U.S.-Taiwan Relations in a New Era
Responding to a More Assertive China

Susan M. Gordon and Michael G. Mullen, Chairs
David Sacks, Project Director
ENDNOTES


3. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Winston Churchill, and Chiang Kai-shek, “The Cairo Declaration,” press communiqué, November 26, 1943, https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/cairo-declaration. In this declaration, Roosevelt, Churchill, and Chiang stated “that Japan, shall be stripped of all the islands in the Pacific which she has seized or occupied since the beginning of the first World War in 1914, and that all the territories Japan has stolen from the Chinese, such as Manchuria, Formosa, and the Pescadores, shall be restored to the Republic of China.”


5. This discussion of U.S.-Taiwan relations draws on Alan D. Romberg, Rein In at the Brink of the Precipice: American Policy Toward Taiwan and U.S.-PRC Relations (Washington, DC: Stimson Center, 2003).


On January 5, 1950, President Truman issued that the following statement: “The United States Government will not pursue a course which will lead to involvement in the civil conflict in China. Similarly, the United States Government will not provide military aid or advice to Chinese forces on Formosa.” Romberg, *Rein In at the Brink*, 2.

Romberg, *Rein In at the Brink*, 2.


Romberg, *Rein In at the Brink*, 132.


George Shultz, “Declassified Cables.”

21. Multiple senior officials have made this point over the years. For instance, Secretary of State Warren Christopher asserted, “our ‘one China’ policy is predicated on the PRC’s pursuit of a peaceful resolution of the issues between Taipei and Beijing.” Romberg, *Rein In at the Brink*, 177.


38. The bill expressed “the sense of Congress that the United States should resume normal diplomatic relations with Taiwan, negotiate a bilateral free trade agreement with Taiwan, and support Taiwan’s membership in international organizations.” H. Con. Res. 21, 117th Cong. (2021).


44. PRC State Council, “Taiwan Question.”


“Xi Says ‘China Must Be, Will Be Reunified,’ As Key Anniversary Marked,” Xinhua, January 2, 2019, http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2019-01/02/c_137714898.htm. In a meeting with a delegation of groups calling for unification with Taiwan in 2014, Xi Jinping “pointed out that national reunification is a historical necessity for the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation.” In 2019, Xi also stressed that unification was a “must for the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation.”

54. PRC State Council, “Taiwan Question.”


58. MSNBC, “CIA Director Burns ‘Wouldn’t Underestimate President Xi’s Determination’ to Control Taiwan,” YouTube, July 21, 2022, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GXHdQo54gio.


62. International Monetary Fund, World Economic Outlook Database (for October 2022).


68. OECD, “Measuring Distortions in International Markets,” 84.


82. Miller, Chip War, 177.


84. Miller, Chip War, xx.


113. Notwithstanding this reticence, some deviations from the policy have occurred over the years. For instance, President George W. Bush in 2001 was asked if the United States had an obligation to defend Taiwan against a PRC attack and responded, “Yes, we do.” When asked if that would entail the full force of the American military, Bush replied, “Whatever it took to help Taiwan defend herself.” His administration, however, quickly clarified that his comments did not represent any change in policy. “Bush Vows Taiwan Support,” ABC News, April 25, 2001, https://abcnews.go.com/US/story?id=93471&page=1.


117. Cancian et al., *First Battle of the Next War*.


121. *PLA Operational Concepts and Centers of Gravity in a Taiwan Conflict* (testimony of Lonnie Henley).


Endnotes


176. Blanchard, “U.S. Should Recognize Taiwan.”


191. In 2016, for instance, after President Tsai did not endorse the 1992 Consensus, Taiwanese tourism plummeted by 22 percent. In 2019, Taiwanese beverage chains were forced to adopt Chinese claims over Taiwan and Hong Kong, and in 2021 China banned the import of Taiwanese pineapples. In 2022, China blocked the export of natural sand to Taiwan following Speaker Pelosi’s visit and banned a list of Taiwanese products.


197. This discussion draws on Sacks, Enhancing U.S.-Japan Coordination.


200. Cancian et al., First Battle of the Next War.


Endnotes