



Taiwan Communiqué

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President Chen under fire

During the past two months, the ferocious campaign against President Chen Shui-bian by the pan-blue media and the two pan-blue parties in Taiwan, the Kuomintang and Peoples First Party (PFP), has continued unabatedly. In our previous issue of *Taiwan Communiqué* we described the first recall motion against the President, which failed on 27 June 2006, and the start of the “red-ants” demonstrations by disaffected former DPP member Shih Ming-teh (see our open letter to Mr. Shih in *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 110).

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In September, the KMT and PFP launched a second recall motion in the legislature, which failed to pass the Legislative Yuan on 13 October 2006. During September and October, the demonstrations led by Mr. Shih continued off and on, sometimes gathering large crowds during the weekends, but petering out to only a few dozen people during the rest of the time. The “red tide” eventually fizzled out after October 10th, when demonstrators did disrupt the National Day celebrations in Taipei.

Thus after mid-October, life in Taipei started to get back to normal. However, matters flared up again in early November, when First Lady Wu Shu-chen was indicted on corruption charges.



President Chen and his wheelchair-bound wife Wu Shu-chen

First Lady Wu Shu-chen indicted

On Friday, 3 November 2006, Taipei District prosecutors issued indictments of First Lady Wu Shu-chen and three presidential aides on charges of forging receipts for a total of NT\$ 14.8 mln. (equivalent to US\$ 449,600) in the so-called “Discretionary State Affairs Fund.”

On Sunday, 5 November 2006, President Chen gave a televised speech to the nation, in which he offered apologies to the people of the island for the damage the case caused to the nation’s image, but denied that he and his wife had diverted money for their own use. He argued that the case stemmed from fuzzy requirements and accounting practices in the administration of the Fund, which is primarily designed to cover expenditures of secret diplomatic missions.

While the case dealt another blow to the President’s prestige, the DPP circled the wagons and stood fast in defense of the President: when the KMT and PFP initiated yet another recall motion on the Legislative Yuan, it was defeated on 24 November 2006 when it did not achieved the required 2/3 majority in the legislature. Only two DPP members broke rank, but they resigned from the parliament rather than having to vote for or against the President.

The “refuse-to-lose” crowd

As stated in a recent Wall Street Journal article by Therese Shaheen, former Chairwoman of the Board of the American Institute in Taiwan: “*The roots of the current political turmoil in Taiwan lie not in the allegations of corruption against Chen Shui-bian, his family, and his friends. Rather, they lie in the huge changes that the Taiwanese president has sought to introduce during his six years in office*” (*Wall Street Journal*, “*Taiwan’s Refuse-to-lose Crowd*”, 8 November 2006).

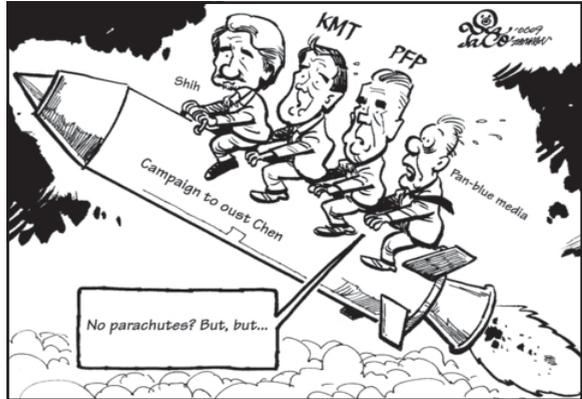
President Chen and the DPP came to power only in 2000, after some 55 years of continuous rule by the mainlander-dominated Kuomintang, much of it under a repressive martial law.

President Chen and his wife were part of the island’s democratic movement of native Taiwanese, which fought hard to end martial law and one-party rule of the mainlander-dominated Kuomintang. Mrs. Chen is wheelchair-bound, paralyzed from the waist down after being hit by a truck in 1985 during a post-campaign rally in the southern city of Tainan. Many in the DPP believe it was an attempt by the ruling KMT’s secret police to silence the nascent opposition: the driver of the truck was never prosecuted.

Still, Mr. Chen and the DPP persevered, the democratic transition took place in 1991-92, Mr. Chen was elected Taipei mayor in 1994, and – beyond expectations – he was elected President in 2000. But the Kuomintang and allied forces refused to accept Mr. Chen’s legitimacy as president, and the Kuomintang pulled out all reserves to obstruct and frustrate any initiative by the new government aimed at reforms, leading to a drawn-out political stalemate.

Copyright: Taipei Times

Mr. Chen came into office on an “anti-corruption/clean government” ticket, and in the first few years – particularly under recently-deceased Justice Minister Chen Ting-nan – ran a clean ship. But gradually, some people in his government were tainted by the same corrupt practices which had permeated the earlier Kuomintang regimes.



Anti-Chen rocket with Shih Ming-teh, the KMT and PFP. Pan-blue media: "No parachutes...?"

Still, the present situation requires the rule of law, not mob

rule. Or as stated so eloquently by Mrs. Shaheen in her Wall Street Journal article: “*In taking to the streets, some Taiwanese are abandoning respect for due process and the rule of law — values that should lie at the heart of any democracy. The heat and the intensity of the anti-Chen movement leaves a sense of riveted frenzy, where the mob — not process — will rule. The highest democratic aim ought to be to protect the voice of each individual citizen, not to project the roar of the crowd, however righteous.*”

A strong, democratic Taiwan is not only best for the people of Taiwan, but for the region and for the world. In this crucial period of its growth, Taiwan’s democracy deserves the support and encouragement of the international community.”

