

R.O.C. prepares counteroffensive amid rumors of Red attack

by Webster Tarpley

The internal crisis of the People's Republic of China is viewed by many in Taiwan as the beginning of a process of revolution and/or civil war that will in time bring about the collapse of the Communist regime founded by Mao Zedong in 1949. All population strata on Taiwan, including the younger generation accustomed to seeing only the "reformist" face of the post-1978 Deng combination, have now experienced revolution over the massacre, combined with a heightened Chinese nationalist feeling. Since the Republic of China's ruling party, the Kuomintang (KMT), has always claimed to be the only legitimate government of China, this has led to a broad debate over what kinds of government initiatives could hasten the reunification of China on the basis of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Three Principles of the People, the goal the KMT is committed to accomplish.

In evaluating this debate, it is important to bear certain basic considerations in mind. The R.O.C. is under intense blackmail pressure from George Bush, U.S. Ambassador to Beijing James R. Lilley, former CIA deputy director Ray Cline, former Ambassador to Beijing Winston Lord, and CIA-Kissinger networks in general to suppress any initiatives that might cause problems for the Beijing regime. Given the continued R.O.C. dependence on U.S. defense technology, this blackmail has bite. It is also evident that the effectiveness of actual measures to implement Gen. T'eng Chieh's "total war" and Gen. Weigo Chiang's "mellow offensive" plans against the mainland would be in direct proportion to their secrecy.

In terms of institutional changes in the R.O.C. during the period of the mainland upsurge, the main ones have been the replacement of Prime Minister Yu Kuo-hwa by Lee Huan, who moved up from his previous post as KMT General Secretary. The new KMT General Secretary is James Soong, the party's former number-two man. These changes make the R.O.C. government stronger, say Taipei observers.

Danger of P.R.C. military adventure

Initial reactions in the R.O.C. reflected concern that the desperate warlords around Deng Xiaoping and Yang Shang-

kun might attempt a short-term solution to their internal collapse through a foreign military adventure. Accordingly, on Monday, June 5, the day after the Beijing massacre began, R.O.C. President Lee Teng-hui met with Gen. Hau Pei-tsun to brief him on the latest mainland developments and to instruct the R.O.C. military to remain on high alert against a possible invasion attempt by the Communists across the Taiwan straits. Hau assured the President that Taiwan remained secure, saying, "No problem. Don't worry."

On June 7, the day of the annual Dragon Boat Festival holiday, a spokesman for the R.O.C. Defense Ministry confirmed that the country's military forces had been placed on "high alert" due to the critical situation on mainland China. One day earlier, Defense Minister Cheng Wei-yuan inspected Penghu (the Pescadores islands), Tungying, and the offshore Matsu island. According to the Defense Ministry, the alert included measures to ward off possible infiltration of Communist spies and saboteurs. The R.O.C. press has been calling attention to the arrival of some 3,000 Communist *agents provocateurs* in Hong Kong, where they could be used to provide a pretext for a PLA armed intervention to "restore order."

Rumors of imminent war in the Taiwan straits flew through the 100-degree tropical air. On the Friday after the massacre began, the Beijing Central People's Broadcasting Station reported that the People's Liberation Army had warned Chinese Communist authorities to reinforce the defenses along the southeastern coast of the mainland in order to repel an invasion and sabotage coming from Taiwan. In addition, reports coming from Hong Kong said that the PLA had dispatched a missile squadron to the coastal province of Fukien, allegedly in preparation for a military assault by Taiwan. The looming attack was described by the Communists as a joint venture by Taiwan, the United States, and Hong Kong. These reports were taken seriously enough by the R.O.C. to warrant a denial by government spokesman Shaw Yu-ming, that the R.O.C. had landed troops in Fukien province as part of an invasion of the mainland. Shaw said that the reports were totally fabricated, and could have been a Communist smoke-

Leadership is much in demand

The following are excerpts from an editorial published by the China News on June 18, 1989:

At this point it appears Red China will have to carry on its struggle without significant aid or leadership from the 20th century's traditional champion of freedom.

