

Feasible Measures for Conflict Prevention across the Taiwan Strait

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I. Preface

Without conflict prevention measures, miscalculation or misperception may cause unintended conflicts resulting in disastrous tragedies. Since the situation across the Taiwan Strait is unique, complicated, mercurial, dynamic, and lacking in mutual trust as well, the crisis of potential conflict always exists. It makes the Taiwan Strait one of the world's flashpoints. Therefore, conflict prevention is one of the key measures to stabilize the Taiwan Strait.

Conflicts across the Strait will not only be exclusive in the aspect of military affairs, but also extend to the others, such as issues of sovereignty, difference in cognitions of security threat, economics and trading, or direct charter flights, etc. But among all, due to unwilling to give up using forces against Taiwan, fast military expansion, and military modernization, the military balance across Taiwan Strait has gradually tilted to China's favor in recent years. Saying so, unstable security and military conflicts become the two most worrisome issues beside sovereignty one among international concerns. Under the reality of international security framework and China's so called "The Strategic Opportunity Period," both China and international societies will not like to see the conflicts taking place in Taiwan Strait. Therefore, due to China's unwilling to give up using forces to solve Taiwan problem, we may easily find the most possible causes which initiates China's invasion of Taiwan are misperception and miscalculation between the two sides. Although the ties of economical trading and cultural exchanges are pretty strong, but the mutual trust are relatively weak by comparison. According to the experiences of past half century, the possibility of misjudge has not been decreased with the positive development of the Cross Strait relations. Because the security of the two sides is affecting the survival and development of our country, this paper will provide the discussion that how to prevent the armed conflict in order to secure our national interests.

One of our national security goals at present stage is "to prevent military conflict in Taiwan Strait."³ In order to secure our national interests, realize national security objectives, and meet the challenges of the international environment, our current defense policies consist of three fundamental objectives — preventing war, defending the homeland, and countering terrorism and responding to contingencies.⁴ The meaning of "preventing war" is to take precautions in order to avoid the unintended wars. The Cross Strait relations are so complicated that not only affecting the international interests in the area, but also the regional power structure and global economy. Therefore, in the frame of the existing international systems and the global

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³ Ministry of National Defense, R.O.C., 2004 National Defense Report, p.58

⁴ Ministry of National Defense, R.O.C., 2004 National Defense Report, pp.61-62

strategic atmosphere, misjudgments are the most probable fuses of the military conflicts across the Strait. This paper has studied different conflict prevention measures which comply with national security strategy according to development of present Cross Strait situation in order to achieve the basic goals of national defense policy and national security.

In the cold war era, most western scholars of the conflict prevention studies believed that the most powerful means for conflict prevention was nuclear deterrence because the power of nuclear weapons were powerful enough to destroy human existence. Therefore, the studies of “Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD)” became the basis among the conflict prevention researches. Most military strategies were to keep retaliating capability after surprised first attack from hostiles. During the post cold war era, the possibility of massive global conflict has reduced, although regional conflicts remain constantly, the diffusion of scientific and technology leads to the increasing of asymmetric warfare; the 911 attack by Al-Qaeda in 2001 was a typical example. However, in the past half a century, whether global sight focus on “Mutually Assured Destruction” of US and Soviet Union in the past or the region conflicts and terrorists attacks faced by the world now, the situation of Taiwan Strait still remains its unique and asymmetric characteristics. Although there have been rapid economic and cultural exchanges across the Strait, due to politics separation and military confrontation, the Cross Strait relations have not been eased. It has even lead to the extensive international concern. Thus, how to seek feasible conflict prevention measures with past experiences has become one of prior issue in our national defense policies at present stage.

II. Concept of conflict prevention

People like to resolve the conflicts with the helps of past experiences and try to fit into social expectations. They usually try to get rid of unfavorable factor that would influence their interests. By doing so, winning the victory and obtaining maximum profits would become their only direction.

There are four situational outcomes resulted from competition of the two entities; win-lose, lose-win, win-win, or lose-lose. According to the history, the results of conflicts are usually ended with lose-lose situation. While observing the development of the Cross Strait relations, no matter what is “winning” or “lost” of the Communist China at this issue, we selves should seriously define what is the “winning” or “lost” at perspective of our national interests. “Peaceful resolution” of the Cross Strait issues will not only fit the international expectations, but also our national interests. Only with microscopic point of view to think feasible conflict prevention measures, it would be practical to prevent further military conflict across Taiwan Strait in order to achieve our national security goal. This paper would like to provide following concepts which might be helpful to build conflict prevention measures to both sides:

