

Foreign and National Defense Committee, Second Session, Ninth Congress of the Legislative Yuan

Response Measures for Taiwan's Inability to Attend the 39th ICAO Assembly, Achievements of Side Participation, and Strategy on Taiwan's Future Participation in International Organizations

Mainland Affairs Council, Executive Yuan

October 5, 2016

Honorable Chairman and Members of the Committee, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I would like to thank the committee for inviting me to present a report on "Response Measures for Taiwan's Inability to Attend the 39th ICAO Assembly, Achievements of Side Participation, and Strategy on Taiwan's Future Participation in International Organizations."

1. Participation by the Mainland Affairs Council (MAC) in Related Planning and Response Measures

(1) Deliberating Taiwan's strategy along with the holding of high-level inter-ministerial national security meetings: The International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) is holding its 39th Assembly this year from September 27 to October 7. According to high-level national security directives, the MAC has provided to related ministries and departments an analysis of current international and cross-Strait relations regarding Taiwan's bid to participate in this year's ICAO Assembly. The MAC has sequentially advanced preparatory work for this bid, as well as deliberated response strategies for possible situations.

(2) Conveying to the other side Taiwan's willingness to communicate pragmatically, with emphasis on not setting political preconditions: In early August, the Civil Aeronautics Administration (CAA) under the Ministry of Transportation and Communications submitted a letter to the ICAO Chairman of the Board expressing Taiwan's intention to participate in this year's assembly under an appropriate name. On August 4, the MAC issued a press release expressing the hope to communicate with the Mainland to resolve related issues. It also expressed hope that the Mainland would show goodwill to the people of Taiwan. Beijing has not, however, responded positively. The Mainland's Taiwan Affairs Office (TAO) and Ministry of Foreign Affairs have emphasized the established position that consultations on participation and other issues will be possible only if Taiwan confirms a political foundation embodying "one China." The MAC will continue to urge the Mainland not to set political preconditions that could impact aviation safety and the well-being of the people.

(3) The government has expressed its solemn position on political interference by the

Mainland preventing Taiwan's participation: Given that Taiwan has not received an invitation from the ICAO at this late time, the government has prepared response measures for potential developments. On September 23, President Tsai and Premier Lin expressed strong regret and dissatisfaction over the lack of an invitation. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) held a press conference to explain this matter to the public. The MAC issued a solemn statement and conveyed its stern stance to the TAO, expressing intense dissatisfaction over the Mainland's use of political frameworks to suppress Taiwan and emphasizing that such moves hurt the feelings of the people of Taiwan and are not conducive to improving cross-Strait relations. The MAC also refuted the other side's claim of "smooth channels for providing Taiwan data and information on international aviation safety," stressing that Taiwan has no direct channels to promptly obtain complete relevant information. Taiwan's inability to attend ICAO therefore creates a gap and raises concerns over international aviation safety.

(4) Taiwan has formed a delegation to express the government's position on participation; however, the Assembly has placed numerous limits on Taiwan: CAA Deputy Director General Ho Shu-ping led a delegation to Canada for bilateral talks and exchanges with relevant countries off-site from the ICAO Assembly. She also convened a press conference to express Taiwan's pragmatic, professional, and contributive position on participation in international organizations and activities and to thank friendly countries for their support. Moreover, ICAO has blocked Taiwan's media from covering the assembly and restricted the ability of Taiwan's diplomatic allies to voice support for Taiwan at the assembly. The MOFA has expressed regret to the ICAO.

2. Reaction by the Mainland

(1) Demanding that arrangements be made through cross-Strait negotiations based on the "one China" principle: The Mainland has always handled the issue of Taiwan's international participation based on not resulting in "two Chinas" or "one China, one Taiwan." The Mainland's TAO and MOFA stated on September 23 that, in 2013, Taiwan was invited by the ICAO Chairman of the Board to attend the ICAO Assembly as a guest under the name "Chinese Taipei Civil Aeronautics Administration." This was an ad-hoc arrangement made through cross-Strait negotiations on the political foundation of the "1992 Consensus" and did not constitute a precedent. Taiwan's participation in any international activity must be handled through cross-

Strait negotiations based on adherence to the "one China" principle. ICAO is a specialized agency of the United Nations (UN). Taiwan is an inalienable part of "China" and has no right to participate.

(2) Unilaterally blaming Taiwan for the inability to participate in this year's ICAO Assembly: the Mainland has asserted that the R.O.C. government has refused to recognize the "1992 Consensus," undermining the common political foundation of the two sides and causing cross-Strait communication and liaison mechanisms to be suspended. Taiwan's inability to attend is entirely caused by the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) authorities. Taiwan should not make baseless charges against the Mainland and mislead the people. TAO spokesman Ma Xiaoguang also mistakenly claimed that there are "smooth channels for providing Taiwan data and information on international aviation safety." Furthermore, Beijing has lobbied relevant countries to prevent Taiwan from attending.

