
Glossary

AMRAAM	Advanced Medium Range Air-to-Air Missiles
APEC	Asia-Pacific Economic Co-operation
ARATS	Association for Relations Across the Taiwan Strait
ASAT	anti-satellite (warfare)
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asia Nations
AWACS	airborne warning and control system
CASS	China Academy of Social Sciences
CBM	confidence-building measures
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CNN	Cable News Network
CWC	Chemical Weapons Convention
DPP	Democratic Progressive Party
E.U.	European Union
EMP	electronic magnetic pulse
ESDP	European Security and Defence Programme
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GDP	gross domestic product
GPS	global positioning system
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
IDF	indigenous defence fighter
JCP	joint counter-offensive platform
KMT	Kuomintang
LACM	land-attack cruise missiles
MAC	Mainland Affairs Council (Taipei)
MFN	most-favoured-nation
MIRV	Multiple Independent Re-entry Vehicle
MRV	Multiple Re-entry Vehicle
NP	New Party

NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NMD	National Missile Defence
NPC	National People's Congress
NUC	National Unification Council
PCL	Passive Coherent Location (system)
PFPP	People's First Party
PLA	People's Liberation Army
PLAN	PLA Navy
PNTR	permanent normal trade relations
PRC	People's Republic of China
ROC	Republic of China
ROT	Republic of Taiwan
SEF	Strait Exchange Foundation
SSBN	ballistic missile nuclear submarine
SSM	surface-to-surface missiles
TMD	Theatre Missile Defence
WTO	World Trade Organization

Index

- 11 September 2001 terror attack on U.S., 120
15th CCP National Congress, 50
1992 consensus on “one China”, 15–16, 54–55
7 June Talk (by Beijing), 24
- A**
“Achilles’ heel” of U.S., 107
“active opening and effective management” policy (of Taiwan), 57, 122
Aegis radar systems, 97–98
airborne warning and control system (*see* “PLA airforce”)
Albright, Madeleine, 16
AMRAAM, 102
anti-satellite (ASAT) capability (*see* “PLA modernization”)
Apache helicopter, 102
APEC (in Seattle), 17
ARATS-SEF meetings, 8, 15, 24, 25, 73, 133
Arleigh Burke-class destroyers, 97
ASEAN Plus 1, 122
ASEAN Plus 3, 122
Asia-Pacific regional operational centre (Taiwan), 41, 84, 85, 118, 122
- Association for Relations across the Taiwan Strait (ARATS), 7, 25 (*see also* “ARATS-SEF meetings”)
asymmetrical warfare, 108
- B**
Bai Hsiu-hsiung, 74
Beidaihe meetings, 31, 71
benshengren (natives of Taiwan), 33
Blair, Dennis, 47, 104
Brzezinski, Zbigniew, 93
Bush’s China policy (*see* “U.S. China policy”)
- C**
Cairo Declaration, 128, 138
Japanese position of, 138
Cao Juren, 21
Chang Chao-hsiung, 40
Chang Chun-hong, 50
Chang King-yuh, 1
Chen Andong, 50
Chen Che-nan, 82
Chen Ming-tung, 57, 82
Chen Po-chih, 83
Chen Shui-bian, 1, 3, 40, 62, 84 (*see also* “presidential election in Taiwan: inauguration address”)
initiatives towards Beijing, 1, 4, 53–54