1. The conflicts preventions measures must be based on the wills of both sides. The motivation for both sides to promote conflict prevention are protecting each own interests and security. Without a proper Communicative Channel, the two parties

with conflict potential will increase its opportunity to the course of collision. Because a party usually tries to take all means to gain maximum interests and security for itself, it means the other might lose its interests. These competitions of interests may lead to the competition of “zero sum” which likes to end as a “lose-lose” result. Though the scholars who studies conflict theory provide various kinds of results of competitions, the tactic leading to win-win situation seems to be the best way to secure both competitor’s interests.⁵ So, besides considering one's own interests, it had better to understand the other’s interests too. By doing so, it will alter the course to end competition with the result of “zero sum” and gain maximum interests for both. This is exactly complying with “knowing yourself; knowing your enemy” in the Art of War by Sun Tzu. At the twenty first centuries, today, with prosperous development of medias, massive information transfer faster than ever, it seem to be easy for one side to understand the other with the conflict potential. However, just because of this kind of information overflow, it increases degree of difficulty to understand the other side’s attempt. It easily leads to the course of collision and makes the incident to be worsened due to misinterpretation and misjudgment. Therefore, a proper way of keeping in contact of both sides becomes a measure to correctly understand the other’s attempt. However, keep in touching must be based on the wills of both sides; otherwise it can only become an unpractical form. Because both sides also want to obtain each own maximum interests during the process of promoting the conflict prevention measures, the strategy of setting up the conflict prevention should focus on both the planning process and result. From the perspective of making process of conflict prevention, “keeping in contact” is a necessary mean to understand the opponent. Although, “keeping in contact” can be considered as a tactic to practice, there should not be too many expectations at the beginning of the contact. Both should keep in contact to probe each other by modifying own reacting strategies in order to adjust own interests through the entire process. Although some said no contact is another strategy, generally speaking, keeping in contact can obtain more information to better understand the other's attempts.

2. The goal of conflict prevention measures is to reduce the probability of misjudgment.

From model of Security Dilemma, we may conclude two important factors to cause wars, military building and lacking mutual trust. However, there is no country that will give up building up one's own defense power voluntarily. For example, though Switzerland is neutral among wars, she still constructs sufficient Armed Forces to conduct self defense. If the hostile both sides keep building military strength for balance and lacking the communicative channel, it is easily apt to the arms race or cause the military tense relation due to misinterpretation or misjudgment. So, only standing aside from the situation of Security Dilemma, having motivation to promote conflict prevention by both, and understanding each other through constant contact,

⁵ Hugh Miall, Oliver Ramsbotham and Tom Woodhouse, Contemporary Conflict Resolution, Polity Press, 2001, pp.6-19

there would be an opportunity to reduce misinterpretation and misjudgment by showing transparent intentions from each other, minimizing uncertainty that cause war, and stacking up the experiences.

Some scholars compare the armed conflict studies with the car accident. It is very difficult from a single case to judge the cause of the accident happened in a highway section because it includes too many possible causes, for example: uneven pavement of road surface, thick fog, careless drivers, mechanical malfunction, and etc... However, if we calculate the statistics of same road section, we would be able to conduct a better analysis and conclude the factors causing accidents for different types of vehicles. If this kind of explanation is rational, we may study the armed conflicts with such model.⁶ The process of making contact to military transparency is more like to set up enough road signs in order to let the drivers to be aware the road situations. Both sides obey the common consensus in order to minimize the opportunity of misjudgment and reduce risk of car accident.

3. Conflict prevention measures could not guarantee national security.

If one side does not have enough defense power as the back up of promoting the conflict prevention measures, the hostile side can attack the other without obeying conflict prevention measures. So promoting conflict prevention is not the absolute guarantees for national security. Therefore, security depends on self defense capability. In the history, there were many wars ignited by misjudgments and misinterpretations and ended with tragedy ways. So, only both sides have “the willing” to promote the conflict prevention measures in order to achieve best results. Instead, it is easy to cause wars because one side could pretend to promote the conflict prevention measures in order to soften the other’s will to fight, weaken the other’s military power, or wait for the best time to invade the other.

The promotion of the conflict prevention measures of our country does not mean to surrender. We must maintain enough military forces for back up and prevent Communist China using a two pronged tactic to soft our wills or slacking of readiness of operations. By then, we would not be able to keep peace, but to invite China to use excuse to attack us instead. Comparing to our military codes of conduct, we will not launch the first strike and the order of the first strike must be issued by minister of National Defense, and China’s not giving up use forces attack Taiwan policy, The PRC should have confidence of feeling no threat from our Armed Forces. Therefore, at the moment of promoting conflict prevention measures, we still keep sufficient self defense capability to prevent armed conflicts taking place and achieve true goal of war prevention.