Mayor Ma runs into similar problems

Until recently, Taipei mayor Ma Ying-jeou — who concurrently serves as the chairman of the opposition Kuomintang party – was benefiting politically from the scandals which had swirled around President Chen. However, in mid-November 2006 the prosecutor’s

office in Taipei questioned Mr. Ma about misuse of a similar official fund in the mayor's office. Mr. Ma subsequently acknowledged that forged receipts had been submitted to claim for expenses, but dismissed the case as "an administrative flaw."

The case led to a significant drop in the mayor's popularity, which was up in the 70% range when he assumed the chairmanship of the KMT a year ago: by mid-November 2006, it was down to 43%, and was still dropping rapidly. Mr. Ma has said that if indicted, he will step down as chairman of the Kuomintang party.

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Taiwan Communiqué comment: *The whole episode is a reminder that Taiwan's democracy is still very young and very fragile.*



Mayor Ma Ying-jeou: "Look, my anti-corruption puppet is going to prove my innocence."

While no conclusions should be drawn until a verdict is in, it is clear that President Chen should have kept his wife and others around him on a tighter leash, and avoid even the impression of any malpractices. Still – in spite of the scandals swirling around the president – the DPP has run a much cleaner government than any previous government in Taiwan's history. The difference is that it has been more transparent, and therein lies the hope for the future.

With the recent indictments, the judicial branch has shown that it can, and will, prosecute cases no matter how high up in the government. This is in stark contrast with the past, when cases were avoided because they were "politically sensitive".

*A case in point is PFP Chairman James Soong, who is reported to have pocketed some US\$ 400 mln. in the purchase of the four Lafayette frigates from France. Former French foreign minister Roland Dumas has stated publicly that the secretariat of the Kuomintang received US\$ 400 mln. in the deal (see: **James Soong, follow the money** in Taiwan Communiqué no. 105 — <http://www.taiwandc.org/twcom/105-no2.htm#money>) But the judicial branch in Taiwan still has to press charges against him.*

Thus an active and independent judiciary would be good for democracy, provided it is indeed independent: according to some reports, too many of Taiwan's prosecutors still owe their allegiance to the Kuomintang and PFP; many are reported to have become prosecutor in the 1990s, when it was easy for retiring military officers to make the transition to civilian life by taking a cursory exam for prosecutor.

Thus, Taiwan's democracy can only be considered out of danger if the system of government can be restructured towards an efficient system in which there are clear divisions of power and responsibilities. A thorough revision of the "ROC" Constitution – which dates from the Kuomintang's rule of China in the 1940s – is clearly needed. It is also essential that the Kuomintang and its allies stop their infatuation with China, start identifying with Taiwan itself, and learn how to be a responsible and loyal opposition.

Mayoral elections coming up

On 9 December 2006 voters in Taiwan's two major cities, Taipei and Kaohsiung, will go to the polls to elect a mayor and city councils in the two cities. While these are local elections, they will be a significant indicator of how the populace perceives the two main parties after the recent fracas over alleged corruption on both the Presidential office as well as the Taipei mayoral office of KMT chairman Ma Ying-jeou.

Taipei: a three-way race – again

Until the end of October 2006, the Taipei mayoral election contest did not look very flourishing for DPP candidate Frank Hsieh Chang-t'ing, a former Prime Minister and former mayor of the Southern port-city of Kaohsiung, who was running an underdog race against the KMT Party machine of Ma Ying-jeou, which had fielded former Environmental Protection Agency chief Hau Lung-bin.

But then, new hope came from an unexpected direction: Peoples First Party chairman James Soong, dissatisfied with the leadership of KMT chairman Ma, declared on 17 October 2006 that he would be running for Taipei mayor too, thus splitting the pan-blue vote and giving Frank Hsieh a chance.

It thus turned into a three-way race, very much like the race in 1994, when DPP candidate Chen Shui-bian won due to the fact that both the KMT Party and another KMT split-off, the New Party, had fielded candidates.

DPP candidate Frank Hsieh has an impressive record of public service: he started his political career in 1980 as a defense lawyer for the “Kaohsiung Eight” defendants in the infamous Kaohsiung Incident, when the ruling Kuomintang arrested and imprisoned all major leaders of the democratic opposition after they participated in a 10 December 1979 Human Rights Day celebration.

Photo: Government Information Office

In the subsequent years, he served as a Taipei City Council member (together with President Chen Shui-bian), and in 1989 was elected as a member of the Legislative Yuan, where he served until 1995. In the Presidential elections in 1996, he was a vice-presidential candidate on the DPP ticket headed by Prof. Peng Ming-min, and in 1998 was elected as mayor of Kaohsiung, and re-elected in 2002. In January 2005, he was asked by President Chen to serve as Prime Minister, a position he held until January 2006, when he was succeeded by present Prime Minister Su Tseng-chang.



**DPP Taipei mayoral candidate
Frank Hsieh Chang-t'ing**

Kuomintang candidate Hau Lung-bin is a strong candidate: he has the backing of the KMT party machine, and is a mainlander – an advantage in Taipei, where 40% of the population is mainlander, and thus form a solid pan-blue voting block. Mr. Hau is the son of former general Hau Pei-tsun, an arch-conservative Kuomintang stalwart, who served a Prime Minister under President Lee Teng-hui in the early 1990s. In that position, the elder Hau did his utmost to block the electoral reforms initiated by President Lee.

Interestingly, from 2001 to 2003 Mr. Hau Jr., a technocrat, served as an Environmental Protection Agency chief in the first DPP Administration, but returned to his pan-blue roots after leaving office, joining the pro-China New Party. However, in January 2006, he rejoined the Kuomintang, and was selected as its candidate for Taipei mayor in May.

