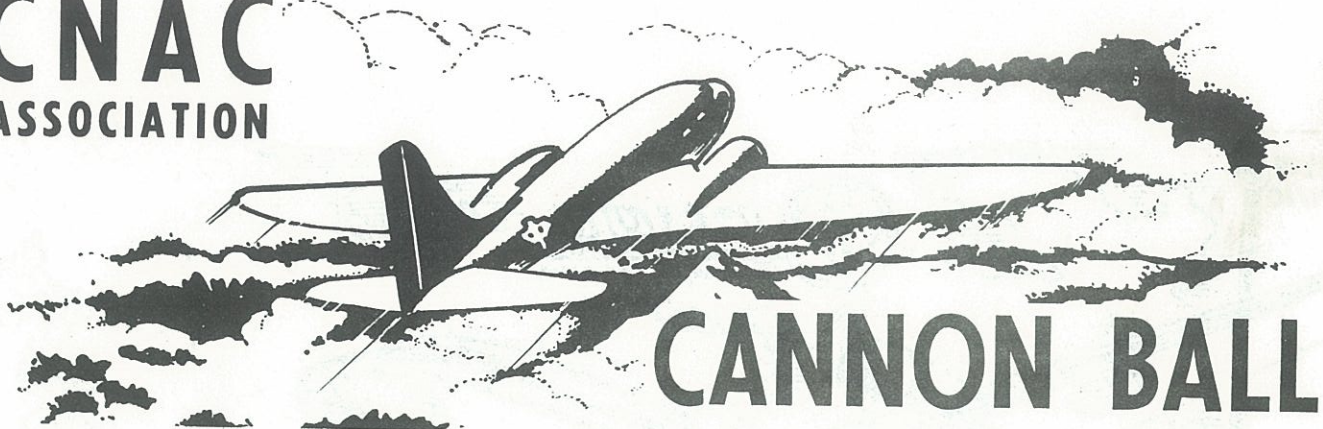


CNAC ASSOCIATION



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At the Ojai Reunion

Arthur N. Young was the speaker last July at the Ojai joint reunion of CNAC and the Flying Tigers. His subject: "Behind the Scenes in China Aviation".

Besides being Financial Adviser to China Mr. Young had a long connection with aviation in China and with both organizations. In 1932 as desired by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and Finance Minister T. V. Soong he negotiated the arrangements for the coming to China of the civilian group headed by retired Colonel Jack Jouett to train military flyers.

During the war he was a director of CNAC and active in its affairs. At the time of Pearl Harbor he negotiated with India arrangements for the Hump route. Also he drafted the agreements for the Flying Tigers and helped to procure their planes and equipment and facilities in Burma.

His Ojai speech told of incidents not generally known in the course of these activities, while working closely with W. L. Bond, the Pan-American organization and General Claire Chennault. He lived for some time in the house with both men in Chungking.