III. Security Dilemma across the Taiwan Strait

The Security Dilemma has been existed in the Cross Strait competitions for more than half a century.⁷ In the past 5 decades, the communist China had never

⁶ Hugh Miall, Oliver Ramsbotham and Tom Woodhouse, Contemporary Conflict Resolution, Polity Press, 2001, pp.96-100

⁷ Hugh Miall, Oliver Ramsbotham and Tom Woodhouse, Contemporary Conflict Resolution, Polity Press, 2001, pp.7-8

renounced giving up using Armed Forces toward Taiwan. As long as China's military force developed to certain level or Taiwan could not handle her own interior stability, we always have to worry that The PRC uses an excuse to attack Taiwan in order to shift its own interior pressure.

In order to ensure our national security, the military must build up Armed Forces with self defense capability by strengthening their software and hardware frame structures. For decades, The PRC strongly protests and obstructs our armed procurement in international communities. Especially after 1980's, U.S.A. supports Taiwan with defense weapon system according to Taiwan Relation Act and The PRC acted in a menace way to protest it. In recent years, the communist China increase its military budgets with two digits growth which supported by its achievement of economic development in order to modernize its military forces. The long standing of military balance across the Strait has already tilted to PLA. The Annual Report to Congress: The Military Power of the People's Republic of China, 2005 and American high-ranking official's testimony to US Congress have proved that PLA 's military modernization has serious threaten the safety of Taiwan which already arousing the concern of international communities. Although Ministry of National Defense of our country declares constantly that we are not engaging in the arms race with the other side. We build our Armed Forces to maintain the national security but the continuing military strengthening of The PRC has already seriously threatened our national security. The Cross Strait relations can well explain Security Dilemma. The following issues may specifically display the complexity of the Cross Strait relations:⁸

1. Sovereignty and Security

The most serious differences in disputes between two sides seem to be the issues of sovereignty and security. The former Chairman of the Board and Managing Director of the American Institute in Taiwan, Mr. Richard Bush said that sovereignty is one of the two substantive issues at the heart of the political dispute between Taipei and Beijing; security is the other.⁹ The majority people of our country think Taiwan at the present stage should keep in status quo. However, "One China Principle" of communist China thinks the People's Republic of China is the only legal government of China and Taiwan is part of China (or claims both mainland and Taiwan are parts of China). The One China Principle which touches the most important issues of disputes, sovereignty and security, makes it becomes the hardest part of problems to resolve. Because the people of our country believe democracy, freedom and human rights, they lack confidence to various kinds of commitments of "one country, two systems" supported by the communist China and not likely to accept it.

In the history, Republic of China has been founded and exists in the world ever since 1911 and also once Permanent Member of the UN Security Council. The People's Republic of China has not founded until 1949. The two political entities have each own political systems, national flags, titles, national anthems, and constitutional

⁸ Joseph S. Nye, Jr., *Understanding International Conflicts, An Introduction to the Theory and History*, Third Edition, 2000. pp.15-19

⁹ Richard C. Bush, *Untying the Knot, Making peace in the Taiwan Strait*, Brookings Institution Press, 2005, p.81

territories. International community usually has been confused by complexity of Cross Strait development and disputes of sovereignty. However, the Cross Strait stability does attract attentions of the international communities.

Before 1980s, the sovereignty disputes between Taiwan and mainland China are based on the "Gentlemen won't stand together with thieves" (漢賊不兩立) policy, much in the spirit of West Germany's Holstein Principle against East Germany, to argue the legal heritage of China. Later 1980s, the topics of disputes turn into "Independent of Taiwan Sovereignty" and "One China." In the past half a century, no matter what topic, "government legality," "independent sovereignty," or "One China," we are depend on the military for backing for national security. The military power across the Strait had been in a state of dynamic equilibrium. At present stage, the communist China uses all means to prevent our country to strengthen military power. Because the communist China afraid us move towards "One China, One Taiwan" or "Two Chinas" statuses with relatively strong military strength as back up.