The United States, long considered the great bastion of freedom and arsenal of democracy, clearly suffers from a leadership gap that could be more serious than in the unhappy years of Jimmy Carter. The friend of butcher Deng and confidant of the Communist thugs who helped carry out Deng's order to turn the Tiananmen Square into a charnel house, is finding too much trouble opening his eyes and ears. In that failing, U.S. President George Bush is proving himself no friend of China.

Bush apparently is so enamored with Deng and his warlord-backed thugs that he can't bring himself to blame them for the wanton murder of thousands of peaceful students who made the mistake of asking their "leaders" to talk with them. Not even after Deng and his thugs went on TV to brag about it, and say they are proud of doing it.

Mr. Bush of course deplores the slaughter, and says his government certainly must consider some kind of action—as soon as he can determine for sure who is really responsible. One must assume that Mr. Bush, like the statue of justice popular in his country, has blindfolded himself and stopped up his ears as well.

Mr. Carter's betrayal of the Chinese people is more understandable, although still inexcusable. A small man

with no leadership experience beyond the governorship of a small and somewhat backward state, he obviously lacked the experience and skill to resist the machinations of Henry (peace at any price) Kissinger.

But Mr. Bush has no excuse. As a former director of the CIA and eight years an understudy for the President, it is ridiculous for him to plead ignorance of the bloody facts. Particularly since he spent a whole year in Beijing, and certainly should know how savagely the regime operates there.

Under these circumstances, the American President's unwillingness to act, and act decisively, betrays either an incredible ignorance or an unconscionable callousness toward the fate of the Chinese people. A callousness easily comparable to that of Generals Marshall and Stillwell—who some still think deliberately betrayed China to the Communists in an attempt to protect U.S. merchant and manufacturing barons from economic competition.

The existence of 20 million prosperous, productive, and economically powerful Chinese in Taiwan Province might even be considered convincing evidence of the Kuomintang's ability to create such a threat, given all of China to work with. Mr. Bush's propensity to use his 301 trade sanction rules to wage economic warfare against his more productive neighbors raises the question, however, remotely, of whether he might be exercising similar "pragmatic" trade machinations at the expense of the people in China.

No matter what might be the U.S. President's motivation, it's generally safe to assume that Asian people will have to work out the problems of the Pacific Rim mostly on their own. Leadership of the struggle to liberate the China mainland from Communist oppression must fall to the lawful government of the Republic of China, no matter how dangerous or difficult the task.

screen. Shaw was joined in his denial by Maj. Gen. Wei Chia-ching, the spokesman for the R.O.C. defense ministry. When asked about reported Nationalist landings in Fukien, General Wei said laconically: "There is no such thing."

On June 17, Red artillery movements were seen near Quemoy.

Nationalist troops to mainland?

During these days, as an all-out civil war fought out among units of the People's Liberation Army seemed to some observers to be looming on the mainland, calls were raised in some quarters on Taiwan that the time had come to fulfill the pledge of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek by sending Nationalist troops back to the mainland. As we will see, hints in this direction emerged at the weekly meeting of the KMT

Central Standing Committee. But the civil war was clearly not yet ripe, and a Nationalist invasion of the mainland would have had the effect of forcing the final reconciliation of the Deng-Yang-Li clique, all potential enemies who will soon be at each others' throats. On the day of the public reemergence of Deng Xiaoping as mainland dictator, General Hau granted a rare interview to the state-run China Television Company. His central theme was that although his forces are capable of repelling a Red invasion attempt, they are not sufficient to attack the mainland at the present time. "We may not have the military power to invade the mainland, but our forces can serve as an effective deterrent against an invasion," Hau commented. But Hau also stressed that "peaceful coexistence" with the Beijing regime was an "illusion." "Peaceful competition could determine war or peace across the Taiwan

Strait," said Hau, and stressed that "the variables and initiatives rest with the mainland. We have to realize that we are not in a position to decide or take the initiative on this matter."

Hau also urged the troops of the PLA to support the democracy movement and stop killing peaceful demonstrators: "We hope Communist troops, especially the younger ones, will join the people in their fight for freedom and democracy. We urge troops on the mainland not to become accomplices to the suppression of democracy. Communist troops should play the leading role in establishing a new China under democracy." General Hau also quoted former R.O.C. President Chiang Kai-shek and Chiang Ching-kuo to the effect that "the downfall of the Communists will be brought about by themselves."