Kaohsiung: litmus test for DPP strength

In Kaohsiung, the race is officially a three-way race between the KMT, DPP and the Taiwan Solidarity Union (TSU), but the TSU candidate, Mr. Lo Chih-ming, is unlikely to get more than a few percent of the vote, so it is really a contest between the KMT's Huang Chun-ying, and the DPP's Ms. Chen Chu. While Mr. Huang has been ahead in the opinion polls, recent surveys show that his support is dropping, while that of Ms. Chen Chu is rising.

Photo: Taiwan Communiqué

Mr. Huang is a moderate, who build up his position in Kaohsiung as a technocrat: he is a professor in business administration at I-shou University, and served as vice president of the university. Four years ago, he ran against DPP candidate Frank Hsieh and lost by a relatively narrow margin. He has maintained an image as a "clean" politician, and has kept his distance from the Kuomintang party machinery in Taipei. According to one report, he even declined to invite KMT Chairman Ma to come to Kaohsiung to campaign for him.



**DPP Kaohsiung mayoral candidate
Ms. Chen Chu**

Ms. Chen Chu is a stalwart member of the DPP: she became well-known in Taiwan when she was one of the eight main defendants in the Kaohsiung Incident trial in 1980, when she and other members of the then-unofficial opposition were arrested after they organized a major Human Rights Day celebration in the Southern port city. Both Frank Hsieh as well as President Chen Shui-bian and Prime Minister Su Tseng-chang served as defense lawyers for the eight.

Ms. Chen spent more than five years in jail, and was adopted by Amnesty International as a political prisoner. After the *tangwai* opposition became the DPP party in 1986, Ms. Chen served a variety of functions, including Chairperson of the Council for Labor Affairs.

Her race is turning out to be a major litmus test for the DPP: Kaohsiung has traditionally been a pan-green stronghold, and if the DPP can hang on to the mayor-position here, this

will serve as a vote of confidence in the party in spite of the tribulations of the President in Taipei. If, on the other hand, the DPP loses Kaohsiung to the Kuomintang, this would mean the party needs to do a significant amount of rethinking, and the need for a new strategy in the run-up towards the 2008 Presidential elections.

Is Taiwan a nation-state?

By Gerrit van der Wees, editor of Taiwan Communiqué

In the discussions about Taiwan and its international status, there are always two recurring themes, which play an important role in the ongoing debate on how to proceed in resolving the future of the island. One question is: “Is Taiwan a nation-state?” The second question is: “Do the people on the island consider themselves Chinese?”

In this essay, we will briefly present some historical perspectives, and then discuss both themes in more detail. One fundamental historical fact is that prior to the Japanese period (1895-1945), Taiwan was not an integral part of China, but an outlying area, which was only briefly ruled as a province of China (1887-1895). A second historical fact is that in 1895, under the Shimonoseki Peace Treaty, the Chinese Imperial government ceded Taiwan to Japan *in perpetuity*: note that this is quite different from the arrangement with Britain regarding Hong Kong's New Territories, which were leased for 99 years.

Then, moving to Taiwan's status after World War II: this is a matter of hot debate, and the positions taken depend very much on the origin of the person(s) taking the position: the native Taiwanese, who lived on the island during the Japanese colonial period, initially considered it a liberation, but after the February 28 massacre of 1947, considered the Kuomintang's rule an occupation by a foreign, repressive regime.

To the Chinese Nationalists, who came over from China with Chiang Kai-shek, Taiwan became their last bulwark in the struggle for sovereignty over the Chinese mainland. They perpetuated their Chinese Civil War at the expense of democracy on the island, and the human rights of the Taiwanese: Martial Law lasted until 1987, while the system of representation brought over from China (a parliament representing “all provinces of China”) was not ditched until 1991-1992, when President Lee Teng-hui pushed through his democratic reforms.

It is thus totally incorrect to state that “Taiwan split off from China in 1949” – an erroneous description which is repeated *ad nauseam* in international newswire and newspaper reports.

The right way to phrase it would be: “*Taiwan was a Japanese colony until 1945, after which it was occupied by Chiang’s KMT — the losing side of the Chinese civil war.*”

All through the 1950s and 1960s, the Kuomintang authorities clung to their forlorn claim to represent all of China. By the end of the 1960s, this position became untenable. US normalization of relations with the PRC took place, leading to US de-recognition of the Kuomintang authorities *as the government of China*. We emphasize the latter, because it is an essential argument in the discussion of the question “Is Taiwan a nation-state?”

Another significant point to be made is that the United Nations decision of 21 October 1971 dealt with the representation of *China* in the UN of China. The relevant text of the now-famous UN Resolution 2758 states:

“*Decides to restore all its rights to the People’s Republic of China and to recognize the representatives of its Government as the only legitimate representatives of China to the United Nations, and to expel forthwith the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek (emphasis added) from the place which they unlawfully occupy at the United Nations and in all the organizations related to it.*”

Taiwan was not even mentioned, and the Taiwanese people were certainly not democratically-represented at that time.

De-recognition of “Taiwan” in the 1950s through the 1970s was thus de-recognition of the Kuomintang’s claim *as ruler of China*. In other words: the United States, Europe and most other nations have informal ties with “Taiwan” because of the KMT’s claim of sovereignty over China.