2. Politics and Military Affairs

For so long, the fundamental opposite status of politics and military affairs across Taiwan Strait has not been changed. Politically, the communist China seeks the unity of two sides and regards "One China" as the bottom line to promote "One country, Two systems" propaganda. The PRC objects to "One China, One Taiwan" and "Two Chinas." Although there are some personages prefer unity or independence, the majority of people of our country believe to stay status quo at the present stage would meet best national interest. At present, the political stands of two sides are not yet meet in middle of the spectrum. Though The PRC announced that once Taiwan accepts "One country, Two systems," people in Taiwan may enjoy maximum autonomy but without sovereignty. The PRC regards Taiwan as the local government in the "One country, Two systems." It seems very difficult to be accepted by any person in power of our country. Moreover, under the present circumstances that two sides lack the mutual trust as foundation and China's bad records of democracy, human rights and freedom, the majority of Taiwan will not accept "One country, Two systems." From the point of view of The PRC, they announce that all topics except sovereignty issue can be discussed in the talks. Recently, President Hu, Jintao takes a two-way strategic approach, "hard being harder, and soft being softer" toward Taiwan issues. By adding the strategy of "Looking for opportunity to talk, no hustle for delaying," The PRC unilaterally thinks they already provides extremely flexible strategy for Taiwan policies and wonder why cannot Taiwan accept "One country, Two systems." Later, they start to suspicious that if Taiwan intends to move toward independence any way.

Two sides have been separated ruled by different political systems for more then half a century. Though in the past two decades, there are frequent cultural and economic exchanges across the Strait. Just because people of Taiwan believe the democracy, freedom, and human rights are the guarantees of people's lives; they lack of confidence to the political system of The PRC. Due to lack of mutual trust in the

politics, The PRC is always afraid that Taiwan moves towards independence. This is why the political and military issues of two sides are still swinging back and forth in the frame of Security Dilemma.

From the military perspective, because they lack mutual trust both sides build their own military power for deterrence under the circumstances of a classic “Security Dilemma.”¹⁰ In the last half century, there have already been more than a hundred armed conflicts set off by the two sides.¹¹ The dispute across the Strait has grown from being a local military conflict to a regional issue, even extending further to become a global security concern.

Recently, scholars of the world, Some from U.S., constantly provide some warning which the military balance across the Strait will soon shift to China’s side due to both modernization of PLA and failure to pass the armed procurement bill in the Legislative Yuan. From the long-term point of view, if Europe Union removes the weapon embargo to the China in the near future, The PRC may conduct researches and develop the weapons of new generation or integrate the existing weapon systems with the acquired new technology. After possessing advanced weapons, the PRC will challenge the role of the peace and stability that the alliances of the USA and Japan in Asian-Pacific region. By the time, the PRC may cause deep influence on regional stability, interests of the USA, Japan, or the nations in the Asian-Pacific area.

3. Economy Depended and Politics Separated

Not all developments across the Strait are in tensed states. The development across Taiwan Strait has formed a situation that economy depended and politics separated at the present stage. According to the recent statistics, Taiwanese businessmen own 4,002 investing cases in China mainland from year 1991 to 2004.¹² The capital cost that the Taiwanese businessmen accumulated in the mainland is up to more than 78 billion US dollars; at the same time, according to conservative estimating, one million Taiwanese go into business or work in China mainland. In addition, the frequent exchanges such as Taiwanese fruits selling to mainland, direct charter flights, mainland tourist visit Taiwan, and the tuition for Taiwanese students go to the mainland for schools had been lower to same standard with mainland students in recently, etc... have highlighted strong contradictions of economy depended and politics separated.

The politics separated too much to go back to the reality of deep economy dependence at present. Therefore, both sides have own different tactics to deal with it. By observing the PRC, it is easy to find that communist China attempts to use “force to unify by the pressure of economy” as a soft tactic in order to driving Taiwan from moving toward independence. On the other hand, Taiwan utilizes impact of globalization, the norms of the international order, and pursuing the mechanisms of

¹⁰ Joseph S. Nye, Jr, *Understanding International Conflicts, An Introduction to Theory and History*, 3rd Ed., Longman, 2000, pp.15-19

¹¹ Chinese contemporary military history (in Chinese) http://lib-1.ndu.edu.tw/chinese/download_tc/battle_list_all.doc

¹² Richard C. Bush, *Untying the Knot, Making peace in the Taiwan Strait*, Brookings Institution Press, 2005, p.29

free market through free commerce and Capitalism trying to maneuver the centralization of power of the communist party in China. This would enable Taiwan to have more international space of survival. Because of lacking fundamental mutual trust, it seems no sign that it would break-through the Security Dilemma in a short time.

IV. Lessons learned from history

Any effective solution of the Taiwan Strait issue must adapt to the situation's unique political characteristics.¹³ Based on respective historical backgrounds, national emotions, and geographic relations, both sides have developed their own political and economic systems for more than five decades, which has led Cross Strait relations to be even more complicated. Since the end of Cold War, the phenomenon of rapid growth of globalization, information technology, and Internet development has had great internal impacts on each side of the Strait. The Cross Strait issue is no longer a simple problem existing between the two adversaries. Secretary Rice also stated that neither Taiwan nor China is going to be able to resolve the Cross Strait problem on its own.¹⁴ The situation has become a regional problem, having a potential impact on global security and stability.