On June 15, President Lee, General Hau, and R.O.C. Navy Commander-in-Chief Yeh Chang-tung, demonstratively presided over large-scale naval war games involving a flotilla of destroyers, a group of anti-submarine frigates and helicopters, minesweepers, and the R.O.C.'s new Dutch-built *Sea Dragon* diesel-electric submarine. The event was given prominent television coverage on all three R.O.C. networks.

Military realities

The thrust of General Hau's remarks was clear to all those with a grasp of the elementary military realities of the situation: Unless and until the Communist armed forces are actually divided by civil war, the PLA, with its heavy numerical superiority, retains the military advantage, and no amount of bluster will change that basic fact. The political initiative is another matter, but here the tasks are increased propaganda and infiltration, as the *China News* wrote on June 14 (see box).

Might the Beijing regime attempt the conquest of Taiwan to divert attention from its internal convulsions? This is necessarily a speculative question, but KMT legislator Chou Shu-fu has pointed out that on at least two occasions the Reds have embarked on external military adventures in times of internal upheaval. One was the attempted seizure of the offshore islands Quemoy (Kinmen) and Matsu in August 1958, in the midst of the turmoil of Mao's Hundred Flowers campaign. The second was the military clash with India, which came in the midst of the famine and industrial breakdown that were the aftermath of Mao's insane Great Leap Forward of the late 1950s.

More specifically, President Lee described as "very special" a June 6 warning from Yuan Mu, the spokesman for the Beijing State Council (the cabinet), who charged that Taiwan media had concocted a false report that Deng Xiaoping was dead. In a statement carried by the Reds' CCTV, Yuan said, "Reports by Taiwan television quoted so-called reliable sources in its noon broadcast as saying that Deng Xiaoping has already died. These sayings are pure rumor. This report was also broadcast by Taiwan radio. Their aim is to confuse

the people and create chaos."

In the June 7 weekly meeting of the KMT Central Standing Committee, some members of the party expressed dissatisfaction with the actions of the R.O.C., and demanded more action. One of these was Yu Kuo-hwa, who has just stepped down as prime minister. "The time to recover mainland China from the Communists has arrived! We should immediately take more vigorous actions," Yu told the KMT leaders. "We should take practical actions to support mainland compatriots and win the hearts of the mainland residents. We should prepare to return to the mainland to take over the toppled Communist regime," Yu added.

Another call for action came from Shen Chang-huan, the former foreign minister who was the architect of the R.O.C.'s "three nos" policy (no contact, no negotiation, and no compromise) toward Beijing. Shen had been the secretary general to President Lee until last autumn, when he resigned in protest over increased R.O.C. dealings with the U.S.S.R. "Today is the darkest moment on the mainland," said Shen. "It is also the brightest moment for the KMT. Today is the most opportune and challenging moment for us. Today also offers us the best opportunity to promote anti-Communist education. The eyes of the whole world are watching Taipei and the Kuomintang. The ruling party should take advantage of the new situation."

Shen recalled that at critical turning points in the past, the leader of the party would coin a slogan to maintain solidarity. He offered the slogan "All people unite, consolidate the bastion [Taiwan], overthrow the tyranny, and reestablish China."

President Lee, who is also the head of the KMT, obliquely rejected the proposals of Yu and Shen by saying that the KMT should "counter-motion by having not motion," or take "counter-action by taking no action."

"Our accomplishments and endeavors on this bastion of national recovery had a direct influence on the developments of the democracy movement on the mainland," President Lee stated. "We will continue to give all possible support to the democracy movement on the mainland and push for the realization of democracy."

President Lee had issued a first statement supporting the Tiananmen democracy movement on June 3. After the massacre, he condemned Beijing's "act of madness" at a special press conference. Lee called for "vigilance" against "any possible venture" by the P.R.C. "on the eve of their total collapse." He pledged to unite all Chinese "to overturn this tyranny," and called on the world to break with the Communists.

