ship missiles, at an estimated cost of US\$240 million.</p>
<p>September 29</p>	<p>In response to the September 28 Congressional notifications, Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesperson Sun Yuxi stated that <i>“The Chinese side urges the U.S. to earnestly follow the three Sino-U.S. joint communiqués and the relevant commitments, and abandon the planned arms sales to Taiwan.”</i> <i>“Otherwise, the U.S. side should bear the serious consequences arising therefrom.”⁹³</i></p>

⁹² “Chinese Foreign Minister Discusses Taiwan Issues, Criticizes US Arms Sales” Summary of World Broadcasts, British Broadcasting Corporation Monitoring Service, F/E3949, September 19, 2000.

⁹³ “China Protests US Arms Sales to Taiwan” People’s Daily, September 28, 2000, at english.people.com.cn/english/200009/29/eng20000929_51573.html.

November 3	Henry Shelton, chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, visits China and meets with Chinese Defense Minister Chi Haotian. According to reports, Chi <i>“stresses that the increase in US arms sales to Taiwan does not increase the chances of a peaceful solution to the Taiwan issue, and is not conducive to the stability between both sides of the Taiwan straits.”</i> <i>“And it certainly harms the Sino-US relations.”</i> ⁹⁴
December 19	Pentagon issues a report assessing the security situation in the Taiwan Strait. <i>“Pentagon Report on Implementation of Taiwan Relations Act (U.S. reaffirms commitment to Taiwan’s defensive capability).”</i>
	2001
March 5	During a press conference at the annual session of the National People’s Congress, Chinese Foreign Minister Tang Jiaxuan discussed U.S. plans to sell advanced weapons to Taiwan. He comments that <i>“the United States should come to a recognition of the serious dangers involved.”</i> <i>“If the US side continues to fail to honour its commitment on the Taiwan question and insists on selling advanced weapons to Taiwan ... that would send a very wrong signal to the Taiwan authorities.”</i> He also said that Washington should <i>“rein in its wild horses right on the edge of the precipice.”</i> ⁹⁵
March 14	Commenting on the possible sale of Aegis to Taiwan, Sha Zukang – China’s Director-General of the Department of Arms Control & Disarmament – said during a briefing in Beijing that <i>“We hate the idea. We condemn this idea.”</i> He also said that <i>“among the arms they [the United States] have sold or proposed to sell to Taiwan, Aegis is the worst.”</i> ⁹⁶
March 15	During a visit to China, Admiral Dennis Blair, Commander, U.S. Pacific Command, comments on Chinese missiles deployed adjacent to Taiwan. <i>“There will be a point at which that missile buildup will threaten the sufficient defense of Taiwan.”</i> <i>“It’s important that the Chinese make the connection between what they deploy on their side of the strait and the types of technologies that the U.S. might make available to Taiwan to provide for its sufficient defense. And certainly a future sea-based, Aegis-based missile defense program would be part of that.”</i> ⁹⁷
April 1	A Chinese F-8 fighter collides with a U.S. Navy EP-3 reconnaissance plane over the South China Sea. The EP-3 makes an emergency landing on Hainan Island, China. This becomes the basis for strained relations between the U.S. and China.

⁹⁴ *“Chinese Defense Minister Meets US Guest”* People’s Daily, November 3, 2000 at english.people.com.cn/english/200011/03/eng20001103_54316.html.

⁹⁵ Gittings, John, *“Beijing tells US not to arm Taiwan”* The Guardian, March 6, 2001, at www.guardian.co.uk/world/2001/mar/07/china.johngittings.

⁹⁶ *“China Says Open to Missile Shield Talks With U.S.”* Inside China Today, March 14, 2001.

⁹⁷ *“China may determine U.S. missile sales to Taiwan”* USA Today, March 15, 2001, at www.usatoday.com/news/world/2001-03-15-chinamissiles.htm.

April 21	The U.S. side delivers its decision to the visiting Taiwan delegation for the annual Arms Sales Talks on their requested arms sales package.
April 23	President George W. Bush announces that the U.S. government has approved selling a large package of advanced weapons and equipment to Taiwan, including four Kidd-class destroyers, eight diesel-electric submarines, and 12 P-3C Orion submarine-hunting aircraft. The package does not include requested Arleigh Burke-class destroyers with the Aegis radar system.
April 24	In response to the announced U.S. arms sales to Taiwan, Chinese Ambassador to the U.S. Yang Jiechi lodges a strong protest to the U.S. State Department.
April 25	Deputy Foreign Minister Li Zhaoxing summons U.S. Ambassador Joseph W. Prueher to lodge “ <i>solemn representations and strong protests</i> ” over the announced arms sales package. The PRC government issues a statement declaring “ <i>The Chinese side demands that the U.S. side fully understand the seriousness, danger and destructive nature of U.S. arms sales to Taiwan, take seriously China’s solemn stand, abide by the provisions of the three Sino-U.S. joint communiqués, especially the one signed on August 17, 1982, immediately revoke its erroneous decision and give up arms sales to Taiwan, so as to avoid further damage of Sino-U.S. relations. The U.S. side shall otherwise be held responsible for all the consequences arising therefrom, and the Chinese side reserves the right to make further responses to the matter.</i> ” ⁹⁸
July 18	Congressional notification for 50 Joint Tactical Information Distribution Systems (JTIDS) terminals (a version of Link-16) for data links between aircraft, ships, and ground stations, at an estimated cost of US\$725 million.

⁹⁸ “China Strongly Protests U.S. Arms Sales to Taiwan” Embassy of the PRC in Canada, April 25, 2001, at ca.china-embassy.org/eng/zt/twwt/zxxx/t37801.htm.

