

## **SPEAKING NOTES IN BRIEF**

**Title of thesis:** *The Impact of China's Missile Development on cross-Straits Relations and Asia-Pacific Stability*

**Conference:** Taiwan-China Cross-Straits Relations - Outlook for Regional Security in East Asia

**Date:** Thursday 25 Nov. 2004

**Venue:** Universidad Autonoma de Madrid, Madrid

**Presenter:** WONG, Ming-hsieh

### ***Introduction***

In 2004 "Double Tenth" National Day address, President Chen, Shui-bian pointed out that "if we cannot ensure Taiwan's national security, all the economic and democratic achievements will be ruined". In fact, in an oral report held in Legislative Yuan Parliament in September, 2004, Michael M. Tsai, the Vice Minister of the Ministry of National Defense (MND), also stressed that since China never gave up its great determination to solve "Taiwan question" through military forces, it would possibly invade Taiwan in 2006 or 2008. Besides, China's plan to disseminate its missile technology and missile materials is to bring about huge influence on the US global deployment strategy, the Asia-Pacific military balance, and the proliferation of weapon of mass destruction.

### ***China's national defense policy and military strategy***

Against the background of the Post-Cold War Era, China deems that there are three changes in the international security environments. First of all, the possibility of starting a global war decreases but the possibility of getting involved in local warfare under hi-tech condition increases. Secondly, "the US dominated uni-polar world" and "multi-polarities" coexist in the international power structures. The military conflicts between US and China inevitably worsen. Thirdly, though China's territorial boundaries become relevantly safe, the military gap between China and western advanced countries is not shortened. In addition, non-traditional security problems never stop disturbing China. China has to face both traditional as well as non-traditional threats.

China's strategic thinking emphasizes that "warfare is the continuity of politics through violent method". Military strategy is a kind of combat thinking focusing on "active defense". To win local warfare, the PLA requires combat models like "battle of destruction" or "battle of paralysis destruction". Therefore, the demand and

development of lethal weapons become compulsory for the PLA, just in case that it gets involved with local warfare.

### ***The strategic and tactic perspectives of China's missile under military strategy***

In view of China's military strategy stressing "active defense", missile warfare, in which high-technologies are largely applied to, can be regarded as a kind of combat to actively defend China. Basically, China analyses missile's value from strategic and tactic perspectives. 1). Missile can reach its strategic goal of intimidating and restricting enemy. 2). Missile warfare is an effective way to achieve in-depth strategy in joint combat operation. Military strength and firepower should be efficiently mobilized in joint combat operation. The employment of missile thus can supplement the shortage of military strength if there is any. 3). Missile provides a useful path for nations whose military forces are not powerful to enhance their combat capabilities.

### ***Current situation of China's missile development and deployment***

China's missile basically can be classified into strategic missile and tactical missile. And its missile development can be divided into three periods. First of all, China's 1<sup>st</sup> generation missile is mainly land based and filled with liquid fuel. This type includes the DF-2, the DF-3, the DF-4, and then DF-5. The 2<sup>nd</sup> generation missile mainly consists of M-group missiles. This type is a short-range tactical ballistic missile with single projectile nose, including the M-7, the M-9, the M-11, and the M-18. It is the essential equipment of China's army group as well as the lethal weapons threatening Taiwan. Furthermore, China started to research into cruise missile as early as 1977. After recruiting lots of Russian missile experts in 1990s, China thus made great progress in this field.

### ***The impact of China's missile on cross-Straits relations***

In military aspect, Taiwan's MND predicts that China's "models of invading Taiwan" cover traditional and non-traditional methods. Traditionally, China may attack Taiwan through "missile attack", "sea and air blockade", and "cross sea landing". Non-traditional methods China may use are to make Taiwan's financial market unstable and the society turbulent, etc., in order to conquer Taiwan without initiating a war. China may strategically interlock these two methods to Taiwan but in fact, "missile attack" is the key deciding whether China can succeed in its attack. In accordance with China's intention to attack Taiwan through missile launching, Taiwan inevitably faces certain military threats. As Taiwan's location is very close to China,

Taiwan is in inferior position to obtain enough "in-depth strategy" and sufficient "early warning", in addition to its shortage of "anti-missile defense capability".

In political aspect, China views the use of missile weapons as an effective way achieving the following goals, e.g. decreasing the percentage of supporting Taiwan's independence; reducing foreign investment in Taiwan; shirking Taiwan's foreign exchange; disturbing Taiwan's stock market; and making Taiwanese people lose confidence in Taiwan's defense capability. In fact, the destruction power of missile is limited but the threats on people's mentality are unlimited.

### ***Conclusion: China's missile and its impact on Asia-Pacific Stability***

In short, China's missile development not only threatens Taiwan but also strikes against any Asia-Pacific countries due to the wide ranges China's missile weapons can cover. Asia-Pacific countries should think about methods to tackle such a worry.

At current stage, however, Asia-Pacific region does not have any control system focusing on military force. Besides, though the focus of Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) is on the regional development, it is an organization dealing with economic and international trade relevant issues and cannot efficiently deal with the regional security agendas. Therefore, building a collective security system in Asia-Pacific region is a compulsory measure to stabilize this region.

Next, the most important reason for the lasting China-Taiwan military conflicts in fact lies in the fact that China never gives up its great determination in invading Taiwan. If China can withdraw or reduce its military force and move away the deployment of M-group missiles in China's southeast coastal areas, Taiwan and other Asia-Pacific countries can have more confidence in the regional peace and stability.

Finally, since cross-Straits relations are closely involved with the Asia-Pacific countries' security and benefits, the model of the "Six Parties talks" about denuclearization of North Korea might provide a constructive mechanism for China and Taiwan to establish "confidence building measures".