CNAC Elections

President
Vice Pres

Jules Watson

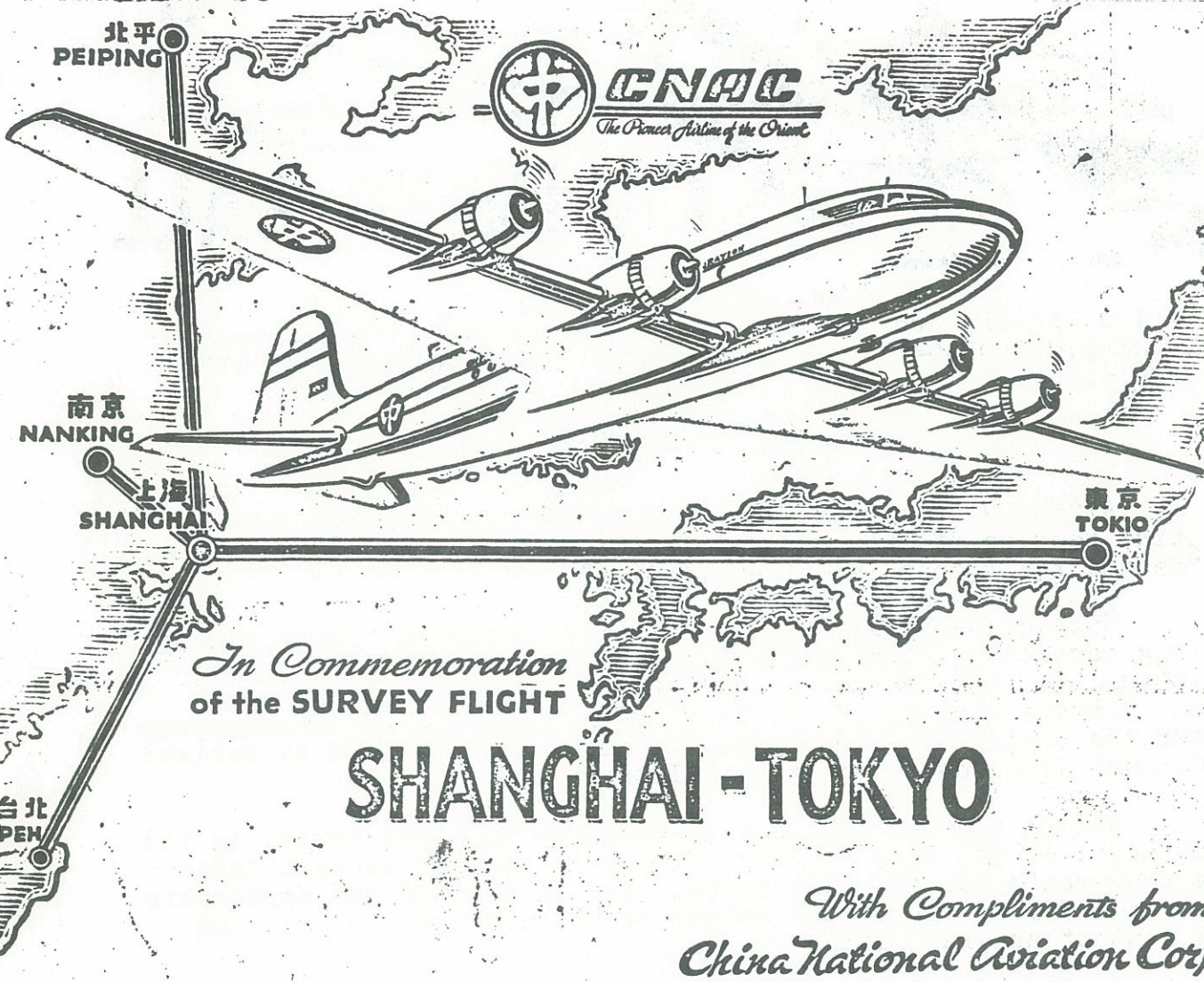
Joe Michaels ✓

Felix Smith ✓

Treasurer

Bob Rengo

Jim Dalby was appointed Chairman of a new historical committee



中國線試航紀念

中國航空公司敬贈

In Commemoration
of the SURVEY FLIGHT

SHANGHAI - TOKYO

*With Compliments from
China National Aviation Corporation*

China National Aviation Corporation

takes great pleasure in announcing
its forthcoming Shanghai-Tokyo-Shanghai direct air service. Immediately after its survey flight into Tokyo, CNAC will start a regular and reliable service linking China and Japan for the first time in its history. The most comfortable and dependable CNAC 4-engine Skymasters will be put into this service. With the existing CNAC vast network and the forthcoming CNAC Tokyo service, all the major cities of China will be brought within your reach in a matter of hours. Itineraries of three-day, six-day and 12-day tours to visit Peiping, Nanking, Tsingtao, Taiwan, etc., special excursion fares and all way connecting flights are carefully planned and made available to you for your touring pleasure. Modern hotel accommodations, tasty meals and comfortable ground transportation will all be taken care of for your travelling comfort. So travel by CNAC and make your vacation a most memorable one. For further details please consult with CNAC agent who will always be at your service.

I recieved a wonderful letter in January. It contains the best news I have recieved in a long time. If we were the arms and legs of CNAC The brain and especially the heart of CNAC was W.L. Bond. His letter speaks for itself. I have taken the liberty of reproducing it completely.

W. L. BOND
WARRENTON, VIRGINIA

Jan 2, 1978

Dear Reg:

It is always nice to hear from one of the old gang. They were a great and fine group. I am happy to hear that things are going well for you. I am now eighty-four years old and I have no complaints. I am in much better health than I was when we last were together. My heart has not bothered me in a number of years. One of my best memories of you is when I was stretched out on the floor of the bar in Columbia Country Club in Shanghai and you were working over me trying to get my heart back.

back to its normal rhythm. They
 did many peculiar things for
 that. I remember a heart specialist
 in Washington who used a highly
 starched napkin over his, so it
 would not slip and pulled the hell
 out of my tongue. Another specialist
 in Jacksonville pressed on the
 side of my neck. Rich pushed my
 stomach up under my rib cage.

I am also a garrulous old man

You pressed on my eyes. I remember
 Woody said, "Jesus Doctor, do you
 have to that." They all seemed
 to work for one reason or another.
 My health is really fine now. I
 am a little deaf I am not as
 strong as I was and I get tired
 more quickly. But who doesn't at 84.

Of course there are certain other
 infirmities. Both of my boys are doing
 alright. One is the head of J.H.H. and
 the other teaches at a good school, two
 grandsons and two granddaughters. My wife
 takes good care of me. That's all. W.L.B.

In Memorium
Ernest "Bus" Loane

Bus was born in Presque Isle, Maine, March 11, 1917. He entered the Airforce and was graduated from Kelly field. In 1940 he went out to the Orient as an instructor with the AVG. He successively went to CNAC, then CATC after the war. When CAT formed after defection he flew with them. He came back to the US to join the Flying Tyger Line. He retired a couple of years ago. In 1977 he became a member of the Silver Tiger Club.

Jeanne and he had 4 children, two born in Shanghai E.W. "Pete", and Bob. David and Stephen followed back in the US. We all knew Bus Loane. He was at every CNAC meeting from the first in 1954, including most of the meetings of the New York Regional meetings. No snow storm could keep him and Jeanne away. It is superfluous to say that we were always happy to see them. No One of us was as friendly and sincere. He participated. His presence "made" our local gettogethers in New York. We all loved him so.

Cyril Pinkava

On February 1, 1978, Cyril Pinkava, age 59, passed away in Hyannis on Cape Cod. He was a native of Bayonne, N.J. In World War II he was a Captain. He came with CNAC and then was employed by Air America in Tokyo - as a navigator until he retired 5 years ago. He was survived by his wife Adelaide.

ROBERT PRESCOTT

Bob Prescott started with Navy, and went to AVG. He then came to CNAC as a pilot until the end of the war. At that time he proposed a Freight Airline and was told it was not practical. Consequently he started the Flying Tiger Line which was eminently successful. At one time it might have been said he was the most unlikely to accomplish this, but this did not take into account the man behind the happy go lucky man we knew at the reunions.

He was a man of many facets, we were fortunate to know him intimately. Much of the success of the CNAC-AVG Reunions was due to his support. No one could have been a better friend. I do not know of any reunion he did not make even last July when he was so ill.

The Cornball

Someone called this a corney publication(in jest,I hope)I agree with this appellation.The Cannonball is a cornball.It is a catch as catch can collection of nostalgia and news put together between patients.It's fun and there is a feeling of fulfillment (or at least a relief when I get a copy finished) This year I didn't get my tape recorded to the Reunion so I need a little help.Your biographical sketches and stories are welcome.I still have material for a couple issues but if you have a storey write it out or dictate it onto a cassette. Cannonball....Cornball--Anyway it has been a ball.