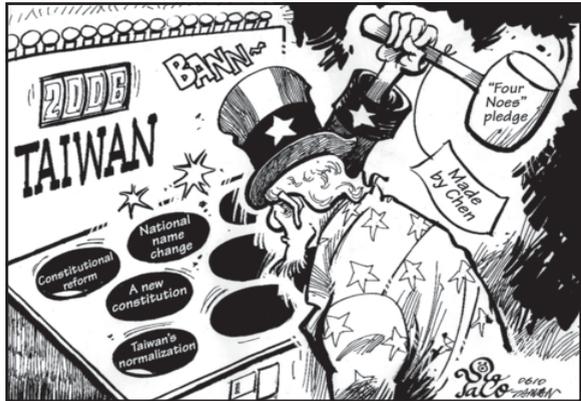
As stated earlier, this claim continued until President Lee’s reforms in 1991-1992, but even at present, the conservative remnants of the KMT are clinging to the old and empty “Republic of China” shell, and are preventing the DPP government from ditching the anachronistic symbols of the old claim to be government of China: the flag, national anthem and Constitution, which defines the territory of the ROC as encompassing China, Mongolia and Tibet.....

Then we fast-forward to the present: Taiwan is now democratically-governed, and fulfills all the requirements of a nation-state according to the generally-accepted definition of the **1933 Montevideo Convention** on rights and duties of states: It has: (a) a permanent population; (b) a defined territory; (c) a government; and (d) capacity to enter into relations with the other states. The United States was a signatory to this Convention, so it is rather peculiar that some in the US government and think-tanks now argue that Taiwan is not a nation-state.

The situation is very similar to that of the United States in the late 1700s and early 1800s: only a handful of countries – such as France and The Dutch Republic – recognized the US at that time. Others were wary of incurring the wrath of the most powerful nation on earth, Great Britain. In fact, it was well into the 1800s before a majority of nations recognized the nascent republic in the Americas. Indeed, Taiwan does have diplomatic relations with 24 other countries, albeit small ones in the Pacific, the Caribbean, and Africa.

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A key point is that after Taiwan's transition to democracy in the late 1980s and early 1990s, the situation is fundamentally different from that of the 1970s; however the US and European policy towards the island is still essentially the same as in the 1970s, clinging to an outdated "One China" mantra, which perpetuates Taiwan's political isolation.



The US, banging away at Taiwan's attempts to find its own identity and develop a new Constitution

The "One China" policy now is as inappropriate as it was in the period 1949-1979, when the West isolated Communist China. Now, the West is unfairly and unjustly isolating a free and democratic Taiwan, basically because an undemocratic China is still fighting the tail end of a Civil War in which the Taiwanese had no part.

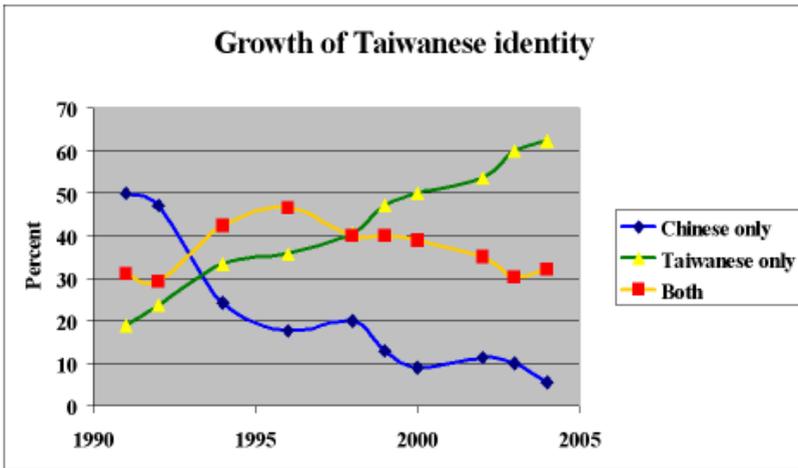
Thus, Taiwan *is* an independent nation-state. The only question is how it should be recognized internationally: the old Kuomintang claim of sovereignty over China has been rejected by the international community. But now Taiwan has a democratically-elected government which represents the 23 million people on the island. Wouldn't it be right and reasonable to recognize it as such?

Do the people on the island consider themselves Chinese?

Another reason why the West should rethink its policies towards the island, and start to normalize relations with Taiwan is the change in self-perception on the island: during the five decades of Kuomintang rule, the Nationalist Chinese instilled in the population a perception that they were "Chinese". Any expressions of Taiwanese identity were

discouraged: Children in school were punished if they spoke native Taiwanese Hoklo.

However, after the onset of democratization this started to change: people on the island began to rediscover their Taiwanese identity, history, geography and culture. The graph below shows the trends in self-perception from the early 1990s until the present: In 1991-92, the percentage of the respondents considering themselves “Chinese only” was approximately 50%. In the 1990s, this started to drop significantly, and at present only about 5% of the respondents consider themselves “Chinese only”.



The transitional category of people who consider themselves “both Chinese and Taiwanese” started in the early 1990s with approximately 30%; then it showed a bulge in the mid 1990s, because people made the transition from “Chinese only” via “both Chinese and Taiwanese” to “Taiwanese only.” At present, it is back to approximately 30%.

The most significant change is shown in the “Taiwanese only” category: it started low (approximately 20%) in the early 1990s – due to the five decades of indoctrination by the Kuomintang – but then mushroomed in the late 1990s. At present, opinion surveys show that some 60% of the respondents indicate they consider themselves “Taiwanese only.”

The data on which this graph is based are derived from a variety of sources: the data in the early 1990s are from the Taiwan Election and Democratization Study of National Cheng-chi University in Taipei, while the data for the later years are from the **Academia Sinica** and **Mainland Affairs Council**.

The US arms sale package

As we reported in previous issues of *Taiwan Communiqué*, the budget for the three-part US arms package, which was approved by President Bush in 2001, has been languishing in Taiwan's Legislative Yuan since May 2004 due to obstruction by the pan-blue Kuomintang and People's First parties.