Most studies of conflict prevention provided by the western experts are researches conducted during the cold war era. Some already questioned whether the models of conflict resolution that developed during the Cold War still have application to the post-Cold War conflicts.¹⁵ In fact, they did not only have doubts of the time been of the models, but also criticized that methods developed within a western setting different cultures and political systems.¹⁶ In addition, a unique characteristic of the Cross Strait is asymmetry. There is no other case resembling the Cross Strait relations. The ROC and the PRC have confronted each other for more than half a century although with such great differences in territorial size, population, and number of military personnel. It violates the norm and expectation of the world, which a weaker state will prefer to submit to the preponderant rival's demands rather than lose a war and be forced to unconditionally accept the demands.¹⁷ So in order to apply the past experiences of cold war era to solve the Cross Strait issues effectively and practically, we must find out the differences of the conflict preventions between past and now.

1. Fundamentals of Mutual Trust

Any conflict prevention must be based on mutual trust as fundamentals in order to be effective. However it seems to be a nature that two confronting political entities

¹³ Hugh Miall, Oliver Ramsbotham and Tom Woodhouse, *Contemporary Conflict Resolution*, Polity Press, 2001, p.1

¹⁴ Secretary Condoleezza Rice's Remarks to the Press in China on Mar. 21, 2005 in Beijing, China, she stated that we talked about Taiwan and Cross-Strait differences and the importance of neither side doing anything to -- unilaterally that would increase tensions across the Cross-Strait. <http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2005/43678.htm>

¹⁵ Hugh Miall, Oliver Ramsbotham and Tom Woodhouse, *Contemporary Conflict Resolution*, Polity Press, 2001, p.3

¹⁶ Hugh Miall, Oliver Ramsbotham and Tom Woodhouse, *Contemporary Conflict Resolution*, Polity Press, 2001, p.3

¹⁷ Edited by Jacek Kugler and Douglas Lemke, *Parity and War, Evaluations and Extensions of the War Ledger*, The University of Michigan Press, 1996, p.19

always lack of trust toward each other. The hostile both who has no mutual trust is very likely to misunderstand the other's action as a threat and start more hostile gesture as counteraction. It is easy to end with armed race or regional alliance that would shake the regional stability. From the lessons learned, it is the priority to build up certain level of mutual trust before setting the conflict prevention measures.

2. Communication at Working Level

It does not matter an individual or a state, the mutual trust of both is gradually build up. The hostile both are not likely building up the mutual trust at beginning of the contact. No state will take risk to put own security on the hand of other. There are already many scholars provide different feasible ways to start building the mutual trust. According to the unique characteristics of Cross Strait relations, it is much easier to start the dialogue with working level and less sensitive topic issues to create consensus on certain issues through gradual working contacts. With continuing of these dialogue experiences, it seems to be a feasible way to build up mutual trust for basis and start to set up conflict prevention measures.

3. Integration of the Culture and the Society

Several states may be composed by a nation. A state may compose of several nations. The state and nation are not necessary to be identical. However, the exchanges and confluence of the cultures and the societies can promote mutual understanding. The cultural differences of the two easily lead to misunderstandings and misjudgments. When we look back history, the tragedies of armed conflicts caused by cultural or religious differences are very common worldwide. There are many incidents of miscommunications which caused by different social customs. Therefore, the integration of the cultures and the societies can reduce mutual hostilities and conflicts.

4. Process and result are both important.

The incidents of conflict are frequent taking place at global scale. If there is too much expectation toward mutual trust building, it might bounce back the negative effect due to great gap of results. So it is important to take both entire process and result as consideration for evaluation. The process and result are both important during mutual trust building.

5. Understand the Political Level

It is one of the methods to achieve political objects by using military means. After 911 attack, U.S. soon launches the military operations trying to eliminate Al-Qaeda organization in Afghanistan. At the same time, U.S. waves the second gulf war to Iraq in order to cut down the support of terrorist organizations. The politics decide the result of conflict prevention measures. It is ironic that conflict prevention measures cannot only simply prevent war, but also provide readiness time for those intent military actions. Therefore, it is very important to accurately judge the real intention of the hostile parties. State security only can be depended on the appropriate reaction from accurate judgments.