STANLEY A. MILLER (Capt.), Graford, Texas (CNAC, Calcutta, Dinjan, Shanghai) has photos in this newsletter also. "Returned to states in 1947 - Civil Aviation to 1951. 1951 to 1960 Instructor Pilot & Supervisor 3306 Pilot Trng. Sq. (Contract Primary) Bainbridge Air Base, T-6, T-28, T-37 Jet - Operated by Southern Airways - 1960-1963 Southern Airways (Airline based in Atlanta, GA) 1 yr. First Officer, 2 yrs. Capt. - 1963-1975 Fort Walters, Tex. - US Army Rotary Wing Flight Training (Southern Airways Contract) - 3 yrs. Rotary Wing Flight Inst. - Balance Dir. of Flight of Ground Safety. Present - Reside at Possum Kingdom Lake."

Charles Gomes

Chuck was an engine man in Dinjan from 42 till late 44. He settled in Manhattan to run a gas station and parking lot till NYC rearranged the Lincoln Tunnel. He went to Miami where he owns a trailer park.

He came from Manhattan and went with PAA first to Miami and then CNAC.

Charles "Chuck" Branen

I was an army pilot in China during the war stationed at Kunming Chanyi Chungking and Nanking. After being hired by CNAC, I got my discharge in Shanghai and was issued passport #20 by Lee E. Williams, American Vice Consul. To the best of my knowledge Capt Pappyjacks and myself were the only army pilots to get discharged in China and fly for CNAC. Capt Pappyjack was flying a CNAC C46 leaving Hankow in the fall of 1946 with a load of American missionaries. His plane caught fire at around 9,000 burning a wing off, killing everyone except a small child which Capt "Moe" Cutburth brought back to the states. The incident was written up in Life Magazine.

At the time I was checked out as Captain by Dick Rossi I was #68 or 69 on the seniority list. I was right below Capt Everett Gardner and above me was Capt "Moe" Cutburth.

My most interesting experience was spending two weeks up in Lolo Country with Capt Potts Schmidt and two reporters from Life Magazine. The rumors were the Lolo's had the crew of a CNAC C47 and were holding them for ransom. We dropped salt, rice and money to the local chiefs only to find the plane had crashed with no survivors. I believe Capt Kit Carson was also on the mission.

**Child Born
On Flight
Over Sian**

4/28/48
A bouncing Chinese baby girl was born in a C-46 freight-plane of the Civil Air Transport flying 8,000 feet above a town near Sian, Capt. Bus Loane, pilot of the aircraft, reported yesterday.

Capt. Loane believes this is the first case of a birth taking place aboard an airliner in China. He said both mother and child are doing well at Lanchow.

The birth took place aboard the airplane last Wednesday on a flight from Harkow past Sian to Lanchow. The pilot wrote out the birth certificate.

Capt. Loane rose to the freight-plane up to 11,000 feet to steady it while the child was being delivered in the tail section of the airplane. The mother, Mrs. Zee Ping, wife of a CAT employee at Lanchow, walked off the CAT plane at Lanchow without any assistance.

Reg Farrer, Editor
CNAC News Letter
132 Gifford Avenue
Jersey City, New Jersey

Dear Reg:

Thank you for the recent issue of the Cannon Ball

It is newsy, rememoration and libel.

And if everybody paid their dues in full you could publish a a parallel to Playboy in 60 pages of slick and make a down payment on Hefner's publishing house.

So, I'll pay up - because I think you've got a good thing going - and make a contribution when you need something.

So many things happened that if you got full response you would need an editorial staff to lay it out.

We had characters innumerable who created legends on a daily basis, to mention a couple, Jimmy Scoff, Fuzzy Ball, Cliff Groh, Ace Richards and a nut named Hockswender who had never flown a plane in his life until checked out by an unnamed CNAC pilot - and promptly put the plane in the river---

They livened discussions, made people mad and left memories of events hilarious and noteworthy. They might even have made a bit of history.

We could identify some as ...the Karaya Road incident... the Pubic Bonfire (unprintable)...incident....the Case of the Missing Airplane...etc...etc....

How Gold Was Smuggled is an old, oft repeated escapade, and herewith is one of many - the names are omitted to protect the guilty/

Best to you,

CHL
C. H. Laughlin

1438 Robbia
Coral Gables, Fla., 33146

8

My name is Jones, Archibald E. I am a recent employee of Seanack, picked up on waivers from the China Tigers - and a hot pilot - for a beginner. Seanack is a fly-by-night specializing in the transport of goodies calculated to better a war effort for the allies. I fly evenings because the highways are less congested, and besides I am a pure and authentic coward allergic to surprises - and bullets. And the Japs are both - surprises and bullets.

Tonight is Dinjan. The evening is a Capricorn night, like the 30th of December 1943. The cargo craft is a C-47 numbered 83. At 19:15 hours I am scheduled to lift off for a three and a half hour to Kunming. The craft sags (sags?) with a 7,000 pound (I hope) load of crates and bags manifested as bronze animal crackers and horsehair sofas and bagels. How does anyone know what's in those boxes - including customs agent Smith, who has been told, it is rumored, to keep his sticky little fingers off certain items as detrimental to his health.

Hindustani customs officer Smith is interrogating the aircraft. Mostly he looks for gold. Sometimes he finds it. He swaggers over to me. "Captain," he sneers, "where have you got it this time?" His personality comes across like a baseball bat over the head. Smith caters to a Scottish accent. A burr with a lilt.

"Huh?" I say cautiously.

"Where'd you hide the stuff today, Captain," Smith snaps testily. Obviously his luck has been rotten lately.

"I got nothing 'cept what you see on the manifest MISTER Smith." It's a hot night in India, but a cold chill swims down my sweaty yellow streak. You never know about this guy. He likes to play games with his mice along with his hide-and-seek job.