August 10	<p>In an interview with the <i>New York Times</i>, China's President Jiang Zemin comments on U.S. arms sales to Taiwan. <i>"We are opposed to U.S. arms sales to Taiwan. After signing of the Aug. 17 Joint Communiqué [of 1982], the U.S. side pledged to reduce its arms sales to Taiwan, both in quantitative and qualitative terms. But in fact what has happened has been the contrary. Secondly, on the one hand the U.S. side has said Taiwan should not go independent. On the other hand, the U.S. provides support to make Taiwan stronger in order to oppose the mainland. This is utterly wrong. Such practice will not serve the interests of the people of Taiwan and is not conducive to peace in Asia, and it will also harm the U.S.'s own interests."</i></p> <p>In response to a question regarding U.S.-China maintaining friendly relations in the face of Taiwan arms sales, Jiang comments that <i>"I can only say that it would be very dangerous. Let me add one more point. I hope the Western world can understand China better. This is not simply an issue that has a bearing on myself. It actually has a bearing on the pride and feelings of the 1.2 billion Chinese people and the tens of millions of Chinese descendants overseas. They all hope that Taiwan and the mainland can be reunified at an early date. So if this situation does not make a turn for the better, does not head toward such a conclusion, then it will be hard to cope with the emotions and desires of so many people."</i> <i>"Our intention is peaceful unification and one country, two systems. This has been our consistent position from the beginning."</i>⁹⁹</p>
September 5	Congressional notification for 40 AGM-65G Maverick air-to-ground missiles for F-16s, at an estimated cost of US\$18 million.
October 26	Congressional notification for 40 Javelin anti-tank missile systems and 360 Javelin missiles, at an estimated cost of US\$51 million.
October 30	Congressional notification for logistical support/spare parts for F-5E/F, C-130H, F-16A/B, and IDF aircraft, at an estimated cost of US\$288 million.
2002	
February 26	Prior to official arms control talks in Washington, D.C., an unnamed official from the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs tells the Associated Press that the U.S. <i>"can't just accuse us of ... violating our commitments and at the same time you are selling large amounts of arms to Taiwan."</i> According to the official, such sales are <i>"also a kind of proliferation."</i> ¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ "China's Leaders; In Jiang's Words: *I Hope the Western World Can Understand China Better*" *New York Times*, August 10, 2001, at www.nytimes.com/2001/08/10/world/china-s-leaders-jiang-s-words-hope-western-world-can-understand-china-better.html.

¹⁰⁰ McDonald, Joe, *"Beijing to negotiate on weapons control"* *Associated Press*, February 27, 2002.

March 11	At the first annual US-Taiwan Business Council defense conference in Florida, Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz says that <i>“As President Bush and others have said, the United States is committed to doing whatever it takes to help Taiwan defend itself.”</i> ¹⁰¹
March 12	Yang Jiechi, China’s Ambassador to the U.S., lodges a strong protest to the U.S. Department of State regarding the meetings between U.S. and Taiwan officials at the US-Taiwan Business Council defense conference. <i>“The Chinese government expresses its strong dissatisfaction and indignation.”</i> <i>“China demands the United States recognize the seriousness of its wrong move and correct it in real earnest. It demands Washington immediately stop official contacts and military exchanges with Taiwan.”</i> ¹⁰²
June 4	Congressional notification for three AN/MPN-14 air traffic control radars, at an estimated cost of US\$108 million.
June 26	Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs Peter Rodman visits Beijing to discuss a resumption of military exchanges.
September 4	Congressional notification for 54 AAV7A1 amphibious assault vehicles, at an estimated cost of US\$250 million. Maintenance and spare parts for aircraft, radars, AMRAAMS, and other systems, at an estimated cost of US\$174 million. 182 AIM-9M-1/2 Sidewinder air-to-air missiles, at an estimated cost of US\$36 million. 449 AGM-114M3 Hellfire II anti-armor missiles to equip AH-1W and OH-58D helicopters, at an estimated cost of US\$60 million. 290 TOW-2B anti-tank missiles, at an estimated cost of US\$18 million.
October 26	As reported in the Taiwan media, while meeting with President George W. Bush in Crawford, Texas, Chinese President Jiang Zemin offered the U.S. a deal whereby China would remove missiles from the Taiwan Strait in exchange for a decrease in U.S. arms sales to Taiwan. There was later disagreement over the exact wording of the proposal, and the two leaders apparently did not pursue the idea further.
November 21	Congressional notification for four Kidd-class destroyers for Taiwan, at an estimated cost of US\$875 million.

¹⁰¹ Wolfowitz, Paul, *“Remarks to U.S.-Taiwan Business Council”* March 11, 2002, at www.dod.gov/pubs/foi/International_security_affairs/china/twn_us_council.pdf.

¹⁰² *“China Protests US Official Contacts With Taiwan”* Embassy of the PRC in the USA, April 14, 2002, at www.china-embassy.org/eng/zt/twwt/t36755.htm.

December 9	The fifth U.S.-China Defense Consultative Talks are held in Washington, D.C. Under Secretary of Defense for Policy Douglas J. Feith states that “ <i>Unfortunately, but not unexpectedly, China did not renounce the use of force to resolve the Taiwan conflict. But we did have a discussion of the subject.</i> ” Commenting on the Chinese missile buildup in the Taiwan Strait, the U.S. side “ <i>said that we thought that that is threatening and appears to be designed to ... coerce and intimidate, and that is not the right approach to reducing risks and tensions regarding Taiwan.</i> ” ¹⁰³
	2003
January 3	China protests U.S. plans to participate in Taiwan’s annual military exercises for the first time since 1979. In response to a question from the Associated Press, China demands an end to “ <i>all military interaction between the United States and Taiwan.</i> ” The Chinese Foreign Ministry says that such interaction “ <i>brings harm to China-U.S. relations.</i> ” ¹⁰⁴
September 24	Congressional notification for Multi-functional Information Distribution Systems (MIDS) (for Po Sheng), at an estimated cost of US\$775 million.
	2004
January 13-16	General Richard Myers, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, visits Beijing. It is the first visit to China by the highest ranking U.S. military officer since November 2000.
March 20	Chen Shui-bian of the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) is re-elected as President of Taiwan.
March 30	Congressional notification for two Ultra High Frequency Long-Range Early Warning Radars for Taiwan, at an estimated cost of US\$1.8 billion.
April 1	China reacts angrily to the U.S. plan to sell advanced radar systems to Taiwan. Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesperson Kong Quan says that China has “ <i>always opposed U.S. sales of advanced weapons to Taiwan.</i> ” “ <i>Especially under the current complicated and sensitive situation across the Taiwan Strait, we ask the United States to be faithful to what it says and abide by its promises and not send the wrong signal to Taiwan’s independence [seekers].</i> ” ¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ “Under Secretary Feith Media Roundtable On U.S. China Defense Consultative Talks” U.S. Department of Defense, December 9, 2002, at www.defense.gov/transcripts/transcript.aspx?transcriptid=2850.