V. Possible Ways to Prevent Conflict across the Strait

“If China and Taiwan had nothing to gain from finding a common way out of this dilemma, then they would be no reason to find a way to resolve it.”¹⁸ said Mr. Richard C. Bush. According to his observation of present Cross Strait relations, Mr. Bush noticed and found some common grounds of both sides which provide foundation to take further steps to resolve the differences. But due to lacking of mutual trust, these foundations are rather fragile.

Observing from the security perspective, one of our national defense policies is “preventing war.” Prevent war is not a passive way to avoid war but an active action to prevent unnecessary war. Sun Tzu said: “What is war? It may be described as one of the most important affairs to the state. It is the ground of dead or life of both soldiers and people, and the way that governs the survival or the ruin of the state. So we must deliberately examine and study it.”¹⁹ When western conflict prevention theories can not explain the long stand, great difference in size, and complicated Cross Straits relations, there is need to find out a feasible solution to face such uniqueness. These resolutions may be applied to different situations by turns or simultaneously.

1. Build a Deterrent Military Power

“Prevent war” is not capitulationism. The national defense is the prerequisite to the promotion for conflict prevention. We will continue to nurture a strong will of self-defense and build an all-out defense capability in order to dissuade our enemy from starting a war. The purpose of preventing war is to eliminate any possibility of war in advance.²⁰

As long as the PRC has not renounced using force against Taiwan, it is the responsibility of the ROC Armed Forces to build up a strong military capability as a deterrence policy. The modernization efforts of the PLA are reinforced by a defense budget with a double-digit annual growth rate.²¹ These developments challenge the security of our national defense. It is the responsibility of the ROC Armed Forces to continuously strengthen its self-defense capabilities and build up a strong military capability as the pillars of a deterrence policy.²²

The PRC grants from its economy in recent years. She not only continuously obtains advanced weapon and technology from Russia, but also wants the European Union lifting weapon embargo on her in order to obtain advanced science and technology from Europe to improve her military and civil industries. The ROC Armed Forces should build herself sufficient weapon systems in order to carry through the strategic concept of "effective deterrence, resolute defense,"²³ while facing such a period of transition. In a democratic system of the state, Armed Forces should not only obey

¹⁸ Richard C. Bush, *Untying the Knot, Making peace in the Taiwan Strait*, Brookings Institution Press, 2005, pp.107-108

¹⁹ ZhiYe Luo, *Sun Tzu's The Art Of War*, Apr. 1996, pp.2-3

²⁰ Ministry of National Defense, R.O.C., 2004 National Defense Report, p.61

²¹ Ministry of National Defense, R.O.C., 2004 National Defense Report, p.62

²² Ministry of National Defense, R.O.C., 2004 National Defense Report, p.62

²³ Ministry of National Defense, R.O.C., 2004 National Defense Report, p.63

the civilian leadership, but also need to be operated under the democratic control. , The government, congress, and the people hold each responsibility to the state. National security is to ensure the people's lives and properties. Armed Forces ask the need which is used to protect our people's interests through their professional knowledge. Sure, these needs should be managed under the monitoring of the congress. On the other hand, the congresses need to conduct census of military budget under the democratic system according to people's welfare. Only all above elements work well, we will be able to build a defense force to face military development of PLA.

2. 1 plus 1 is greater than 2 tactic

“Arms are not the only way that states acquire the power to cope with a Security Dilemma. Having allies is another.” said by Richard C. Bush.²⁴ Now, an unstable state would easily shake another's national security because of globalization. The chain reaction would easily destroy the stability of the region and peace of the world. Under the influence of globalization, this has become the reality. International security cooperation seems more important than before because it is not easy to solve various kinds of extensive security problems. The interests of the alliance make the power of cooperation far greater than the opposites. The small country may adopt with this kind of “one plus one is greater than two” tactic to form an alliance.²⁵ But, how to persuade allies to help when necessary is another key problem. If the ally has not promised the strong commitment, one could end with worsen scenario because they turn to the other side.

American scholar, Professor Larry Harding has observed that ever since the USA and the PRC signed “the Shanghai communiqué in 1972,” the PRC demanded the USA stopping arms sales toward Taiwan.²⁶ Although the USA has not totally complied with the demand of the PRC, the USA has adjusted the policy of arms sale in several times. Later, the USA unilaterally terminated the US-Taiwan Mutual Defense Treaty one year after the USA and China builds official diplomatic tie. Ever since 1979, the ROC arms procurements whether from the USA or other countries are only to maintain a sufficient self-defense power. The PRC still protest any arms sales from any countries because they afraid that Taiwan would build any substantial alliance. To share the common national interests with other states which have same values do provide the ROC with “one plus one more than two” alliance.