In the Spring of 2006, the US Administration talked to KMT Chairman Ma Ying-jeou, who promised that he would "move" on the issue, but by the end of October, the Legislative Yuan caucuses of the KMT and PFP had failed to make any progress, and had voted a flabbergasting 62 times to block any discussion about the proposed special arms budget in the LY. This prompted the Director of the **American Institute in Taiwan**, Mr. Steve Young, to call an unprecedented press conference.

AIT director Steven Young speaks out

At the 26 October 2006 press conference, Mr. Young strongly urged the Legislative Yuan to put Taiwan's national interest above partisan interests, and pass the arms budget.

Copyright: Taipei Times

Mr. Young mentioned that during a recent visit to Washington, he discussed the issue with senior policymakers in the State Department and the White House, as well as with members of Congress, and "I found considerable concern among policymakers over the failure of Taiwan to pass a robust defense budget that responds to President Bush's offer in April of 2001 to authorize certain new arms purchases. The five years that have gone wasting have not seen the PRC sitting idly. The PRC's robust military modernization process over the last decade or more continues, and the gap between the capabilities of the PRC and Taiwan has been growing. "



KMT to Ma Ying-jeou: "Our research shows that Mr. Young's comments were aimed at James Soong"

"

Mr. Young stated: “... legislators in the LY should permit the supplemental budget to pass through the procedural committee and be taken to the floor of the legislature so that an open debate can begin. ... That would permit the budget to be approved by the legislature after the three readings by the end of this fall’s session.”

Mr. Young added: “... Taiwan cannot continue to allow its vital security interests to be held hostage to domestic partisan concerns. ... The United States is watching closely and will judge those who take responsible positions on this as well as those who play politics. Because fundamentally, this moment and this opportunity could pass and be missed by Taiwan if it doesn’t seize it.”

At the end of his press conference, he concluded with the following words: “The United States wants to support Taiwan’s defensive needs not because we want to alienate you from your neighbor across the Taiwan Strait, but because we believe a strong and self-confident Taiwan can hold discussions on a variety of issues with China from a position of strength and self-confidence.

That will allow Taiwan to expand the very mutually beneficial economic and trade relationship that it has with the PRC. It will also allow Taiwan to discuss more difficult political issues without fear of threat or coercion. So my message is: Act now to pass a robust and secure defense budget this Fall. Don’t do it for the United States; do it for Taiwan.”

The Kuomintang moves ... by an inch

In his press conference, Mr. Young also mentioned that he had discussed the matter with KMT Chairman Ma Ying-jeou and with PFP Chairman James Soong, and that both had said they understood the importance of the issue, and would try to resolve the matter as soon as possible.

However, since the end of October 2006, very little progress was made: While the Legislative Yuan’s National Defense Committee approved funds for a submarine feasibility study and for the purchase of P-3C maritime patrol aircraft in the budget proposal for the next fiscal year, on 14 November 2006 the Procedure Committee once again blocked the supplemental budget from coming to the floor, and thus prevented even a preliminary discussion from taking place in the Legislative Yuan.

Taiwan Communiqué comment: *The prospective for passage of any defense-related bill in the Kuomintang-dominated Legislative Yuan during the remaining time in this Autumn is thus very bleak. It is becoming obvious that Mr. Ma Ying-jeou cannot sway the party stalwarts away from the hard line position that they do not want to pass any law that could be interpreted as a “win” for President Chen and the DPP.*

The Kuomintang and PFP hardliners are thus playing politics with Taiwan's safety and security, and are undermining the future of the country, and are playing into the cards of the regime in Beijing. Mr. Steven Young's remarks show that the US government sees rather clearly who is responsible for the budget stalemate. One would hope that the voters in Taiwan draw the right conclusions, and throw the pan-blue rascals out.

The EU Commission issues communication

On 26 October 2006, The European Commission in Brussels issued a communication to the EU Council and the European Parliament regarding EU relations with China. In it, the Commission touched on a wide range of topics, including relations with Taiwan, China's military expenditures, and the EU arms embargo. The text of the section related to these topics is as follows:

***Taiwan.** The EU has a significant stake in the maintenance of cross-straits peace and stability. On the basis of its One China Policy, and taking account of the strategic balance in the region, the EU should continue to take an active interest, and to make its views known to both sides. Policy should take account of the EU's:*

- * *opposition to any measure which would amount to a unilateral change of the status quo;*
- * *strong opposition to the use of force;*
- * *encouragement for pragmatic solutions and confidence building measures;*
- * *support for dialogue between all parties; and,*
- * *continuing strong economic and trade links with Taiwan.*

***Transparency on Chinese military expenditure and objectives.** There is increasing concern caused by the opacity of China's defense expenditure. As expenditure continues to increase, China needs to be convinced of the importance of improving transparency. At the same time, the EU should improve its analytical capacity on China's military development.*

***Arms embargo.** The arms embargo was put in place as a result of events in Tiananmen Square in 1989. The EU has agreed to continue to work towards embargo lift, but further work will be necessary by both sides:*

Current and incoming Presidencies should finalize technical preparations to ensure lift would not lead to a qualitative or quantitative increase in arms sales, and continue to explore possibilities for building a consensus for lift. The EU should work with China

to improve the atmosphere for lift, making progress on China's human rights situation; working to improve cross-Strait relations; and by improving the transparency of its military expenditure.

It needs to be emphasized that at this point this is only a communication from the European Commission. It will be discussed further by the EU member states in upcoming meetings, and eventually result in a position, to be taken by the EU at the level of the European Council and discussed with the EU Parliament.