Smith swaggers off. He had caught me with 31 shotgun shells one time and threatened me with capital punishment. I had insisted they were for a duck hunting friend and he had insisted they were the basis of a plot to assassinate Mahatma Ghandi. After I had whined and screamed for a half hour he let me off on an informal probation.

I turned to the crew chief. "You got something on this plane," I hissed.

"Goddalmighty, shaddup!" hollered the chief. "Do you want the whole country to know about this?"

"Well, I got to know," I blubbered. "After all I'm the guy who takes the rap if Smith finds anything."

"You fly this buggy to Kunming. The stuff's in a good place," says the chief sarcastically.

"Like where," I scream. "SUPPOSE, just suppose this thing gets lost or busts up someplace and I am the SOLE survivor. You want me to walk out without the loot - and besides, WHAT'S in it for me?"

"A-a-a-w, b--- sh--," howls the chief, "if you got to know it's wrapped up in a chamois in the oil tank."

I look suspiciously at old number 83. The right wing drops a bit. Would a few ounces of gold do that? "Okay," I mutter.

Smith comes sneaking up. "You're cleared, Captain." Doubt and skepticism are etched on his professional customs officer face.

Right wing drooping we roar off down the runway into the gloomy night. The usual number of backfires ensue. We count them. My Chinese co-pilot and I. Eleven - twelve. Silence. B-A-A-N-N-G! Thirteen. A bad number on a murky night. The engines settle down to a grinding, clanking roar - we're on our way.

At 14,000 feet we flatten out and stagger along with 135 knots indicated on the airspeed. The gauges read 180 - 210 and 55 - 75. Cylinder head and oil. The chief told me to pay no attention to these little trivialities - don't mean a thing. ~~It~~ Just get the thing out and leave him alone. My co-pilot is a hydraulic secretary. Named Ooomm Mwonng. Something. He understands 'GEAR - UPP!' and 'FLAPS-DOWNNN!'. He is also a dedicated fatalist, a mono-linguist and has his own little side line for making ends meet. He makes twice as much as I do.

The right engine burps occasionally and I entertain galling visions of gold bars dribbling through the entrails of the engine. That wouldn't do the gold any good and it wouldn't exactly invigorate the engine either. I got to get my mind on something pleasant, like where are we. It's got to be someplace hilly because drafts are bumping us up and down - about 1,500 feet per minute. The airspeed sags to 120 - then goes to 180. Mostly we ride the draft until we get down to about 13,000. At that point the seat begins to itch and we peer nervously out the window and inch the heading a bit to the south. Everest is 29,000 feet of jagged rock and ice a few inches to the north.

We tune the 'bird dog' to Kunming. The pointer swings around the compass a couple of times and bears vaguely in the direction where we estimate Wichita Falls might be. The fluorescents glow blue and reflect back off the cockpit glass. There is nothing outside except black, and a fuzzy cloud reflection from the exhausts. Mwonng (what a name) and I sit silent in a cocoon - thinking.

~~The time is 22:00. -- Kunming has got to be 45 minutes ahead.~~

The time is 22:00. Kunming has got to be 45 minutes ahead. I roll a trim tab over a couple of points, check the 'bird dog' and take a couple of drags out of the oxygen tube between my teeth. They tell me that too much of that stuff will blacken your teeth. Well, better black teeth than no oxygen. Without oxygen I see spots.

Little black dots zipping around on a white background. I'd rather have them on my teeth.

I am hearing Kunming radio - and I am thinking maybe I should holler down for a special clearance on account of I got a few ounces of gold in my oil tank. They would like that. It would be a first.

"Kunming radio," I holler, "this is Moneybags eight-three twenty miles (I'm guessing) out at angels (whoinhell dreamed up that terminology) eleven." And tired old Kunming radio comes back with some hash about what I got to do before they let me in. And we go back and forth with the usual routine about me letting down and approaching from down by the lake, except they give all of this in grid language and I got to keep looking at this silly chart with the K-28s and B-50s on it to figure out where I'm supposed to go. And if I don't, they tell me, they'll figure I'm a Jap bent on bombing the Hotel d'Europa and ruining R. W. Prescott's evening off.

We land on the long gravel Kunming strip with the usual crash - it always unnerves me to think of the gear coming up through the wings - right through that oil tank with the gold in it. We're waved into our parking slot and the rabble takes over. Forty coolies with flashlights invade us like hysterical city slickers stamping ants at a picnic.

The station agent shines a light in my face. "Grab a cup of coffee, Captain. We'll have your load on and you can be out of here before midnight," he says in impeccable English. I do hate these educated Chinese who speak better English than I do.

"Nossir!" I scream, "this plane can't go back tonight."

"Why not," he sneers, "you got here didn't you?"

"But...but," I stutters. This thing is getting out of hand. I don't even know who is supposed to pick up the loot. I look over the crowd of characters climbing through the cabin and over the wings. No gas is being loaded, but they check the tanks anyhow. And, I suppose, some disguised hoodlum could be fishing the loot out of the oil tank - yeah, sticking his hand down into 150 degree oil.

"Captain. Captain, go get your coffee. We'll have it ready when you get back." I look at the agent - and grin. I didn't want Yany part of this shenanigan anyhow. Thirty-one shotgun shells brought over in a brief case for a buddy to shoot a duck was enough smuggling for me anyhow. I'm in the Parker fountain pen league.

"Hey, One Hung Low," I hollers, "I'll be right back." And waltz off with a bit of light hearted alacrity for that lousy cup of coffee.

Local Meeting in New York

May 12, 1978 at the Lotus Eaters Restaurant on 5th Ave at 23rd St at 7:00 PM. This will be a combined meeting of CNAC and CAT. Parking is good at that time of the day in that area. The food is always good, and the company - only the best. This is the first combined meeting of the two associations. As is well known many of CNAC went with CAT after 1949 so we have much in common.

We invite all local CNAC and all others and their guests who want to make the trip. Please notify your Editor if you plan to attend. Local members will be notified again. Christy, Bob and Bill, TT and Frieda, Al, Margaret come on out.