“One plus one more than two” strategy only works when the allies share same values and national interests. Although any international alliances and promises may change, the strong security commitment do help collective defense. For example, while we use the spectrum to explain the relation of alliances. If the both ends of spectrum represent totally involvement and doing nothing, the assistance of the ally will be somewhere between the spectrum poles. If they share more national interests, it will

²⁴ Richard C. Bush, *Untying the Knot, Making peace in the Taiwan Strait*, Brookings Institution Press, 2005, p.109

²⁵ Geneva Centre for Democratic Control of Armed forces, *Parliamentary oversight of the Security Sector: Principles, Mechanisms and Practices (Traditional Chinese)*, Center for Strategic Studies/NDU/ROC translated, May 2005, p.3

²⁶ *A Fragile Relationship, The United States and China since 1972*, The Brookings Institution, Washington, DC, 1992, pp.23-66

move toward the end of totally involvement. Vice versa, it moves to the other end. How close the tie of two states' interests is also depending on how close the ally and the opposite state too. From the domestic poll, it seems to echo with the theory.²⁷ Based on such an idea, we should find the demands of allies by SWOT analysis and seek those who can support our national defense. The ROC Armed Forces not only have to strengthen own defense capability but also welcome any assistance from friendly countries in order to secure common national interests. Major general Jack Kidd (USAF Ret.) in his book, *Prevent War: A New Strategy for America*, states that prevent war is better conduct war.²⁸ Although the new US strategy believes to prevent war is much better than to conduct war, but the USA still conducts wars globally. Therefore, the USA must believe that her national interests are much higher than the cost of war in reality. So to understand "what do Americans really want?"²⁹, "what do Japanese really want?" and "what do near countries want?" would be able to understand international trend. Recently, the US scholars of strategic studies are proposing to redefine the national interests of the USA. Only to understand international affairs, could contribute to the success of "One plus one more than two" tactics.³⁰

3. Increase National Strength to Gain International Support

The PRC has never renounced using force against Taiwan and warns other nations for building any diplomatic ties with Taiwan in order to block the Taiwan pursue diplomacy space from its own perspective for solving the Cross Strait problems.³¹ However, the stability of the Taiwan Strait is not only the security issue concerned by people of two sides, but also seriously arouses the concern of the nearby countries, and affects various countries' long-term national interests and the changes of global strategy. Because the international societies like to see a stable Taiwan Strait, for gaining international support, In compliance with the government's comprehensive diplomatic policy, we will try to explore the possibility to institutionalize strategic dialogue and security cooperation platforms with Asian-Pacific countries, integrate regional security support mechanisms, and maintain the security and stability of the Taiwan Strait through regional and international cooperation in order to promote the security of the Taiwan Strait.³²

International societies are down-to-earth; the people in power must concern their domestic response and national interests. So, the PRC takes advantage of its high economic growth and use mainland consumer market as the chip of the economic interests to lure other countries to cooperate. The PRC ask those countries who have

²⁷ Chong-Pin Lin, *Win with wisdom/when wrestling with a giant*, Sept. 2004, pp.472-474.

²⁸ Jack Kidd, *Prevent War: A New Strategy for America*, Military History and translation Office/ MND, Jan. 1992, pp.245-272.

²⁹ Jack Kidd, *Prevent War: A New Strategy for America*, Military History and translation Office/ MND, Jan. 1992, pp.241-244.

³⁰ Joseph S. Nye, Jr., *The paradox of American Power, Why the world's only superpower can't go it alone*, Oxford University Press, 2002, pp.137-171.

³¹ Arthur S. Ding, *Security and Conflict Prevention across Taiwan Strait in the Early 21st Century*, Center for Strategic Studies/NDU, Apr. 2002, pp.247-252.

³² Ministry of National Defense, R.O.C., 2004 National Defense Report, p.62。

investment in China not to support the ROC to participate in any regional or international organization in order to block the international living space of the ROC in the world. Although many countries concern the military threat after its rising, by not publicly support Taiwan join any global organizations, they comply strategy of the PRC in order to secure their own economic interests and prevent irrational rebound of the PRC toward themselves. For so long, the PRC has not changed the nature of strategy that using dual tactics to suppress any international activities of Taiwan. Therefore, we should adopt more creative ideas to increase our national strength and maybe taking “dual to dual” strategy to reply. While participating in the regional or the international organizations, we will take responsibility and positive attitude to be a good member of them. We also will integrate the domestic “security societies” and “economic societies,” and play as an active role to increase contacts with countries of regional or international communities in order to gain the understanding and consensus.