¹⁰⁴ “U.S.-Taiwan War Games Plan Worries China” Associated Press, January 3, 2003.

¹⁰⁵ “China scolds U.S. over radar sale” CNN, April 1, 2004, at articles.cnn.com/2004-04-01/world/taiwan.us.china_1_radar-sale-beijing-and-taipei-president-chen-shui-bian.

July 2	On the sidelines of the ASEAN Regional Forum in Jakarta, U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell meets with Chinese Foreign Minister Li Zhaoxing. Li states that China is “consistently opposed to the so-called Taiwan Relations Act and US’ selling of weapons to Taiwan under any pretext.” Powell reaffirms President Bush’s support of the one-China policy and the U.S. policy not to support Taiwan independence activities. ¹⁰⁶
July 7	Chinese media reports that PLA soldiers will for the first time rehearse a D-Day style invasion of Taiwan. The 18,000-man mock landing on the beaches of Dongshan Island – 150 miles off the southern tip of Taiwan – is expected to involve amphibious assault crafts, Russian-built fighter jets, and submarines operating in the Taiwan Strait to ward off a simulated counter-attack by the U.S. Seventh Fleet. According to Shanghai newspaper <i>New Express Daily</i> , the mock invasion will be the first PLA military exercise aimed at “taking control of the Taiwan Strait.” ¹⁰⁷
July 9	China’s President Hu Jintao and former President Jiang Zemin both meet with U.S. National Security Advisor Condoleeza Rice in Beijing. Jiang states that China would not “sit idle” if foreign forces supported Taiwan independence. In an apparent reference to arms sales, Hu urges the U.S. to “not send wrong signals to Taiwan” to “avoid damaging the peace and stability across the Taiwan Straits.” In response, Dr. Rice reiterates the U.S. commitment to defend Taiwan as stated in the Taiwan Relations Act. ¹⁰⁸ According to a U.S. official privy to the talks, “they came at us very heavily on Taiwan.” The U.S. side reportedly expressed their view that arms sales are needed “because China’s missile buildup has created an imbalance on the [Taiwan] Strait, and we need to correct that.” ¹⁰⁹
July 12	Sun Wiede, spokesperson for the Chinese Embassy in the U.S., calls a press conference to state that “We are gravely concerned over the recent U.S. moves on the Taiwan question. We strongly urge the U.S. side to stop selling advanced arms to Taiwan and cut the military links between the U.S. and Taiwan. Stop any official exchanges with Taiwan authorities. Stop supporting Taiwan to join the international organizations where statehood is required.” ¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁶ “FM meets Powell at ASEAN forum” China Daily, July 3, 2004, at www.chinadaily.com.cn/english/doc/2004-07/03/content_345113.htm.

¹⁰⁷ August, Oliver, “China tests ‘D-Day invasion’ of Taiwan” The Times Online, July 7, 2004.

¹⁰⁸ “China’s Hu, Rice in talks on ‘serious’ Taiwan issue” Agence France-Presse, July 9, 2004.

¹⁰⁹ “Chinese told U.S. arms sales to Taiwan to proceed” The Washington Times, July 13, 2004, at www.washingtontimes.com/news/2004/jul/13/20040713-111331-1903r.

¹¹⁰ “Chinese told U.S. arms sales to Taiwan to proceed” The Washington Times, July 13, 2004, at www.washingtontimes.com/news/2004/jul/13/20040713-111331-1903r.

September 29	After a meeting in Washington, D.C., between China's Foreign Minister Li Zhaoxing and U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell, the two expressed their disagreements over U.S. arms sales to Taiwan. Li said <i>"We are firmly opposed to the sales of weapons by any foreign country to Taiwan, which is a part of China, because we don't think it is in the interest of our peaceful efforts towards the resolution of the Taiwan question."</i> Powell countered by citing <i>"obligations under our domestic law with respect to the Taiwan Relations Act,"</i> whereupon Li responded by saying that <i>"in any country, its domestic law should not go above its international commitments."</i> Powell also said that the U.S. <i>"always measure what is sold to Taiwan on the basis of what they need for their self-defense, and I think our policy has served both nations, the United States and China, very, very well – and Taiwan very, very well – over the course of a number of years."</i> ¹¹¹
October 25	During media interviews in Beijing, U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell continues to reinforce the U.S. One-China policy while also reiterating that under the Taiwan Relations Act the U.S. has obligations to provide defensive weapons to Taiwan. Powell states that <i>"we encourage the Chinese side to be very careful about the deployments that they make across the Straits."</i> <i>"We continue to point out to the Chinese side, that their deployments and military steps they might be taking on the Mainland that are causing an imbalance requires that the imbalance be adjusted in some way and that leads then to additional arms sales."</i> In response to a question on public statements in Taipei about targeting Shanghai if Taiwan is threatened, Powell said that <i>"the only technology we are providing to Taiwan, if they choose to buy it, is technology that will allow for their self-defense. We don't want them to have an offensive capability. We also think that this kind of rhetoric is unfortunate; it just raises tensions."</i> ¹¹²
	2005
February 20	The U.S. and Japan issue a joint statement listing easing tensions in the Taiwan Strait as one of their "common strategic objectives" in the Asia-Pacific. China expresses its "grave concern" over the statement. Kong Quan, spokesperson for China's Foreign Ministry, said that any "irresponsible remarks" on China's national defense is "untenable." He added that <i>"the Chinese government and Chinese people firmly oppose the US-Japan statement on the Taiwan issue, which concerns China's sovereignty, territorial integrity and national security."</i> <i>"We hope the United States and Japan honor their commitments on the Taiwan issue with actions."</i> ¹¹³
April 28	U.S.-China Defense Consultative Talks held in Washington.