CATC

Do anyone of you know where any of the ex CATC live. It seems that their effort should be recognized as part of the Aviation experience of China.

CAT

CAT has a young but very active and interested Association. They have reunions, local meetings and a newsletter. They have associate members and welcome the interest of CNAC.

United States China Policy

The following was taken from the Plain Truth Magazine of Feb 1978. This is the clearest exposition of what U S is doing in the Orient and in particular toward Taiwan, that I have read. It is edited by Garner Ted Armstrong and published by Ambassador College and is distributed free to all who request it. It has a religious background. It is highly literate. Its analysis of world affairs is accurate and highly informative. (Plain Truth, Pasadena, Calif, 91123)

U.S. Ally To Be Abandoned?

by Gene H. Hogberg
and Keith W. Stump

TAIWAN FACES GRIM FUTURE

In the eyes of many of the 16 million Chinese living on Taiwan, the handwriting is on the wall. The months and years ahead are to be filled with increased anxiety and concern over the future of their prosperous island republic, which lies just one hundred miles off the coast of Communist mainland China. The reason for their concern is obvious. The United States has embarked upon a clear course to come to complete terms with the government of the People's Republic in Peking, bitter foe of the Nationalist government which has controlled Taiwan and a few offshore islands since being driven into

Nationalist China, long a faithful ally of the United States, stands as the chief obstacle in Washington's drive for closer relations with Communist China. Will America cut the last links to Taiwan? If so, a political whirlwind may sweep Asia.

exile by the Communists in 1949. When diplomatic relations are established, the Nationalists will lose their last major ally and only real protector, the United States. They would then stand alone should the Communists ever decide to implement a "final solution" to the China problem.

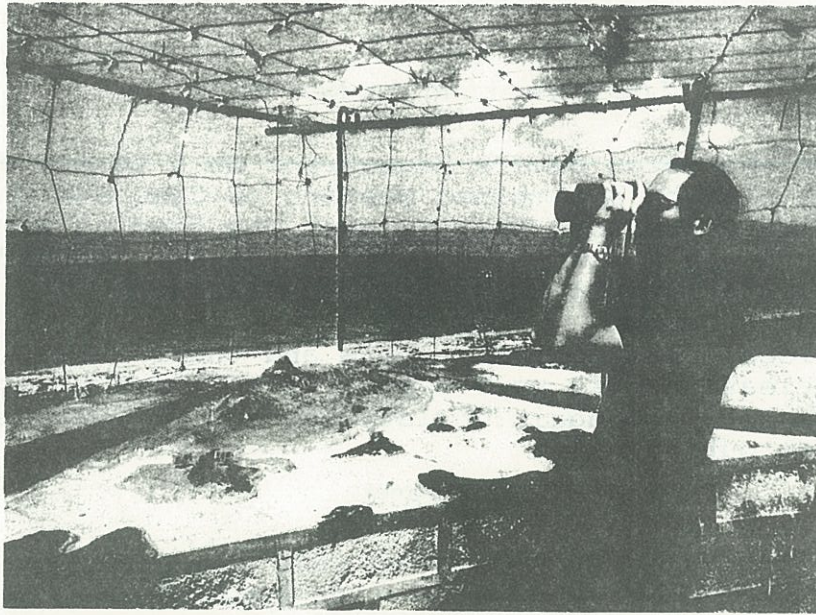
How do the leaders of the free Republic of China feel about the impending shift in America's role in this strategic part of the world? We went to Taiwan to find out.

Dr. Tsai Talks

Seated next to us in the spacious conference room of Taiwan's Institute of International Relations, Dr. Tsai Wei-ping, director of the 16-year-old think tank located just outside Taipei, reviewed for us the difficult times on Taiwan in the years immediately following the Communist takeover of the Chinese mainland by Mao Tse-tung in 1949.

We had traveled out to the Institute to tour its facilities and elicit the views of its staff of able scholars on a wide range of topics of concern throughout Asia today. The Institute, a quasi-official organization, is one of the world's principal centers for the study of communism. It is visited by scholars from around the world for purposes of study and research. Its massive archives contain every issue of Peking's official *People's Daily* published since 1953. The Institute also monitors and transcribes all major Communist Chinese radio broadcasts.

Dr. Tsai told us that even by 1955—six years after retreating Nationalist Chinese forces under Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek had relocated on the mountainous 200-mile-long island—the average coolie (laborer) on Taiwan had no shoes. His shirts were cut from coarse gunnysacks. Poverty was the rule rather than the exception.



NATIONALIST OUTPOST on Quemoy island affords view of Communist mainland. Along with Matsu, Quemoy was heavily bombarded from the mainland in 1958, and still remains a bone of contention between Peking and Taipei.

But in the more than 20 years since that time, Dr. Tsai observed, the hardworking, energetic Chinese on Taiwan have literally "changed hell into heaven."

We had already seen evidence of Taiwan's amazing transformation the day before, beginning with our arrival at Taipei's nearby Sungshan airport.

A traffic-choked metropolis of two million people, booming Taipei has one of the fastest changing skylines in Asia. High-rise office buildings, banks, hotels, department stores, apartments and condominiums are springing up everywhere. The people walking on Taipei's broad boulevards appear to be about as well dressed as the prosperous Japanese. The gunnysacks of years past have been replaced by clothing not unlike that which can be seen on any contemporary American street. This should come as no surprise, since much of the clothing worn by Americans these days is made in Taiwan.

"Japanese-style" Growth

Often overshadowed by the publicity given to Japan's phenomenal postwar recovery, Taiwan boasts an

The authors recently returned from a three-week, six-nation fact-finding trip through Asia. This is the third in their series of reports.

impressive economic miracle of its own. Since 1953, Taiwan's gross national product (after adjusting for inflation) has been growing at an average rate of more than eight percent a year. Per capita income reached \$809 in 1976, up by over nine percent from the previous year and second highest in Asia after Japan. By 1982, it is expected to top \$1300.