- “five not’s” policy, 53
 - New Year speeches of, 57-59
 - on “all-citizen” government, 146, 149
 - on “black gold” politics, 146, 149
 - on “three links”, 41-42
 - on “two states” theory and “one China”, 41, 51-54, 57-59
 - on 1992 consensus on “one China”, 54-55
 - on CBMs with Beijing, 42-43
 - on cross-strait relations, 152-53
 - on education and health, 151
 - on environment, 151
 - on government reform, 150
 - on human rights, 152
 - on law and order, 151
 - on participating international activities, 152
 - on political negotiation with Beijing, 42
 - on Taiwan’s defence, 42-43, 99-100
 - on Taiwan’s foreign policy, 43
 - on TMD, 42-43
 - on unification/independence, 2, 40-41
 - Chen Yunlin, 44
 - Chen Zhongxin, 50
 - Cheng Shu-min, 27
 - Chiang Ching-kuo, 16, 19, 20-21, 23, 124
 - Chiang Chung-ling, 74
 - Chiang Kai-shek, 16, 20-21, 124
 - Chiang Ping-kun, 12, 17
 - Chiao Jen-ho, 8
 - China’s Taiwan policy
 - 16-character basic policy, 49
 - 32-character policy, 49
 - conditions on use of force, 45, 136
 - economic strategy, 75-88
 - from late 1970s to early 1980s, 6-7
 - in 1990s, 8-9
 - in the 1950s, 6
 - military strategy, 88-93
 - perceptions of Chen Shui-bian, 59-61, 70-71
 - perceptions of Taiwan and Lee Teng-hui, 20-30, 35, 134, 135
 - political strategy, 70-75
 - since 2000, 70-109, 117-8
 - towards the DPP, 32, 50-51, 71-72, 73
 - towards the KMT, 32
 - China-U.S. communiqués, 142
 - 17 August 1982 Communiqué, 98
 - 1979 Normalization Communiqué, 130
 - “common power”, 7
 - Chu Hui-liang, 40
 - civil power (in Taiwan), 61-62
 - civil society (in Taiwan), 61-62
 - Clinton, Bill, 35, 48, 86
 - Clinton’s China policy (*see* “U.S. China policy”)
 - Cohen, William, 93
 - Council for Economic Planning and Development (of Taiwan), 84
- D**
- Democratic Progressive Party, 40
 - confusion and division, 63-65
 - governance, 63
 - relations with Beijing,
 - democratic unification, 139
 - Deng Xiaoping, 6, 7, 22-23, 24, 71, 130
 - digital economy (of Taiwan), 84
- E**
- E-2T air defence system, 91, 92, 102
 - economic relations across the strait, 133
 - eight-point proposal (by Jiang Zemin), 15, 29-30, 50, 131

electro-magnetic pulse (*see* “PLA modernization”)

F

F-16 aircraft fighter, 102, 103
Feng Hu-hsiang, 40, 73
financial crisis in East Asia, 94

G

GATT, 86
global positioning system (*see* “PLA missiles”)
“go slow” (“no haste, be patient”)
policy, 41–42, 57, 80, 85
green silicon island (of Taiwan), 84
Grundlagenertrag, 12
Guidelines for National Unification, 8,
65n3, 73

H

hand-shaped strategy of US (*see* “U.S. Asia Pacific strategy”)
Hao Paocun, 25
Harpoon anti-ship missiles, 98, 100,
103
“hawks” in the Bush administration,
95–96
“hollowing out” (of Taiwan’s
economy), 83–84, 85
Hong Kong, 84, 123
Changes in London’s position on its
hand-over to China, 3, 5n10,
Support from Beijing, 123
Hong Shanxiang, 82
hotline between Beijing and Taipei, 9
Hsiang Sheng Project, 100
Hsieh Chang-ting, 58, 64, 74
Hsiung-Feng II anti-ship missile, 103
Hsu Hsin-liang, 40
Hu Chih-chiang, 11
Huang Ju, 74
Huang Kun-huei, 12

I

IDF aircraft fighter, 100, 103
International Atomic Energy Agency,
101
International Monetary Fund, 94

J

Jan Jyh-horng, 8
Jia Yibin, 27
Jiang Mianheng, 77
Jiang Zemin, 26, 49, 50, 71, 86, 117,
131
Jiang–Clinton summits, 35
joint counter-offensive platform, 100

K

KC-135 aircraft, 100
Kidd-class missile destroyer, 98
Kim Dae Jung, 1, 2, 96
Kim Jong Il, 1,
Kinmen-Matsu Local Alliance, 81
Knox-class frigates, 100
Koo Chen-fu, 8, 11, 14, 36n15, 74 (*see*
also “Wang-Koo meeting”)
visit of China in 1998, 8, 32
Korea, 1-2
North-South summit, 1, 2
Kuomintang (KMT), 40, 56

L

Lake Incident, 28, 38n58
laser weapons (*see* “PLA
modernization”)
Law for the Protection of Investment
of Taiwan Compatriots, 75
Lee Teng-hui, 1, 2, 16, 18–20, 117, 134
1995 U.S. visit, 8, 135
books by, 4, 5n13, 19, 135
conversation with Ryotaro Shiba,
28–29
on “two states” theory (*see* “two
states” theory)