It is equally important for both result and process of participating regional or international organizations. People need to change the concept of “judge by result(成敗論英雄)” to “only existing would create the chance(存在就有價值)” to survive in such a down-to-earth international environment. It needs to see the process of fighting for participation of international communities as an opportunity to open another “window of cooperation.”

Although the rising of PRC does provide the economic benefits to other countries, the collateral rising of its military power threat to their national security. Short term profits of trading do cover the long term security concern of other countries. People from various “security societies” and “economic societies” can actively to create communication or dialogue channels on topics of security and economic trading with practical formats. It will let others to monitor the potential military threat from rising of China while making the profits with it. In the beginning, process is more important than the result, but in long term, both of process and result are equally important. People understand each other gradually through the process exchanges. In the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, not only the minister level of officials has good Communicative Channels, but also those civilian officials in working level. That is why they can easily to gain the understanding of each other in various topics. This kind of interaction model would be helpful for protecting our national interests. Premier Fredrick F. Chien mentions in his memoirs that our country had broken through diplomatic difficulties to buy torpedoes from Indonesia in order to increase our military strength was a successful example.³³

4. Create Effective Communicative Channels

Another way to prevent war is to keep in contact which improve mutual understanding through exchanges and reduce hostility with mutual benefits.³⁴ From military perspective, Cross Strait communication channel must be adopted the official overall policies to make it work practically. Under the fundamentals of

³³ Frederick Chien, Memoir of Frederick Chien Vol. II, Commonwealth Publishing Group, 10 Mar. 2005, pp.91-93.

³⁴ Ministry of National Defense, R.O.C., 2004 National Defense Report, p.61。

“peace and stable frame across the Strait” promoted by officials, the ROC Armed Forces comply peaceful policy across the Strait and gradually start the Cross Strait military dialogues and exchanges. The ROC Armed Forces promote Taiwan Strait security with communication instead of isolation, understand instead of suspicion, and good will instead of hostility.³⁵ The international societies expect both sides can strengthen the dialogues ease the tensed situation. But there exists some difficulties for Cross Strait dialogue. Before the preconditions of both, independent sovereignty and One China Principle, can be resolved, the under going general affairs negotiations would not have the opportunity to be raised to higher level of political dialogues. It becomes an important issue to create an interim communication channel before building any high level of political dialogue.

It seems that there is no obstacle for Cross Strait exchanges because of frequent exchanges of people on two sides, higher frequent of cultural and economical exchanges than political ones, and constant negotiations of general affairs. The demand of information is much higher than actually needs. It is an age of information overflow in 21 century. Especially due to lack of mutual trust, it is very easy to misread the meaning of the information provided and leads to the nightmare of the vicious circle.

It seems that it is possible to call for third party’s involvement to create an effective communicative channel. Which country will be the best choice for Cross Strait issues? The USA has announced many times for Cross Strait dialogues. However the PRC always has the concerns that the USA will lean to the ROC side when she involving in the dialogues and becoming unflavored to the PRC. Therefore, the PRC lacks of interest for the US involvement. Although the USA does involve in the Cross Strait dialogues, it seems to be less productive in a short time.

The Strait Exchange Foundation and the Association for Relations across the Taiwan Strait are two authorized organizations of both sides. Due to differences on the issues of “One China Principle” and “1992 Consensus,” the two authorized organizations can not proceed with any political negotiation. It seems there would not be any major change because of the cheerless atmosphere of the Cross Strait relations. Therefore, utilize both organizations to start the dialogues with less controversial issues in order to stating build some mutual trust seems to be a feasible way.

VI. Conclusion

No conflict prevention measures can prevent an invader’s resolution or ensure the safety of either side. It even can become a smokescreen to conceal an invader’s ambitions. So it usually is impractical and wishful thinking to trade self-defense capability for conflict prevention. In other words, to persuade the adversary to give up building military power through conflict prevention will fall into the trap of “Security Dilemma.”

The Cross Strait relations are so complicated, which already lasts more than half a century, and still not be able to resolve. So, anyone's hustle expectation toward the Cross Strait relations will not have any immediately response. The resolution of

³⁵Ministry of National Defense, R.O.C., 2004 National Defense Report, p.62。

Cross Strait issues should be peaceful and backing up with sufficient self defense capability to ensure people's welfare as preconditions. In order to reach such objectives, both sides must avoid any armed conflict caused by misperception and misjudgment. Therefore, it is a great challenge to collect all creative ideas for conflict prevention in order to promote peaceful and secured Taiwan Strait and to achieve the prosperity of the region.