The annual increase in industrial output, which has averaged over 14 percent since 1953, jumped by 24 percent in 1976. Total trade in the same year reached \$16 billion. Taiwan's two-way trade with the United States hit nearly \$5 billion—twelve times larger than U.S. trade with mainland China. On a per capita basis, Taiwan's total trade exceeds that of Communist China 65 times! Even in absolute terms, Taiwan's trade volume still tops that of the mainland. (Communist China, with an area of 3.7 million square miles, has a population of about 850 million. Taiwan, with an area of only 14,000 square miles, has barely over 16 million people.)

Interestingly, of all countries that have received U.S. economic aid, the Republic of China has been one of the few success stories. In 1965, Dr. Tsai pointed out to us, Taiwan became the first such country to be judged capable of guiding its own economic future, and U.S. assistance was terminated. Economists have often pointed to Taiwan's example as a model for developing countries.

Diplomatic Cloud

But now, all this hard-won prosperity has come under the shadow of an ominous diplomatic cloud. As in the case of South Korea (*The Plain Truth*, December 1977), Taiwan's economic success has been made possible in large measure by a U.S. guarantee of military protection.

Tragically, the loss of this guarantee now seems inevitable.

It has become increasingly apparent that the Carter Administration is intent upon eventual full diplomatic recognition of the Communist dictatorship on the Chinese mainland as the "sole legitimate government of China." However, Peking has set three requirements which Washington must meet before such relations can be established: 1) Withdrawal of U.S. diplomatic recognition from Taiwan. 2) Termination of the 1954 Mutual Security Treaty between Washington and Taipei. 3) Withdrawal of the remaining U.S. military personnel from Taiwan. (There are 1,100 American military left on the island, down from 10,000 in 1972.)

These terms, assert the Chinese Communists, are not negotiable. The establishment of diplomatic relations must be on their terms—or not at all.

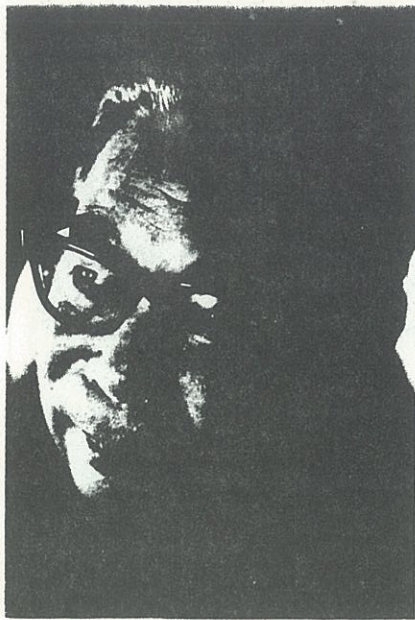
In return for these concessions, Washington would presumably acquire greater leverage against Moscow in the international game of détente, and prevent Peking from seeking a reconciliation with the Soviets—a prospect that sends shudders down the spines of U.S. policy planners.

But for the Chinese on Taiwan, the implications could be disastrous.

Historic Change

The current lines of America's China policy are a continuation of the venture launched by President Richard Nixon in July 1971, when he dispatched Henry Kissinger on a secret mission to Peking, terminating 20 years of Sino-American hostility. A by-product of that trip was a series of diplomatic setbacks for the Nationalist government. In the same year, Taipei was ousted from its United Nations seat in favor of the Peking regime. Moreover, country after country began severing relations with free China. Today, only 23 countries have full diplomatic relations with Taiwan, down from about 70 prior to 1971.

The Kissinger visit paved the way for President Nixon's historic trip to China in February 1972—the first American president ever to be received by a Chinese government.



TAIWAN'S PREMIER Chiang Ching-kuo is the son and political heir of the late Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek.

During that "week that changed the world," Nixon and Chinese Premier Chou En-lai signed the so-called "Shanghai Communique," affirming that there is only one China and that "Taiwan is a part of China." The cryptic communique, however, did not go as far as to say which government—that in Peking or that in Taipei—had the rightful claim to both parts.

A year later, the U.S. and Communist China opened "liaison offices" in each other's capitals. And although Washington continues to formally recognize the Nationalist Chinese government, Taiwan's ambassador to the U.S., James C. H. Shen, reportedly has more trouble seeing Carter Administration officials than does the head of the Communist Chinese liaison office.

The death in April 1975 of Nationalist Chinese leader Chiang Kai-shek—a longtime friend of the U.S.—prompted widespread speculation that Washington might at long last feel free to change its long-standing policy toward Taiwan. But a radical policy change has been slower in coming than expected. President Ford's trip to Peking eight months after Chiang's death produced no agreements and no joint communique was even issued.

In a major speech on Asia before the Asia Society in New York City last June—in which all mention of U.S. security guarantees for Taiwan

was omitted—U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance conceded that "progress [toward full recognition of Peking] may not be easy or immediately apparent." Yet he affirmed that it is nevertheless "a central part" of U.S. foreign policy. Vance's subsequent low-profile visit to Peking in August brought no breakthrough in the negotiations, but some "solid advances" were reportedly made.

Political observers see the slow pace of progress as a result of Mr. Carter's reluctance at this time to confront Congress over yet another highly controversial issue (in addition to the proposed Panama Canal treaties) which may prove to be an uphill fight.

The View from Taipei

The flurry of American diplomatic activity toward Peking in the past six years has puzzled many on Taiwan. "Why is your country changing a winning game?" Dr. Tsai asked us. He assured us that Washington has little to gain and much to lose by recognizing Peking and "derecognizing" the Republic of China.

Aside from knotty commercial and legal concerns over the fate of trade, loans, private investment and the like, the Taiwanese see numerous drawbacks to U.S. recognition of Peking. Most notably, it would be the first time a nation friendly to the U.S. would be denied recognition.