¹¹¹ "China hits U.S. sales to Taiwan" The Washington Times, September 30, 2004, at www.washingtontimes.com/news/2004/sep/30/20040930-114637-2742r.

¹¹² "Interview With Anthony Yuen of Phoenix TV" Public Release, U.S. Department of State, October 25, 2004, at 2001-2009.state.gov/secretary/former/powell/remarks/37361.htm.

¹¹³ "Beijing opposes US-Japan statement on Taiwan" Embassy of the PRC in the USA, January 21, 2005, at big5.fmprc.gov.cn/gate/big5/us.china-embassy.org/eng/zt/twwt/t184149.htm.

October 18-20	U.S. Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld visits Beijing.
October 25	Notification for 10 AIM-9M Sidewinder and five AIM-7M Sparrow air-to-air missiles, as well as continued pilot training and logistical support for F-16 fighters at Luke AFB, at an estimated cost of US\$280 million.
	2006
June 8	U.S.-China Defense Consultative Talks held in Beijing. The U.S. side is led by Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs Peter Rodman.
June 16-22	Central Military Commission Vice Chairman General Guo Boxiong visits the U.S.
	2007
January 11	China conducts an anti-satellite missile test, successfully destroying a weather satellite.
February 28	Congressional notification for 218 AMRAAMs and 235 Maverick air-to-ground missiles for F-16 fighters, at an estimated cost of US\$421 million.
March 2	Qin Gang, the spokesperson for China's Foreign Ministry, issues a protest over the U.S. missile sale to Taiwan. <i>"We solemnly demand the leader of the United States ... immediately cancel this weapons sale [and] avoid harming the peace and stability of the Taiwan Straits and Sino-US relations."</i> <i>"The Chinese side expresses its strong dissatisfaction and resolute opposition to this. We have raised solemn representations with the US side."</i> ¹¹⁴ The U.S. Department of State responded that the U.S. administration <i>"remains fully committed to fulfilling the security and arms sales provisions of the Taiwan Relations Act."</i> <i>"We believe that the sale in question is consistent with our responsibilities in that policy."</i> The State Department spokesperson also dismissed China's complaints, saying <i>"they apparently do this on a regular basis concerning US arms sales to Taiwan. When they do so, we explain that US arms sales are consistent with our one-China policy."</i> ¹¹⁵
March 3	U.S. Deputy Secretary of State John Negroponte visits Beijing. According to the Foreign Ministry spokesperson, Deputy Foreign Minister Dai Bingguo told Negroponte that the U.S. plans to sell missiles to Taiwan threatens to harm U.S.-China ties. <i>"In order to ensure the healthy development of China-US relations, China resolutely opposes US weapons sales to Taiwan."</i> ¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴ "China demands US cancel planned missile sale to Taiwan" Channel News Asia, March 2, 2007, at www.channelnewsasia.com/stories/afp_asiapacific/view/261615/1/.html.

¹¹⁵ "US rejects Chinese protest over planned Taiwan missile sale" Channel News Asia, March 3, 2007, at www.channelnewsasia.com/stories/afp_asiapacific/view/261717/1/.html.

¹¹⁶ "China warns Negroponte on Taiwan arms sales" Channel News Asia, March 3, 2007, at www.channelnewsasia.com/stories/afp_asiapacific/view/261829/1/.html.

August 8	Congressional notification for 60 AGM-84L Harpoon Block II anti-ship missiles, at an estimated cost of US\$125 million.
September 12	Congressional notification for 144 SM-2 Block IIIA Standard air-defense missiles for Kidd-class destroyers, at an estimated cost of US\$272 million, and for 12 P-3C maritime patrol/ASW aircraft, at an estimated cost of US\$1.9 billion.
September 16	Protesting the September 12 announcement, a spokesperson for China's Foreign Ministry states that " <i>the Chinese side strongly opposes the sales of weapons to Taiwan by the US government.</i> " " <i>This constitutes rude interference in China's internal affairs. The Chinese side strongly protests against this and has raised solemn representations with the United States.</i> " " <i>We urge the US side to implement with real actions its solemn commitments on the Taiwan issue, immediately cancel the weapons sales to the Taiwan military, end all weapons sales and contacts with the Taiwanese side and stop sending wrong signals to Taiwan.</i> " " <i>The Chinese side reserves the right to adopt further measures.</i> " ¹¹⁷
November 9	Congressional notification for Patriot configuration 2 ground systems upgrade, at an estimated cost of US\$939 million.
November 14	China's Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Liu Jianchao comments on the November 9 Congressional notifications, stating that " <i>China firmly opposes to [sic] arms sales by the US Government to Taiwan.</i> " " <i>Such erroneous actions severely violate the US Government's serious commitments to China in the Joint Communiqué signed between the two countries on August 17, 1982, grossly interfere in China's internal affairs, endanger China's national security and peaceful reunification, and also disturb the improvement and development of China-US relations. China has already lodged strong protest and made solemn representations to the United States.</i> " " <i>China urges the United States to take concrete actions to implement the three China-US Joint Communiqués, honor its solemn commitment to China on the Taiwan question, immediately cancel relevant arms sales plan, and stop arms sales to and military connection with Taiwan so as not to send any wrong signals to the secessionist forces for Taiwan independence. China reserves the rights to take further measures.</i> " ¹¹⁸
November 29	According to Chinese state media, the recent decision to block a U.S. aircraft carrier battle group and other American warships from entering port in Hong Kong was at least partially in retaliation for the U.S.'s proposed upgrading of Taiwan's Patriot anti-missile batteries. ¹¹⁹

¹¹⁷ "China protests against proposed US weapons sales to Taiwan" Agence France-Presse, September 16, 2007, at afp.google.com/article/ALeqM5iHPZcd_FrNpceLEHBR2_c2818CdA.

¹¹⁸ "Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Liu Jianchao's Comments on the US Plan to Sell Patriot II Anti-missile Equipment Upgrade Systems and Affiliated Equipments to Taiwan" Embassy of the PRC in the USA, November 17, 2007, at www.fmprc.gov.cn/eng/xwfw/s2510/t380927.htm.