Taiwan Communiqué comment: *The position proposed by the EU Commission is a small step in the right direction. European officials emphasize that the passage of the anti-secession law in 2005 forced them to reassess the situation in the Taiwan Strait. It made them much more aware of China's looming military threat. The "strong opposition to the use of force" is designed to be an EU signal to China that any use of force by China against Taiwan will have consequences in terms of EU sanctions.*

Still, the position paper contains a mixed signal: it talks about lifting the arms embargo, although the EU Commission now adds improvement of cross-Strait relations and transparency of China's military expenditures as issues which play a role in European considerations on lifting the embargo.

Time for a new song for Taiwan

By Ruan Ming, former national policy adviser to president Chen Shui-bian and former personal advisor to PRC President Hu Yao-bang. This article appeared first in the Taipei Times on Wednesday, Nov 15, 2006. Reprinted with permission. Translated by Marc Langer.

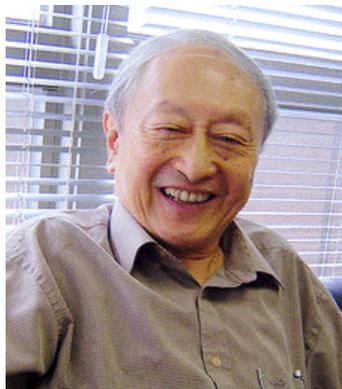
Ten years ago, even in the face of Chinese missiles, the people of Taiwan directly elected a president for the first time. The *New York Times* commented that — largely unnoticed by the rest of the world — Taiwan had quietly grown from an international orphan into a strong and powerful youth. That same year, **Freedom House** elevated Taiwan to its list of free countries.

Everyone hopes that this strong youth and newly free country can find a new voice with which to speak to the rest of the world. But that new voice hasn't emerged yet, or it is too weak and has been drowned out by the clamor of the old KMT guard.

Taiwan's historical development has hit a snag, prompting Academia Sinica president Lee Yuan-tseh to say in 2000 that the next five years would be the key for Taiwan to overcome its problems and take control of its future. It has now been six years, but the country is still stuck. Politicians, the media and academics are still singing the same old tune, stirring up problems over non-issues.

Photo: Taipei Times

First is the debate over opposing versus moving toward Taiwan independence. This discussion is another remnant of former dictator Chiang Kai-shek's era, when he advocated unification by invading China and destroying the Chinese Communist Party (CCP).



Mr. Ruan Ming

Because of Chiang's policy to destroy the CCP and unify China, encouraging direct contact with the Chinese "bandits" and advocating Taiwanese independence were capital crimes. In order to rid Taiwan of one-party rule, reformers chose to move the country toward liberty, democracy and independence.

Today, the one-party state is gone and Taiwan is an independent constitutional democracy. Independent countries are not necessarily free countries, but free countries are always independent; this is simply the nature of things.

Taiwan has also given up its policy of recapturing China, though some people still presume to carry on the decades-old idea of opposing Taiwan independence. Who in his right mind would say that this isn't stirring up a problem over a non-issue?

By the same token, Taiwan is already an independent, modern and free country, so it is a moot point to talk about "moving toward" those things. Doing so is nothing but a wish to turn back the clock.

Second, there is the question of amending Taiwan's territorial claims. What is Taiwan's territory? Isn't it the 36,000km² of land on which 23 million people live — Taiwan, the Penghu Islands, Kinmen and Matsu? During Chiang's rule, the US worried that his drive to retake China would drag the US into a war.

The Mutual Defense Treaty between the US and the Republic of China clearly says that national territory encompasses Taiwan and the Penghu Islands. Some of Taiwan's younger generation may not know that the US signed this agreement with Chiang to

prevent former Chinese president Mao Zedong from “liberating” the territory controlled by Chiang, and blocking Chiang from “restoring” Mao’s territory in China to Chiang’s government, thereby creating the “special state-to-state relationship” that now exists. Regardless of the territorial definitions, nothing will change this fact.

Third is the issue of changing Taiwan’s official name. Taiwan is Taiwan and China is China. Taiwan is a free country and China is not. The “first republic” — the Republic of China — was established in 1911. It was replaced by the “second republic” — the People’s Republic of China — in 1949.

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Today’s Taiwan was born as a new and free country during the world’s third wave of democratization in the late 20th century, so why all the talk about forming a “second republic” in Taiwan?

This is yet another reality that doesn’t revolve around pan-green or pan-blue politicians and their wishes. Some people don’t want to add the word “Republic” to Taiwan’s name, as if withholding it would withhold Taiwanese sovereignty.



Taiwan's raft moving too slowly

People at the other extreme object to that idea, saying that adding the word will represent Taiwan independence and that Taiwan independence irreversibly means war. The ruckus has prompted warnings from China and no small amount of concerns from the US.

All over the world, countries have taken their names from the name of the land they are built on without adding a word to imply nationhood such as “republic.”

After colonizers in Canada earned their independence, they called their country Canada. The name United States of America was originally intended to encompass the 13 states that had been established on the North American continent at the time. Now the US has 50 states, but when was the last time anyone heard calls within the US to give it a name that more explicitly defines it as a nation or change its territorial definition?

Instead, it is communist countries that worry over national titles. Obvious authoritarian dictatorships in China and North Korea have both incorporated words like “people’s republic” and “democratic republic” into their official names. Ukraine was called the “Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic” during the Soviet era, but actually got rid of the “Republic” to become just “Ukraine” after independence.

Therefore the debate over giving Taiwan a title that more clearly defines its nationhood is more hot air over a non-issue. These tired and empty debates don’t go away, but only emerge in different forms over time. When the old politicians, political parties, legislatures and media keep bringing them up over and over again, they are attempting to destroy this free young country.