The Republic of China has proven to be a long-standing and faithful ally of the United States. During World War II, Chiang Kai-shek refused Japan's offer of a separate peace and continued to hold at bay over two million Japanese who otherwise would have been fighting Americans in the western Pacific. During the Vietnam War, Taiwan made ground facilities available to the United States.

The Chinese on Taiwan find it difficult to reconcile the Carter Administration's pledge to restore morality to the conduct of its international affairs with its plans to abandon free China and recognize the Communist regime in Peking—a "1984-style" government which, according to reliable records, liquidated more than 60 million people

after its occupation of the mainland in 1949. Peking, moreover, as recent news dispatches reveal, continues to employ political executions to deal with its enemies. Recognizing Peking in the face of its deplorable human rights record, Taiwanese feel, would represent a flagrant betrayal of American moral principles and would be a giant step backward for the cause of freedom.

Taiwan's Foreign Minister Shen Chang-huan, in a cable to Nationalist China diplomats in the wake of Vance's Asia Society speech in June, declared: "Should the United States choose to recognize the Chinese Communists by abandoning the long-standing friendly relations with the Republic of China, it would not only seriously damage the rights and interests of the Republic of China and jeopardize the security of the 16 million Chinese on Taiwan, but would also violate the lofty ideals upon which the American nation was built and the moral principles emphasized by the Carter Administration, and thus erode the credibility of the United States among the free peoples the world over. Such a policy would not only be unhelpful to the cause of world peace, but may lead to new threats of war."

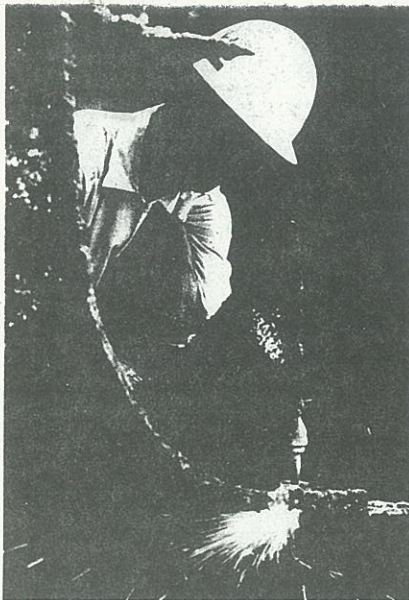
And it would certainly deal a severe blow to the morale of the Taiwanese people—to say nothing of placing a huge damper on the Republic as an area of safe, sure economic investment.

Despite such pleas, many Taiwanese privately feel that moral arguments of this nature are unlikely to dissuade President Carter's policy planners.

Security Treaty

In the wake of the original Kissinger-Nixon moves, Japan rather suddenly severed diplomatic relations with Taipei and recognized Peking in 1972. Tokyo, however, has maintained relations with Taipei on a de facto basis. In fact, it conducts far more business with Taiwan than it does with Peking.

President Carter has pointed to the so-called "Japanese Formula" as a possible answer to the Taiwan dilemma. The fallacy in this thinking, Taiwanese are quick to point out, is



SHIPBUILDING and textiles are among Taiwan's most important industries.

that Japan has no mutual defense treaty with Taiwan!

The U.S.-Taiwan Mutual Defense Treaty of 1954 obligates America to intervene on the side of the Nationalists should Peking launch a Taiwan offensive. The pact was concluded in the aftermath of the Korean war as part of Washington's strategy to stabilize the Pacific region and to provide security for the free nations of Asia behind the U.S. defense shield.

The problem now for Washington, according to Dr. Tsai, an international lawyer, is that the treaty is of a permanent nature, containing no termination date. It can justifiably be terminated—after one year's notice—only if one of the parties repeatedly fails to live up to the terms of the agreement.

The problem again (for Washington) is that Taiwan has been a completely faithful ally throughout the 24 years of the treaty. It has conscientiously fulfilled all its obligations and responsibilities under the pact. As a result, the U.S. has no legal grounds for renouncing the treaty.

The Taiwanese point out that the much touted Shanghai Communiqué of 1972, which is not a treaty and has absolutely no binding legal status, is seemingly being given precedence over the U.S.-Taiwan Mutual Defense Treaty, which is a formal legal document in accordance with international law.

How to unilaterally invalidate

America's undeniable obligations poses a difficult problem for Washington. One proposed solution that has been suggested is that the U.S. might simply derecognize Taiwan and then assert that since Taiwan "no longer exists," treaties with that nation are no longer in force. But the blatant immorality of such diplomatic sleight of hand was apparently too much even for Washington's sinologists, and the idea has reportedly been rejected.

Another approach—more promising in its prospects for adoption but equally questionable in its moral implications—is that of replacing the defense treaty with a congressional resolution expressing America's "deep concern" that the Taiwan question be settled peacefully. Such a resolution would be accompanied by "private verbal assurances" from the Communist Chinese that they will not use force against Taiwan.

The Chinese on Taiwan, however, are justifiably convinced that a weak-kneed congressional "resolution of concern" would be no replacement for a defense pact in time of war. Furthermore, Peking, which views the Taiwan question as strictly an "internal matter" would probably never give—and certainly would never bind itself to—any such promises of nonbelligerence.

If the United States were to go back on its commitment to Taiwan, Dr. Tsai asked us, how would America's other allies, who are bound to similar treaties, react? What would the word of the United States be worth? What would be the impact upon Australia and New Zealand (linked with the U.S. in the ANZUS pact), Japan, the Philippines, Israel, and the NATO alliance?

American credibility, Dr. Tsai warned, could suffer a blow from which it would never recover—a credibility loss not only in the eyes of its allies, but also in those of its enemies. Does the U.S. have the strength and the will to keep its word, he asked?

Invasion?

We then asked Dr. Tsai what we felt to be the crucial question of the entire discussion: If the United States decides to push ahead with the recognition of Peking and abrogate its

defense pact with Taiwan, did he feel Peking would actually try to take Taiwan by force?