¹¹⁹ Lague, David, "China blames U.S. for denial of ship visit to Hong Kong" New York Times, November 29, 2007, at www.nytimes.com/2007/11/29/world/asia/29iht-ship.2.8527408.html.

December 3	U.S.-China Defense Consultative Talks held in Washington.
	2008
March 22	Ma Ying-jeou of the Kuomintang (KMT) elected President of Taiwan.
April 10	First Defense Telephone Link (DTL) dialogue held between U.S. Secretary of Defense Robert Gates and China's Defense Minister Liang Guanglie. According to reports, Liang called on the U.S. to stop arms sales and military links with Taiwan " <i>in a bid to maintain peace and stability across the Taiwan Straits and the overall interests of the Sino-U.S. relations.</i> " Secretary Gates restated the U.S. commitment to the one-China policy, based on the three Joint Communiqués and the Taiwan Relations Act. ¹²⁰
June 4	The U.S.-China Security Dialogue on arms control and non-proliferation takes place in Beijing.
October 3	Congressional notification for 330 Patriot Advanced Capability (PAC)-3 missile defense missiles, at an estimated cost of US\$3.1 billion. 32 UGM-84L sub-launched Harpoon anti-ship missiles, at an estimated cost of US\$200 million. Spare parts for F-5E/F, C-130H, F-16A/B, IDF aircraft, at an estimated cost of US\$334 million. 182 Javelin anti-armor missiles, at an estimated cost of US\$47 million. Upgrade of four E-2T aircraft to Hawkeye 2000 configuration, at an estimated cost of US\$250 million. 30 AH-64D Apache Longbow attack helicopters, at an estimated cost of US\$2.5 billion.
October 7	In a statement, Foreign Ministry spokesperson Qin Gang confirms cancellation of military-to-military exchanges with the U.S. as a response to the October 3 arms sales announcement, blaming the U.S. side. He states that " <i>the so-called Taiwan Relations Act runs totally against the three China-US Joint Communiqués ... and China has been resolutely against it from the very beginning. The US has no right to place its domestic laws above the international law, let alone taking this as an excuse to sell weapons to Taiwan.</i> " " <i>We urge the US side to adhere to the one-China policy, abide by the three China-US Joint Communiqués and oppose 'Taiwan Independence' with concrete actions. It should immediately drop the arms sale plan and cut military links with Taiwan so as not to undermine peace and stability across the Strait and the overall interest of the bilateral relations and military relations.</i> " ¹²¹
November 3	Chen Yunlin, Chairman of the Association for Relations Across the Taiwan Straits (ARATS), visits Taipei, marking the highest level cross-Strait dialogue in a decade.

¹²⁰ Minnick, Wendell, "China, U.S. Talk on New Hot Line" Defense News, April 10, 2008, at www.defensenews.com/story.php?i=3473570.

¹²¹ "Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Qin Gang's Regular Press Conference on October 7, 2008" Ministry of Foreign Affairs, PRC, October 7, 2008, at www.fmprc.gov.cn/eng/xwfw/s2510/t517262.htm.

December 17-18	Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense David Sedney visits Beijing to request the resumption of the military-to-military relationship between the U.S. and China.
	2009
February 27	Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense Sedney again visits Beijing to request resumption of military-to-military ties.
June 23	U.S.-China Defense Consultative Talks held in Beijing.
July 27-28	The U.S.-China Strategic and Economic Dialogue (S&ED) takes place in Washington, D.C. PACOM Commander Admiral Timothy Keating announces that the two sides have agreed to resume routine military contacts and high-level bilateral visits by defense officials.
August 19	U.S. Army Chief of Staff George Casey visits Beijing. China urges the U.S. to “remove obstacles” to military ties, demanding that the U.S. respect China’s core interests so as to create conditions for further military cooperation. Chen Bingde, PLA Chief of the General Staff, states that U.S. arms sales to Taiwan “ <i>harmed China’s core interests and affected the healthy development of bilateral military ties.</i> ” ¹²²
October 27	Xu Caihou, Vice Chairman of China’s Central Military Commission, visits Washington, D.C. During talks with U.S. Secretary of Defense Robert Gates, Xu says that to maintain the healthy growth of the military-to-military relationship, several “major obstacles” need to be removed, including U.S. arms sales to Taiwan. ¹²³

¹²² “China urges U.S. to remove obstacles to military ties” Consulate-General of the PRC in Chicago, August 20, 2008, at chicago.chineseconsulate.org/eng/xw/t579809.htm.

¹²³ “Chinese, U.S. military leaders vow to further cooperation” Ministry of National Defense, PRC, October 29, 2009, at eng.mod.gov.cn/SpecialReports/2009-10/29/content_4098934.htm.

November 17	<p>During President Barack Obama’s visit to China, the U.S. and China issue a joint statement. In the statement <i>“the United States and China underscored the importance of the Taiwan issue in U.S.-China relations. China emphasized that the Taiwan issue concerns China’s sovereignty and territorial integrity, and expressed the hope that the United States will honor its relevant commitments and appreciate and support the Chinese side’s position on this issue. The United States stated that it follows its one China policy and abides by the principles of the three U.S.-China joint communiqués.”</i></p> <p><i>“The two countries reiterated that the fundamental principle of respect for each other’s sovereignty and territorial integrity is at the core of the three U.S.-China joint communiqués which guide U.S.-China relations. Neither side supports any attempts by any force to undermine this principle. The two sides agreed that respecting each other’s core interests is extremely important to ensure steady progress in U.S.-China relations.”</i> ¹²⁴</p>
December 23	Raytheon issues a press release announcing a US\$1.1 billion contract to fund new production of the Patriot Air and Missile Defense System for Taiwan. ¹²⁵
2010	
January 9	<p>In an interview with state media, China’s Vice Foreign Minister He Yafei comments on U.S. arms sales to Taiwan, saying that <i>“US arms sales to Taiwan seriously contravene the principles enshrined in the three Sino-US joint communiqués, in particular the August 17 Communiqué, and undermine China’s national security and peace and stability in the Taiwan Straits. China is resolutely opposed to this move.”</i> <i>“We strongly urge the US side to earnestly respect China’s core interests and major concerns and immediately stop arms sales to Taiwan so as not to harm the larger interests of China-US cooperation.”</i>¹²⁶</p>
January 11	China conducts a test of ground-based midcourse missile interception technology.