- on China, 4, 5n13, 34, 122
 - on nuclear weapons,
 - on resumption of talks, 124
 - on U.S., 47
 - speech at Cornell University, 28–29, 30
 - Lee Yuan-tseh, 56
 - legislative election, 121
 - Li Ao, 40
 - Li Jiaquan, 30
 - Li Yafei, 8
 - Lien Chan, 18, 32, 40
 - on “three links”, 41–42
 - on “two states” theory and “one China”, 41
 - on 1992 consensus on “one China”, 55, 68n59
 - on CBMs with Beijing, 42–43
 - on political negotiation with Beijing, 42
 - on Taiwan’s defence, 42–43
 - on Taiwan’s foreign policy, 43
 - on TMD, 42–43
 - Lin Kuang-hua, 74
 - Lin Pi-chao, 14
 - Liu Sung-pan, 73
 - Long Wall Project (*see* “PLA modernization”)
 - low-power propulsion technology, 89
 - Lu Hsiu-lien, 40, 53, 55
 - Lushan Project, 100
- M**
- Ma Yin-jeou, 31, 74
 - on 1992 consensus on “one China”, 55
 - Mainland Affairs Council Group (MAC), 7, 14, 25, 81, 83
 - “major non-Nato allies” status, 104
 - Mao Zedong, 6, 20, 22, 130
 - marginal strategic utility, 108–9, 120
 - middle road (of Chen Shui-bian), 60–61, 64
 - Mirage* 2000-5 aircraft fighters, 100
 - missiles (*see* “PLA missiles”)
- N**
- namo weapons (*see* “PLA modernization”)
 - Nan Huai-chin, 26–27
 - National Assembly (Taiwan), 16
 - National Conference on the Taiwan Issue, 70
 - National Information Infrastructure Initiative, 84
 - National Missile Defence system, 90, 96, 108
 - National People’s Congress, 6, 130
 - national self-determination, 137
 - National Unification Council, 7
 - New Party (in Taiwan), 51, 73
 - non-aggression agreement (between Taiwan and Mainland China), 41
 - North America Free Trade Agreement, 85
- O**
- offshore engagement strategy, 99
 - Offshore Island Development Act, 81
 - “one China” principle, 1, 15, 121–22, 127–29, 138
 - definitions, 15–16, 52, 72–73, 133
 - Beijing’s position, 15–16, 45, 49, 52, 70, 97, 124, 130–34, 137–40
 - Taipei’s position, 15–17, 134
 - 130–31 (*see also* “Chen Shui-bian”, “Lien Chan” and “Soong Chu-yu” for their positions)
 - one country, two systems formula, 7, 22, 45, 71, 127, 130–31, 136
 - opinion surveys in Taiwan, 2

P

- P-3C *Orion* anti-submarine patrol aircraft, 98
- Paladin* artillery systems, 98
- Passive Coherence Location (PCL) system (see “PLA modernization”)
- Patriot-3* anti-missile systems, 97–98
- peaceful evolution, 95–96
- peaceful reunification, 6, 31, 33, 71, 127, 130–32, 136
- People’s First Party, 56, 73
- Permanent Normal Trade Relations, 47, 86
- Perry, William, 93
- Perry-class* missile frigate, 102
- PLA airforce,
 airborne warning and control system, 91, 92
 Beriev A-50E, 92
 Su-27, 92
 Su-30, 92
- PLA missiles,
 C801 missile, 89
 Chang Feng missile, 91, 113n94
 cruise missile, 90, 91
 Dongfeng-15,
 Dongfeng-21,
 Dongfeng-31, 89, 111n74
 Dongfeng-41, 89
 Feimeng 80 missile, 92
 FT-2000/2500 missile, 91
 Global Positioning System, 90, 92
 Hong Niao missile, 91, 113n94
 Hongqi missile, 91, 92
 Hongying 5A missile, 92
 Julang (Great Wave) missile, 89
 KS-172/AAM-L missile, 91
 M11, 91
 M9, 91
 MIRVed missile, 89
 MRVed missile, 89
 S-300PMU missile, 91
 SA missile, 91, 113n95
 SSM, 90
 Yakhont missile, 92
 Zvezda Kh-31P missile, 91
- PLA modernization,
 anti-satellite capability, 90
 directed and non-directed energy weapons, 92
 electro-magnetic pulse, 91, 92
 electronic warfare capability, 92
 information warfare, 92
 laser weapons, 90
 Long Wall Project, 89
 namo weapons, 90
 neutron bomb, 90
 nuclear weapon, 90
 Passive Coherence Location system, 90, 112n84
 Project 1–26, 90
 spy satellites, 89
 strategic capability, 89–90
- PLA Navy,
 nuclear submarines, 89
 Sovremenny-class destroyer, 90, 92, 98
 submarines 89, 91, 92, 93, 94
- political pluralism, 94
- Potsdam Proclamation, 128, 138
 Japanese position of, 128, 130
- Powell, Colin, 96–97
- “pragmatic diplomacy” (by Taiwan), 28
 UN bid, 12, 28, 35
 WTO bid (see “WTO”)
- presidential election in Taiwan (2000), 40–43, 48
 Beijing’s concern, 43–44
 Beijing’s demands, 44, 49
 Beijing’s response, 49–50
 inauguration address, 51–54, 147–54
 international response, 48–49