In a third statement on June 14, President Lee condemned the reign of terror against protesters that is now being carried out by the Communists. President Lee called that "hunt" "absolutely inhuman" and also said that it was "absolutely inhuman" for the Reds to reject humanitarian aid, including blood plasma, offered by international agencies and donors in the wake of the slaughter.

At the KMT Central Standing Committee meeting of June 14, Hsiao Chang-lo, the director general of the KMT Department of Mainland Affairs, said that the wave of arrests had started two days after the massacre and had plunged the entire mainland into an "abyss of terror." At the same meeting, Shen Chang-huan criticized the government's stance as being "too passive." Shen asserted that the "Mainland Policy Guidelines for the Present Stage" approved by the KMT's 13th National Congress last year have been made obsolete by the mainland's recent convulsions.

An authoritative voice in the R.O.C. government is that of the new Prime Minister (or head of the Executive Yuan), Lee Huan. On Tuesday, June 6, when civil war on the mainland seemed a distinct possibility, Lee stated that in the event of a civil war, the R.O.C. government would mobilize Chinese all over the world to guarantee the overthrow of the Communist regime. Lee recalled to reporters the last instructions from Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, which had been to develop Taiwan and to recover the mainland. "We have developed Taiwan and the goal of recovering the mainland is just around the corner," said Lee.

Later, on June 13, Lee told the Legislative Yuan (the R.O.C. Parliament) that the Temporary Provisions Effective During the Period of Communist Rebellion (which freeze in office the National Assembly and Legislative Yuan members elected in the last mainland elections in 1949) cannot be

terminated unless and until the Communists drop their four cardinal principles or "insists" (dictatorship of the proletariat, the socialist road, Communist Party leadership and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought). Lee called the Beijing regime "an enemy plotting at all times" to invade Taiwan, and said that the massacre in progress ought to be proof enough that the threat of invasion is real. Lee noted that the Reds have changed their slogans over the years from "bathe Taiwan with blood" to "liberate Taiwan" to "peaceful reunification," but their "mentality of invading and controlling Taiwan and subsequently practicing Communism" has not changed.

In his first report to the Legislative Yuan, Lee outlined the criteria for the future development of the R.O.C.'s mainland policy, starting from the overall premise that the Communists "will not escape the just trial of history." Lee's key points are as follows:

- 1) To take the initiative instead of reacting passively to the united front tactics of the Communist Chinese.
- 2) To take into account how any new policy would affect the security of Taiwan.
- 3) To promote, systematically and steadily, mainland Chinese affairs.
- 4) To seek to liberalize the political and economic systems of mainland China and promote equality and freedom of expression there.

'Hands on or off?'

The following commentary on the policy to be assumed by the Kuomintang toward mainland China in the present crisis is excerpted from the China News of June 14, 1989:

Should the Republic of China take an active part in mainland China's pro-democracy movement or sit on its hands to see what comes out of it? The question was raised and debated even before the bloody Sunday at Tiananmen Square. It calls for an answer right now, because the 1.1 billion people on the mainland are once again experiencing a reign of terror. . . .

While a military option is out of the question in view of the overwhelming numerical superiority of the Communist forces, we cannot accept the contention that our efforts will not affect the outcome of our mainland compatriots' struggle against their oppressors. As a matter of fact, the very success of our free economy and democratic system has played no small part in the growing yearning for democracy on the other side of the Taiwan straits.

So far our government has been on the right track in responding to the massacre of demonstrators in Beijing and to the ongoing hunt for dissidents by the Beijing regime. It has been condemning the Communist rulers' atrocities in the strongest of terms and is doing everything possible to let the mainland population know what really happened in Beijing in the face of the regime's propaganda blitz.

The government is also on the move to render help to mainland students and scholars abroad whose sympathy for the pro-democracy movement has made their return a greater risk. The assistance being considered includes the granting of R.O.C. passports and financial aid. Such help will be of great importance to China's future, because the recipients are certain to play a conspicuous role in bringing democracy to the mainland.

But that is not enough. This is probably the best time for the government to beef up its intelligence operation on the mainland now that Deng and Co. has completely exposed its ugly face. Popular discontent will surely increase as economic hardship follows political repression as a result of recent developments. Under the circumstances, our agents on the mainland ought to be able to work more effectively.