¹²⁴ “U.S.-China Joint Statement, Beijing, China” Office of the Press Secretary, The White House, November 17, 2009, at www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/us-china-joint-statement.

¹²⁵ “Raytheon Receives \$1.1 Billion Order to Advance Taiwan’s Patriot Capability” PRNewswire, December 23, 2009, at raytheon.mediaroom.com/index.php?s=43&item=1475.

¹²⁶ “Vice Foreign Minister He Yafei’s Exclusive Interview on US Arms Sales to Taiwan” Embassy of the PRC in the USA, January 12, 2010, at us.china-embassy.org/eng/zmgx/t650874.htm.

<p>January 11</p>	<p>Jiang Yu, spokesperson for China's Foreign Ministry, responds to a question about the Raytheon contract, saying that <i>"the U.S. sales of advanced weapons to Taiwan seriously violate the three China-U.S. Joint Communiqués, the principles enshrined in the August 17 Communiqué in particular. China expresses its strong dissatisfaction and resolute opposition to the sales which could undermine China's security interests as well as peace and stability across the Taiwan Straits and interfere in China's internal affairs. It has made solemn representations to the U.S. side. It must be pointed out that the Taiwan question, bearing upon China's sovereignty and territorial integrity, has always been the most important and sensitive issue in China-U.S. relations."</i></p> <p><i>"We strongly urge the U.S. side to fully realize the gravity of arms sales to Taiwan, abandon the Cold War mentality and strictly abide by the three China-U.S. Joint Communiqués, especially the principles established in the August 17 Communiqué. It should strictly honor its commitments to respecting China's core interests and major concerns, and correct its erroneous practice by revoking the relevant arms sales package and putting an end to its arms sales to Taiwan so as not to undermine the overall interest of China-U.S. cooperation. We also urge the Raytheon Company to stop pushing for and participating in arms sales to Taiwan, and to refrain from doing things that will undermine China's sovereignty and security interests."¹²⁷</i></p>
<p>January 26</p>	<p>Taiwan and China hold the first round of talks on the Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement (ECFA) in Beijing.</p>
<p>January 29</p>	<p>Congressional notification for 114 PAC-3 missile defense missiles, at an estimated cost of US\$2.8 billion. 60 UH-60M Black Hawk utility helicopters, at an estimated cost of US\$3.1 billion. 12 Harpoon Block II anti-ship telemetry (training) missiles, at an estimated cost of US\$37 million. 60 MIDS and follow-on technical support, at an estimated cost of US\$340 million. Two refurbished Osprey-class mine-hunting ships, at an estimated cost of US\$105 million.</p>

¹²⁷ "Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Jiang Yu's Remarks on U.S. Raytheon Company's Arms Sales to Taiwan" Consulate-General of the PRC in Chicago, January 11, 2010, at www.chinaconsulatechicago.org/eng/fyrth/t650791.htm.

<p>January 30</p>	<p>He Yafei, China's Vice Foreign Minister, makes "stern representations" to U.S. Ambassador to China Jon Huntsman on the announced arms sales to Taiwan. In a statement, he says that <i>"in disregard of the many stern representations made by the Chinese side, the US side has taken the wrong decision to sell arms to Taiwan. It constitutes a serious violation of the principles enshrined in the three Sino-US Joint Communiqués, especially the August 17th Communiqué, and a gross violation of China's internal affairs. It will seriously jeopardize China's national security and undermine China's peaceful reunification. The Chinese side hereby expresses its strong indignation and makes its stern representations. The aforementioned arms sales to Taiwan announced by the US side will certainly damage China-US relations, exert a very negative impact on bilateral exchanges and cooperation in many important areas and lead to consequences that neither side wishes to see."</i></p> <p>He also <i>"strongly urged the United States to fully recognize the great harm of arms sales to Taiwan, take China's solemn position seriously, immediately cancel the wrong decision, and stop selling arms to Taiwan."</i>¹²⁸</p>
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¹²⁸ "Vice Foreign Minister He Yafei Made Stern Representations to the US Ambassador to China on Announced US Arms Sales to Taiwan" Ministry of Foreign Affairs, PRC, January 30, 2010, at www.fmprc.gov.cn/eng/zxxx/t655102.htm.

<p>January 30</p>	<p>China's Defense Ministry suspends "scheduled" military exchanges and "partially halts" all exchange programs between the two militaries, as well as halting the Vice-Ministerial consultation on strategic security, arms control, and anti-proliferation. For the first time, it also threatens to impose sanctions on the U.S. companies involved in the arms sales to Taiwan. Defense Ministry spokesperson Huang Xueping said <i>"We made the decision out of considerations on the severe harm of the U.S. arms sales to Taiwan."</i> <i>"Such a move is gravely against especially the 'August 17' Communiqué signed in 1982."</i></p> <p>Qian Lihua, Director of the Defense Ministry's Foreign Affairs Office, also summons the defense attaché at the U.S. Embassy in Beijing to lodge a protest regarding the announced arms sales. Qian states in a press release that <i>"the Chinese military expresses grave indignation and strongly condemns such a move to grossly interfere into China's internal affairs and harm China's national security interests."</i> <i>"The U.S. arms sales to Taiwan gravely violates the three Joint Communiqués between China and the United States, and seriously endangers China's national security and harms China's reunification course."</i> <i>"The United States now takes faithless action to sell arms to Taiwan again."</i> <i>"Such plans severely poison the political foundation of the relations between the two militaries, and produce grave obstacles to military exchanges between the two sides."</i> Qian urged the United States to <i>"respect China's core interests and concerns, take practical actions to abide by its solemn commitments on Taiwan issue, withdraw its arms sales items to Taiwan, and stop military links with Taiwan, in order not to create further damage to the relations between the two countries and the two militaries and to the peace and stability across the Taiwan Straits."</i> <i>"We reserve the right of taking further actions."</i>¹²⁹</p>
<p>February 2</p>	<p>Commenting on the threat to impose sanctions on U.S. companies participating in Taiwan arms sales, China's Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Ma Zhaoxu states <i>"The US blatantly announced its decision to sell arms to Taiwan in disregard of the resolute opposition of China. The action has severely undermined the core interests of China and China-US relations. China-US cooperation on some major international and regional issues will inevitably be affected. The responsibilities completely lie with the US side. In disregard of the strong opposition of China, relevant US companies insisted on selling arms to Taiwan. China will impose sanctions against those companies. We strongly urge the US companies involved to stop pushing and participating in arms sales to Taiwan."</i>¹³⁰</p>