- issues of debates, 40–43
 victory speech, 144–46
 Washington's concern, 46–48
 Project 1–26 (*see* “PLA modernization”)
- Q**
 Qian Qichen, 33, 44, 60, 72, 82
 five guidelines towards Taiwan, 72
 Qiao Shi, 21, 23, 28
 Qiu Jinyi, 24
- R**
 Referendum (in Taiwan), 41, 137–38
 Regulations on Relations between People in the Taiwan area and on the Mainland, 8
 Regulations on Small-scale Trade with Taiwan, 80
 Rumsfeld, Donald, 106
 Ryotaro Shiba, 19, 28
- S**
 Salmon, Matt, 47
 secret channels between Beijing and Taipei, 21–23, 26–27
 agreements and proposals, 21–22
 security surplus (of U.S.), 107–9, 120
 Select Group on Strengthening the Sovereignty Status of the Republic of China, 12
 Shimonoseki Treaty, 128
 Siew Wan-chang, 40, 74
 six-point reply (by Lee Teng-hui), 30
Sky Bow II air-to-air missile, 103
 societal core values (in Taiwan), 62
 Soong Chu-yu, 18, 32, 40
 on “three links”, 41–42
 on “two states” theory and “one China”, 41
 on CBMs with Beijing, 42–43
 on political negotiation with Beijing, 42
 on Taiwan's defence, 42–43
 on Taiwan's foreign policy, 43
 on TMD, 42–43
 on unification/independence, 41
 “strategic competitor (of China)”, 96
 “strategic partner (of China)”, 96
Sovremenny-class destroyer (*see* “PLA Navy”)
 spy satellite (*see* “PLA modernization”)
 state building (in Taiwan), 62–63
 Statute Governing Relations between the people on the two sides of the Taiwan Strait, 87
 Stillman, Danny, 90, 112–3n89
 Strait Exchange Foundation (SEF), 7, 82 (*see also* “ARATS-SEF meetings”)
 Su Chi, 11
 on 1992 consensus on “one China”, 55
 Su Chi-cheng, 27
 Su Nan-cheng, 16
 Su-27 (*see* “PLA airforce”)
 Supra-Party Panel on Mainland Affairs, 55
- T**
 Taipei-Hong Kong City-to-City Forum, 74
 Taipei-Shanghai City Forum, 74
 Taiwan history, 128
 Taiwan Independence Party, 51
 Taiwan Relations Act, 98, 105
 Taiwan Security Enhancement Act, 44, 104, 141
 Taiwan's sovereignty
 PRC's position, 128–29
 ROC's position, 129–30
 U.S. position, 129