If Taiwan wants to save itself from being sucked into this whirlpool, it needs to have a new voice. But where is it? Some people have been searching among the same old politicians and parties, but looking there will turn up nothing. They’ve grown accustomed to their old song and can’t find a new one.

Even the Democratic Progressive Party, just 20 years old, has aged before its time and fallen into step with the dinosaur-like Chinese Nationalist Party.

We can’t count on politicians from the old establishment to create a new political party and remake the legislature. We need to let people who haven’t stepped onto the stage before speak out and usher in a new era.

Let’s make the 2007 legislative elections and the reformed legislature Taiwan’s first step towards a new life. The people of Taiwan want to compose a new song and sing with a new voice.

Report from Washington

Impact of US elections on Taiwan relations

By Coen Blaauw, FAPA Headquarters

US Election Day 2006 is over. The dust has settled. On the one hand, wounds have been licked, on the other, victory celebrations have been held.

A lot has been written about the Democratic Party’s dramatic victory in the US House of Representatives and the US Senate of November 7, but what does this all entail for Taiwan and for the US-Taiwan (China) relationship?

There is perception in Taiwan that “Republicans are more supportive of Taiwan.” This is not really the case: throughout the years, both parties have been supportive of Taiwan, and pro-Taiwan resolutions have enjoyed overwhelming support in the US Congress.

History tells us though, that support comes easier when the Administration and Congress are controlled by different parties. For instance, when George Bush senior occupied the White House, Democrats such as Senators Claiborne Pell and Edward Kennedy, and Representative Steve Solarz were very vocal in their support for Taiwan.

Subsequently, when President Bill Clinton moved into the White House, Senators such as Jesse Helms and Representatives such as Benjamin Gilman and Tom DeLay became Taiwan’s most prominent supporters.

With the Democrats in control of both Houses of Congress for the next two years while the White House remains in Republican hands, more Congressional action on Taiwan is to be expected.

Which Taiwan supporters won on November 7 and who will be missed? The Senate Taiwan Caucus lost two members and totals 23 today. Senators Jim Talent (R-MO) and Caucus co-chair George Allen (R-VA) lost in tight races.

Its counterpart in the House of Representatives, the Congressional Taiwan Caucus (CTC), lost a total of 18 members. Two members ran for the United States Senate – Rep. Sherrod Brown (won in Ohio) and Rep. Mark Kennedy (lost in Minnesota); four ran for Governor - Rep. Jim Gibbons (won in Nevada), Jim Nussle (won in Iowa), Rep. Bob Beauprez (lost in Colorado), Rep. Mark Green (lost in Wisconsin); two retired: Rep. Rep. Michael Oxley (R-OH) and Rep. Michael Bilirakis (R-FL), and one resigned: Rep. Bob Ney (R-OH).

Nine members lost: Reps. John Hostettler (R-IN), Johnson (R-CT), Ryun (R-KS), Taylor (R-NC), Weldon (R-PA), Melissa Hart (R-PA) Sue Kelly (R-NY), Mike Fitzpatrick (R-PA) and Bob Simmons (R-CT).



Sherrod Brown: moving from the House to the Senate

Strong Taiwan supporters such as House International Relations Committee (HIRC) chairman Henry Hyde (R-IL) will be missed too. New HIRC chairman Tom Lantos (D-CA), though, is also an outstanding Taiwan supporter. Chairman Lantos led the campaign in 1995 to allow then President of Taiwan Lee Teng-hui to visit his alma mater Cornell University. All this, despite initial objections by the Clinton White House.

Potential ranking members on the HIRC, Rep. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen (R-FL) and Rep. Dan Burton (R-IN) are both outspoken supporters of Taiwan as well. Last year they both co-sponsored a groundbreaking resolution calling for normalization of U.S.-Taiwan relations, and for abolishing the anachronistic “One China Policy.”

Several races attracted much attention among Taiwan supporters: Rep. CTC co-chair Sherrod Brown (D-OH) defeated incumbent Senator Mike DeWine. All this despite DeWine’s ad campaign where the Senator castigated Rep. Brown for having only passed four bills during his tenure in the House, of which three dealt with Taiwan. All three bills were in support of Taiwan’s membership in the World Health Organization, and, ironically, Senator DeWine was a co-sponsor of the Senate version of Brown’s bill in 1999.

CTC co-chair Steve Chabot, and one of the most vocal Taiwan champions in Congress defeated his Democratic opponent in a closely contested race.

Rep. Rob Simmons’s loss is a loss for Taiwan as well. The Congressman (R-CT) was an outspoken Taiwan supporter and led the fight in May 2006 toward providing Taiwan with adequate defenses under the 1979 Taiwan Relations Act.

New House speaker Nancy Pelosi (D-CA) is a long-time Taiwan (and Tibet) supporter and a vocal critic of China’s human rights violations and its political system. She is expected to be receptive to pro-Taiwan legislative activity.

Partly due to its nature as a brake on initiatives taken by the House of Representatives, the Senate moving into Democratic hands will likely not have a big impact on the Senate’s views on and actions on behalf of Taiwan.

Majority leader Senator Harry Reid (D-NV) though took to the Senate floor three years ago, at the height of the Asian SARS epidemic, to make a strong pitch for Taiwan’s inclusion in the World Health Organization. Hopefully, Taiwan will see more action in this direction from the Senator.

One country, two reports

During October and November 2006, two reports were published in Washington, which touched in important ways on Taiwan, its relations with the US, and US policy towards the island.

On 10 October 2006, the **Congressional Research Service** issued a report by researcher Kerry Dumbaugh, titled *“Taiwan-US political relations: New strains and changes.”* In the report, Mrs. Dumbaugh presents a thorough and well-balanced analysis of the complexity and nuances in US relations with Taiwan. She first emphasizes Taiwan’s importance as a viable democracy, and the island’s importance for US leadership in Asia.