¹²⁹ "China to halt military exchanges, punish U.S. companies for arms sales to Taiwan" Ministry of National Defense, PRC, January 31, 2010, at eng.mod.gov.cn/Press/2010-01/31/content_4122029.htm. See also "China suspends military visits with U.S. over planned arms sales to Taiwan" Ministry of National Defense, PRC, January 31, 2010, at eng.mod.gov.cn/Press/2010-01/31/content_4122030.htm.

¹³⁰ "Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Ma Zhaoxu's Regular Press Conference on February 2, 2010" Ministry of Foreign Affairs, PRC, February 2, 2010, at www.fmprc.gov.cn/eng/xwfw/s2510/2511/t655738.htm.

February 25	China's Defense Ministry spokesperson Huang Xueping indicates that China is "deeply concerned" over a Defense Intelligence Agency report on Taiwan's air power capabilities, and warns of the possibility of further damage to bilateral ties if the U.S. should fulfill a longstanding request by Taiwan for F-16 fighter jets. <i>"We demand the U.S. side speak and act cautiously in a bid to avoid further damage to the relationship between the two nations and militaries, and to the peaceful development across the Taiwan Strait."</i> ¹³¹
March 31	Taiwan and China hold the second round of talks on the Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement (ECFA) in Taipei.
May 24-25	The second U.S.-China Strategic and Economic Dialogue (S&ED) is held in Beijing. General Ma Xiaotian, PLA Deputy Chief of the General Staff, states that U.S. arms sales to Taiwan remains the biggest obstacle to bilateral military ties. <i>"Arms sales, frequent reconnaissance by the U.S. naval ships and aircraft in the waters and airspace of China's exclusive economic zones, and some laws have long remained the foremost obstacles to stable China-U.S. military relations."</i> <i>"The U.S. side should be fully responsible for the prevention of the growth of China-U.S. military relations."</i> ¹³²
June 13	Taiwan and China hold the third round of talks on the Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement (ECFA) in Beijing.
June 29	The cross-Strait Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement (ECFA) is signed in Chongqing, China.
August 10	The U.S. State Department sends a 36C notification to Congress for technical data and defense services for the Hughes Air Defense Radar and Air Defense System in Taiwan. This is a commercial sale of intermediate-level operation, maintenance, installation, test, training, and repair of the Taiwan Air Force HADR system. An additional notification involves components for the GD-53 Multimode Radar on Taiwan's Indigenous Defensive Fighter (IDF) aircraft.
August 27	China's Foreign Ministry spokesperson Jiang Yu issues a relatively subdued public protest regarding the 36C notification, saying that <i>"China resolutely opposes the United States selling weapons and relevant technical assistance to Taiwan."</i> <i>"We urge the United States to ... put an end to arms sales to Taiwan and military ties with Taiwan to avoid causing new harm to Sino-U.S. relations."</i> ¹³³
December 10	U.S.-China Defense Consultative Talks held in Washington.

¹³¹ "China urges US to avoid further damage to bilateral ties" Ministry of National Defense, PRC, February 25, 2010, at eng.mod.gov.cn/Press/2010-02/25/content_4126535.htm.

¹³² "Arms sales to Taiwan remain 'biggest' obstacle to China-U.S. military ties: Chinese military official" Ministry of National Defense, PRC, May 26, 2010, at eng.mod.gov.cn/DefenseNews/2010-05/26/content_4159440.htm.

¹³³ McDonald, Scott, "China warns the US against planned sale of military aircraft radar to Taiwan" Associated Press, August 27, 2010.

	2011
January 10	U.S. Secretary of Defense Robert Gates visits Beijing. The visit was one of the scheduled high-level contacts that had been postponed after the U.S. announced new arms sales to Taiwan in January 2010 and marked the resumption of military-to-military bilateral exchanges. China's Defense Minister Liang Guanglie said <i>"we do not want to see such things happen again. We do not want U.S. weapon sales to Taiwan to further damage the relationship between China and the United States and the two nations' armed forces."</i> ¹³⁴
April 13	Representative Robert Andrews (D-NJ) introduces H.Cong.Res. 39, which expresses the sense of Congress that the president should move forward with the sale to Taiwan of new and upgraded F-16s.
May 26	Senate Taiwan Caucus Co-Chairmen Robert Menendez (D-NJ) and James Inhofe (R-OK) send a letter to President Obama urging the administration to approve the sale of F-16C/D fighters to Taiwan. The letter was signed by a total of 45 senators.
July 20	House Committee on Foreign Affairs passes H.R. 2583, The Foreign Relations Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2012. The bill contains language that would require the president to take immediate steps to sell to Taiwan both the 66 F-16C/D fighters and the upgrade package for Taiwan's F-16A/B fighters. The bill also requires the sale of the eight diesel-electric submarines once Taiwan has budgeted for them. This language was included in the bill through amendments offered by Representatives Howard Berman (D-CA), Dan Burton (R-IN), and Gerry Connolly (D-VA) and was passed by voice votes.
August 1	The House Taiwan Caucus, led by Representatives Shelley Berkley (D-NV), Gerry Connolly (D-VA), Mario Diaz-Balart (R-FL), and Phil Gingrey (R-GA), sends a letter with 181 House co-signers to President Obama urging the administration to approve the sale of F-16C/D fighters to Taiwan.
September 12	Senators John Cornyn (R-TX) and Robert Menendez (D-NJ) introduce S. 1539, The Taiwan Airpower Modernization Act of 2011, which would require the president to sell to Taiwan the requested 66 F-16C/D fighters.
September 21	Representative Kay Granger (R-TX) introduces the House version of The Taiwan Airpower Modernization Act of 2011 as H.R. 2992.
September 21	The Senate votes on an amendment offered by Senator John Cornyn (R-TX) S.Amdt. 634 to H.R. 2832, which would have required the president to sell to Taiwan no fewer than 66 F-16C/D fighters. The amendment failed in the Senate by a vote of 48-48.