"Of course," he replied without hesitation. "And they will move much quicker than you might think!"

Why? A swift takeover of Taiwan, he believed, would greatly enhance Peking's role as a world power and give her increased stature in the eyes of fellow Communists the

world over. In addition, Peking might feel compelled to act before the Kremlin could reach a counterbalancing rapprochement with Taiwan, which the Soviets would undoubtedly attempt. By establishing a foothold on the strategic island, the Soviet Union could cover the entire southeastern flank of Communist China.

Despite these considerations, Secretary of State Vance has repeatedly stated that the United States expects Peking and Taiwan to resolve their differences peaceably. President Carter has said that the goal of U.S. policy is normalization of relations with Peking as well as a "peaceful life" for the Taiwanese.

The *China News*, an English-language newspaper on Taiwan, replies that Carter must surely know that it is impossible for the Republic of China and Communist China to settle their insurmountable differences peaceably through negotiations. A Taiwan government pamphlet we picked up further asserts that "the struggle for China and the Chinese people is final and to the death."

Taiwan's Foreign Minister Shen adds: "I must reiterate that the government and the people of the Republic of China will in no circumstances enter into any negotiation with the Chinese Communists."

The Taiwanese emphasize that no amount of "hoping for" and "expressing interest in" a peaceful set-



HIGHLY TRAINED and well-equipped, Taiwan's 500,000-man army is prepared to fight to the death in the defense of freedom and democracy.

tlement of Chinese differences will change Peking's determination to "liberate" Taiwan, by force of arms if necessary.

And these are not just the words of the *Nationalist* Chinese. In a speech delivered in Peking last August 12—just ten days before Secretary Vance's visit—Chairman Hua Kuo-feng declared: "We are determined to liberate Taiwan. When and how is China's affair." Communist China's second-ranking official, Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien, stated a month earlier that "as to when and in what way the Chinese people are to liberate their sacred territory of Taiwan is entirely China's internal affair, which brooks no interference from other countries."

In the light of statements such as these, Taiwan's *China News* noted recently: "Jimmy Carter has said in effect that the United States doesn't have to be anti-Communist any longer. [We] are compelled to disagree with President Carter's analysis. If we were to abandon anti-Communism, we wouldn't survive for long."

Speaking at the close of the fifth Sino-American Conference on Mainland China (June 1976) in Taipei, Dr. Tsai summed up the situation with these words: "The Mutual Defense Treaty between the United States and the Republic of China has served to preserve peace in the West Pacific area during the last twenty years, and there is little or no reason to doubt that, so long

as it remains in force, it will continue to serve that purpose."

Without it, war across the Formosa Strait is a virtual certainty. And it will be a bloody one: The Taiwanese—determined, well-armed, with a powerful air force—would put up a valiant defense. But how long could a nation of 16 million people withstand an enemy of 850 million should Peking relentlessly

push for victory disregarding all losses?

Appeasement?

Many Taiwanese see Washington's seemingly irrational policy of pursuing relations with Peking on Peking's own terms as a policy of appeasement—a policy which will encourage Communist Chinese aggression in the same way Neville Chamberlain's appeasement of Hitler encouraged Nazi aggression.

"But there is no need for America to appease China," wrote veteran political observer George Will recently. "There is no evidence that China, if unappeased, will turn its policy inside out and seek rapprochement with the Soviet Union. Either China needs close relations with America to counter the Soviet threat, or it doesn't. If it does, it needs those relations more than it needs to humiliate America over Taiwan. If China doesn't need close relations with America, America can't purchase close relations with China by abasing itself and sacrificing a small nation."

In short: What would the U.S. get out of a formal recognition of Peking that it doesn't already have?

Nothing concrete, as far as most diplomatic experts can see—only the expected "benefit" of increased "leverage" in the bitter Sino-Soviet dispute, in which not a few say the U.S. should completely avoid entanglement in the first place.

(Continued on page 44)

Note : Re George Robertson

One of the future issues of the Cannonball will be devoted to the stories and adventures of the most colorful one of us all, George "Robbie" "Hogleg" Robertson. Would you all send in your stories about him. Anything! Fact or fiction. Do it right away so I can get it going. P.S. This section has been cut out of this issue of the Cannonball which was sent to him, so he will not know what we have in store for him.

Actually, within the framework of Oriental ethics, a yielding to Peking's demands for scuttling Taiwan—though it would serve Peking's purposes—would also earn Peking's contempt. Abandoning an ally, even though it be Taiwan, would be a demeaning loss of face for the United States before the Chinese. Thus America would end up in a far worse state!

American officials have already bowed and scraped a great deal in their blossoming relations with Peking. "During the last five years," observes George Ball, the former U.S. Undersecretary of State, "in addition to the [August 1977] Vance trip, there were nine visits by Henry A. Kissinger to Peking, while two

American Presidents also made the arduous pilgrimage to that far-off capital. Meanwhile, not one Chinese official of any standing has deigned to visit us barbarians in Washington. Are we, or are we not, vassals of the Middle Kingdom? We certainly act as though we were."

Borrowed Time

Derecognition of Taiwan—a part of the growing specter of U.S. retreat from East Asia—could well prove to be a gross miscalculation with far-reaching implications for the U.S. and the world at large.

But despite expected congressional haggling, most observers see recognition of Peking as inevitable. For Taiwan, the handwriting is on the wall.

"Insofar as the Republic of China is concerned," pleaded Ambassador Shen in a speech before Town Hall of Los Angeles last June, "we are not asking for any special favor or privilege. All we want is to be allowed to remain as a member of the free world and to preserve our way of life as a free people."

Will Washington be able to find some formula whereby relations with Peking can be further developed without selling Taiwan down the river? Taiwanese are not hopeful. And the one big question in their minds is: "What have we done to deserve this?" □

The PLAIN TRUTH February 1978

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