(3) Public opinion in the Mainland echoes the official position: Mainland academics and official media have heavily criticized Taiwan, echoing the official position. They have emphasized that if Taiwan continues its handling of anti-"China" issue or seeks refuge with the U.S., Japan and other countries, cross-Strait relations may turn from a "cold peace" into a "cold confrontation" and inevitably make it hard to keep "the mountains from shaking." They have also strongly opposed any actions aimed at "Taiwan independence". In its September 26 overseas edition, the People's Daily stated that, on the matter of participation in the ICAO Assembly, the DPP government "has not failed to exert itself, but rather has thought of many ways," adding that the password to participation is the "1992 Consensus."

3. ICAO Reaction: ICAO Communications Chief Anthony Philbin states that the ICAO complies with the UN's "one China" policy, but made special arrangements for Taiwan at the last assembly. However, no such arrangements will be made this time. Moreover, ICAO has blocked Taiwan's media from covering the Assembly and restricted the ability of Taiwan's allies to voice support for Taiwan at the Assembly.

4. Support from the International Community

(1) United States: The U.S. executive and legislative branches have long been actively promoting

Taiwan's participation in the ICAO Assembly. Recently, U.S. National Security Council Senior Director Daniel Kritenbrink, Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs Daniel R. Russel, East Asian and Pacific Affairs spokesperson Grace Choi, American Institute in Taiwan Taipei Office spokesperson Sonia Urbom, and U.S. Senate and House of Representatives members have publicly expressed their continued support for Taiwan's meaningful participation in ICAO and affirmed the contribution and value of Taiwan's international participation.

(2) Other countries and organizations: Many of Taiwan's diplomatic allies have spoken up and made contact over Taiwan's participation. Japanese Chief Cabinet Secretary Yoshihide Suga said that the Japanese government hopes Taiwan can participate in the ICAO in some form for the sake of international civil aviation safety. Leader of the Democratic Party of Japan Senator Renho said she does not like to see Taiwan excluded from the international framework. Representatives of other related countries have also publicly expressed support for Taiwan's participation. In addition, U.S. Committee to Protect Journalists and French organization Reporters Without Borders issued a statement to help Taiwan over ICAO's refusal to issue press credentials to Taiwan reporters.

5. Proposed Strategies for Taiwan's Future International Participation

(1) Taiwan will continue to call on mainland China to commit to benign cross-Strait interactions and resolve differences through communication and dialogue: Taiwan's international participation has long been suppressed by the Mainland and realities in the international community, and has not been treated with equality and dignity. The Mainland has used political factors to exclude Taiwan from the international system, creating a gap in cooperation on global functional issues, while also hindering cross-Strait benign interaction and development. A public opinion survey commissioned by the MAC this June showed that more than 75% of the public believe that Taiwan's international space should not be affected by the cross-Strait situation. The same poll showed that 84.5% of the public support "cross-Strait exchanges and possibilities of various forms of cooperation and collaboration on issues concerning joint participation in regional development." We believe that maintaining the peaceful and stable development of cross-Strait relations and protecting the interests and well-being of the people on both sides is a goal and duty shared by both sides. The government is committed to resolving political differences between the two sides through broad-based and constructive

communication, dialogue, exchanges and contact. It has also called on the other side to remain rational and avoid confrontational methods in handling cross-Strait relations.

(2) Deliberating and assessing the Mainland's Taiwan strategy going forward and actions to safeguard national dignity and the public's well-being: Since May 20, the R.O.C. government has expressed goodwill through respect for historical facts and the existing political foundation. The government will conduct cross-Strait affairs in accordance with the R.O.C. Constitution, the Act Governing Relations between the People of the Taiwan Area and the Mainland Area, and other relevant legislation. Nevertheless, Beijing has stuck to the "one China" principle in its Taiwan policy and has taken related actions to boycott Taiwan, creating numerous obstacles and pressures in cross-Strait interactions. When the Mainland convenes its 19th National Congress next year, the major issues will be maintaining internal and external stability and consolidating power. Beijing has not ruled out various future actions to step-up pressure on Taiwan and to push Taiwan into changing policy course in a way more favorable to the Mainland. The government will adhere to its policy stance, pay close attention to Beijing's Taiwan policy and actions, and duly and carefully deliberate countermeasure to safeguard national dignity and interests and protect the interests and well-being of the public.

(3) Proactively explain to the international community the government's cross-Strait policy and position on international engagement to seek broad support: Cross-Strait relations play an important role in building regional peace and security. The fullest international cooperation can ensure global security. Although Taiwan was unable to attend the ICAO Assembly this year, the government's efforts have received a high level of attention and support from the international community.

International participation is Taiwan's right and obligation. The international community takes an universally positive view on this. The government will convene inter-agency meetings on Taiwan's international participation to formulate and research response plans and work for Taiwan's best interests. Looking into the future, we hope to be able to participate in the International Criminal Police Organization (INTERPOL). President Obama has signed a bill supporting Taiwan's participation in March this year. The government will seek support of the international community. Furthermore, both Taiwan and the Mainland are Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) member economies. Taiwan will attend APEC meetings based on its

existing member rights. In addition, the government will establish close communication and liaison mechanisms with the international community, including relevant countries and international organizations, to fully explain how the objectives and direction of promotion of Taiwan's cross-Strait policies and international participation are in the interests of all parties, to gain support, and gradually accumulate outcomes. Taiwan should not be excluded from international organizations due to any factor. We hope that the international community will jointly confront the important issues concerning Taiwan and human security.

Thank you.