Mrs. Dumbaugh then analyzes the changing environment for US policy during the past few years, and discusses the mixed messages between the two sides, the different perceptions of the “status quo”, the changes in the make-up of the Taiwan lobby in Washington, factors within the US government, as well as the impact of the increasing political polarization in Taiwan.

Intriguingly, at the end of the report, she discusses a number of interesting policy options, including a) abandoning the current “One China” policy, b) a more transparent policy within the current framework. In the view of the CRS, the latter could include more pressure on China to reduce its hostile military posture towards Taiwan, and more overt US support for Taiwan’s democracy. The report is available at the CRS website at: http://www.opencrs.com/rpts/RL33684_20061010.pdf

A second report of importance to Taiwan came out on 16 November 2006, when the **US-China Economic and Security Review Commission** issued its annual report on the “national security implications of the bilateral trade and economic relationship” between the US and the PRC. In the 265-page report, the Commission, a Congressionally-mandated advisory group, delves extensively into a broad range of aspects, including China’s role in the proliferation of weapons, the transfer of American production – and increasingly R&D — activities to China, China’s fast-increasing energy needs, and China’s political and military threats against Taiwan.

In the report, the Commission issued a total of 44 recommendations to Congress. Several of these dealt with Taiwan, such as recommendation no. 16, in which the Commission recommends that *“...in response to China’s efforts to isolate Taiwan, Congress encourage the Administration to implement a long-term policy to facilitate Taiwan’s*

participation in international organizations and activities....” The Commission also recommended that “...*Congress should instruct the Administration to report annually on its actions to ensure that Taiwan is not isolated in the world community.*”

Another important recommendation was no. 34, in which the Commission recommends that “...*Congress urge the Administration to encourage Taiwan’s Legislative Yuan to approve the purchase of the remaining components of the arms package offered by the United States in April 2001, or alternative systems that will enhance Taiwan’s defense capability, and that additional arms requests from Taiwan be considered by the U.S. government on their merits.*”

The full report is available at the USSC Commission's website at http://www.uscc.gov/annual_report/2006/06_annual_report.php

Book review

Reshaping the Taiwan Strait, edited by John J. Tkacik Jr.
Reviewed by Gerrit van der Wees, Editor Taiwan Communiqué

In 2004, the Washington-based Heritage Foundation published a set of essays under the title “*Rethinking One China*”, in which an array of speakers from across the American political spectrum discussed the outdated “One China” policy, and presented arguments for a change.

A follow-on work is now going to press, primarily based on a Symposium held in Washington in September 2005. The volume, titled “*Reshaping the Taiwan Strait*”, is again edited by John Tkacik, a former State Department official, who brought together an excellent set of speakers.

The book starts with a fascinating piece of history: a November 1971 meeting in Taipei between the Kuomintang’s vice-minister for foreign affairs, Mr. Yang Hsi-kun, with then US ambassador Walter McConaughy, in which the vice minister told the ambassador that he had proposed to Chiang Kai-shek that it was “of paramount importance” that Chiang issue a formal declaration to the world that the government on Taiwan is entirely separate and apart from the government on the mainland.”

Mr. Yang also indicated that the declaration should give a new designation to the government: “the Chinese Republic of Taiwan.” Regrettably, nothing came of Mr. Yang’s far-sighted overtures. On the one hand because the old guard around Chiang Kai-shek clung to the old ROC myth, and on the other hand, because the United States – which had been advocating a dual representation approach in the UN – was now moving towards “normalization” with the PRC, following Mr. Kissinger’s secret meetings with the Chinese.

The book goes on to discuss Taiwan’s predicament, and offers a number of approaches to get out of the present “One China” conundrum. In chapter 2, “Strategy deficit: US security in the Pacific and the future of Taiwan”, John Tkacik argues that because of its strategic location, Taiwan is important for America’s security in the Pacific.

In chapter 3, “Reframing US and Japanese strategy in the Taiwan Strait”, a team of experts, including James Auer, Rupert Hammond-Chambers, Robin Sakoda, and Randy Schriver focus on China’s rise, and Japan’s increasing importance for security in East Asia.

Chapter 4, “A cross-Strait policy based on democracy and mutual consent”, presents a discussion by AEI-scholar Dan Blumenthal of the anachronism and dangers of the “One China” policy, and the rise of Taiwan identity.

In chapter 5, “Eroding the “One-China” policy: a tripartite political-legal strategy for Taiwan”, Prof. Jacques deLisle discusses ways for Taiwan to participate in international organizations.

The volume also contains two articles by writers who were not present at the Symposium: Bruce Jacobs Professor of Asian Languages and Studies at Monash University in Melbourne, Australia. And Paul Monk, a former Australian intelligence official, who is now Managing Director of Austhink Consulting, a firm in Melbourne, NSW.

Paul Monk does some excellent out-of-the-box thinking in chapter 6, titled “Reason against reality: a model for cross-Strait solution”, while Bruce Jacobs gives an splendid historical perspective and an analysis of the rise of Taiwanese identity in chapter 7, titled “Conceptual underpinnings for new policies towards China and Taiwan.”

In all, a valuable addition to the rising number of scholarly works that deal with policy towards Taiwan. The book will be available from **The Heritage Foundation**, 214 Massachusetts Ave NE, Washington DC, 20002-4999. www.heritage.org

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The goals of FAPA are: 1) to promote international support for the right of the people of Taiwan (Formosa) to establish an independent and democratic country, and to join the international community; 2) to advance the rights and interests of Taiwanese communities throughout the world; and 3) to promote peace and security for Taiwan

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