- Taiwan today,
 air force, 100
 ASW, 98
 chemical and biological weapons, 101
 China policy, 7–8 (*see also* “three acknowledgements and four suggestions”)
 defence, 98, 99–101
 diplomacy (ADB, APEC and WTO), 140
 economic strategy, 83–85
 economy, 65, 75–80
 missile, 100–1
 nuclear weapon development, 101
 positions on unification, 16–18,
 submarine, 98
 weaknesses, 61–65
- Taiwan’s economic dependence on the mainland, 76, 83
- Taiwan’s trade surplus with the mainland, 76
- Taiwanese investment in the mainland, 75–78
- Tang Shubei, 8, 24, 52, 124
- terrorism, 108
- Theatre Missile Defence system, 96, 141
 China’s position, 44–45
 “three acknowledgements and four suggestions” (of Taiwan), 55–57
 “three direct links”, 6, 9n3, 83, 124
 mini three links, 41, 80–83
 “three wants” policy (of Lien Chan), 33
 “three-no’s” policy by Lien Chan, 33
 “three-no’s” policy by the U.S. (*see* “U.S. Taiwan policy”)
- Tiananmen incident of 1989, 3
- Tien Chi* missile, 101
- Tien Kung* missile, 101
- “transitional two Chinas”, 17,
- Truman, Harry, 129
- Tsai Jen-chien, 74
- Tsai Ying-wen, 53, 58
- two German states formula, 138
- two-ocean strategy of the U.S. (*see* “U.S. Asia Pacific strategy”)
 “two states” theory, 9, 11–35, 135
 China’s response, 12–13, 135
 definition, 11–12
 intention, 18–20
 international response, 35
 support in Taiwan, 33–35
 Taipei’s explanation, 13
- U**
- U.N. bid by Taipei (*see* “pragmatic diplomacy”)
- U.N. Chemical Weapons Convention, 101
- U.N. Resolution No. 2758, 12, 130, 140
- united front strategy, 71–72, 72–75
- United Front Work Department (of CCP), 50
- U.S. arms sales to Taiwan, 97–98, 102, 126
 China’s opposition, 140–41
- U.S. Asia-Pacific strategy, 93–94
 hand-shaped strategy, 93–94
 two-ocean strategy, 93
- U.S. China policy, 93–97
 Bush’s China policy, 95–96
 Clinton’s China policy, 94–95
 on “one China” principle, 35, 46, 135–36, 141, 142
- U.S.-Japan security relations, 93
- U.S. Taiwan policy, 94, 96–98, 102–5, 140–41
 CIA intervention in the reunification talks, 23
 military alliance, 103–4
 military training, 104
 “three-no’s” policy, 97, 135, 136
 visa for Lee Teng-hui, 8, 135

W

Wang Chi, 23
 Wang Daohan, 8, 12, 18, 25–26, 27, 28, 31 (see also “Wang-Koo meeting”),
 Wang-Koo meeting (of 1993), 8, 26, 133
 Wang, Winston, 77
 Wang Yung-ching, 77
 Wang Zhaoguo, 44
 White Paper (by China on Taiwan)
 of 1993, 17, 128, 139–40
 of 2000, 44–45, 65–66n8, 127–43
 White Paper (by Japan), 106
 WTO, 20, 44, 85–88, 140
 Wu Po-hsiung, 73

X

Xu Jiatusun, 24, 38n51,
 Xu Mingzhen, 27
 Xu Shiquan, 46

Y

Yan Qingzhang, 83

Yang Shangkun, 24

Yang Side, 27

Yangshan Harbour construction, 124

Ye Jianying, 6

 “nine-point” proposal, 6, 9n2, 123

Yeh Chu-lan, 82

 “*yi gang si mu*” [one principle and four points], 22, 37–43

 “*yi ge zhong guo, ge zi biao shu*” [one China but free interpretations], 15, 25

Yu Keli, 32

Z

Zhang Nianci, 46

Zhang Shizhao, 22

Zhao Ziyang, 23–24

zhong sheng dai (the younger generation) of the KMT, 32

Zhou Enlai, 22

Zhu Rongji, 46

Zhu Yayan, 74

About the Author

Sheng Lijun is a Senior Fellow at the Institute of Southeast Asia Studies, Singapore. He received his Master's degree from the Australian National University (ANU) and his Ph.D. from the University of Queensland, Australia. His research focus has been on China's foreign relations, both when he was at the ANU and the Australian Defence Force Academy, and since he joined ISEAS in 1995. He has written extensively on this subject, with articles published in the *Washington Quarterly*, the *Journal of Strategic Studies*, *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, *Security Dialogue*, *Asian Perspective*, the *Journal of Northeast Asian Studies*, *Far Eastern Economic Review* (The 5th Column), *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, *Issues and Studies*, *Pacific Focus*, and others. He is also the author of *China's Dilemma: The Taiwan Issue* (Singapore: ISEAS/London & New York: I.B. Tauris Academic Studies, 2001).