¹³⁴ "China, U.S. resume high-level military exchanges, agree to avoid misunderstanding" Ministry of National Defense, PRC, January 11, 2011, at eng.mod.gov.cn/TopNews/2011-01/11/content_4218670.htm.

September 21	Congressional notifications for retrofitting of F-16A/B aircraft and associated equipment, parts, training, and logistical support, at an estimated cost of US\$5.3 billion. Spare parts in support of F-16A/B, F-5E/F, C-130H, and Indigenous Defense Fighter (IDF) aircraft, at an estimated cost of US\$52 million. A pilot training program and associated equipment, parts, training, and logistical support, at an estimated cost of US\$500 million.
September 22	<p>China's Vice Foreign Minister Zhang Zhijun summons U.S. Ambassador to China Gary Locke to lodge a protest over the U.S. arms sales to Taiwan. Zhang Yesui, China's ambassador to the U.S., also lodges a protest to the U.S. government in Washington, D.C. Guan Youfei, Deputy Director of the Defense Ministry's Foreign Affairs Office, summons the acting U.S. military attaché at the U.S. Embassy in Beijing to lodge a strong protest over the new round of U.S. arms sales to Taiwan.</p> <p>In a statement, China's Defense Ministry spokesperson Geng Yansheng says that <i>"the United States again announced its plan to sell arms to Taiwan, which will create severe obstacles for normal military-to-military exchanges."</i> <i>"We strongly urge the U.S. to take immediate and effective measures to reduce any negative impact, respect China's core interests and honor its solemn commitment on the Taiwan issue through practical actions."</i> ¹³⁵</p>
September 23	Representative Ileana Ros-Lehtinen (R-FL) introduces H.R. 2918, The Taiwan Policy Act of 2011, which, among other things, would make it the policy of the United States to accept Taiwan's Letter of Request for the F-16C/D fighters or to provide Taiwan with a formal sales offer for the aircraft. The legislation also would require the administration to consult with Congress regarding Taiwan arms sales. Moreover, it would require an annual report to Congress detailing Taiwan's requests for purchase of defense articles, the defense needs asserted by Taiwan, and the decision-making process used to reject, postpone, or modify any such request.

¹³⁵ "China says U.S. arms sale to Taiwan creates 'severe obstacles' for bilateral military exchanges" Ministry of National Defense, PRC, September 23, 2011, at eng.mod.gov.cn/Press/2011-09/23/content_4300110.htm.

September 28	<p>In a monthly briefing, China’s Defense Ministry spokesperson Geng Yansheng denounces the recent arms sale and says that <i>“in light of the serious damage resulting from the U.S. arms sale to Taiwan, planned China-U.S. military exchanges, including high-level visits and joint exercises, will definitely be impacted.”</i> Geng called on the U.S. to <i>“honor its commitment regarding the Taiwan issue, stop selling arms and take practical measures to work for the healthy and steady development of China-U.S. military relations.”</i>¹³⁶</p> <p>U.S. officials believe that <i>“some activities, as part of the military-to-military program, will be postponed, rescheduled or canceled”</i> in retaliation for the arms sale. However, it appears that at this point China has only postponed three events: a planned U.S.-Chinese anti-piracy naval exercise, a trip to Beijing by PACOM Commander Admiral Robert Willard, and a tour of China by a U.S. marching band.¹³⁷</p>
October 26	<p>At a monthly briefing, China’s Defense Ministry spokesperson Yang Yujun comments on U.S. arms sales to Taiwan. <i>“The way the United States handles some issues in Sino-U.S. ties is neither professional nor diplomatic.”</i> <i>“The wrongdoing by the U.S. side has negatively impacted China’s core interests and undermined bilateral military relations between the two countries.”</i> <i>“Respect for the core interests and major concerns of both sides is an important precondition for the steady development of Sino-U.S. military relations.”</i> <i>“We hope that the United States will stop selling weapons to Taiwan and make joint efforts with the Chinese side to advance bilateral military ties in a healthy, stable and reliable way.”</i>¹³⁸</p>
November 17	<p>The House Committee on Foreign Affairs adopts H.R. 2918, the Taiwan Policy Act of 2011, and H.R. 2992, the Taiwan Airpower Modernization Act of 2011, as amended. Both bills support the sale of F-16C/D fighter planes to Taiwan. The bills were authored by Committee Chairwoman Ileana Ros-Lehtinen (R-FL) and Congresswoman Kay Granger (R-TX).</p>
2012	
January 14	<p>Ma Ying-jeou of the Kuomintang (KMT) is re-elected President of Taiwan.</p>

Sources: Congressional notifications as listed in Kan, *op.cit.* and on the DSCA website. Congressional actions on Taiwan arms sales in 2011 as listed in “2011 Annual Report to Congress” U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Washington, D.C., November 17, 2011.

¹³⁶ “U.S. arms sale to Taiwan will disrupt military exchanges, joint drills” Embassy of the PRC in the USA, September 28, 2011, at us.china-embassy.org/eng/zt/twwt/t863390.htm.

¹³⁷ Ford, Peter, “Why China’s response to US arms sales to Taiwan is so muted” The Christian Science Monitor, September 27, 2011, at www.csmonitor.com/World/Asia-Pacific/2011/0927/Why-China-s-response-to-US-arms-sales-to-Taiwan-is-so-muted.

¹³⁸ “Chinese defense ministry urges US to stop arms sale to Taiwan” Ministry of National Defense, PRC, October 27, 2011, at eng.mod.gov.cn/Press/2011-10/27/content_4309097.htm.



***Chinese Reactions
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