



# Taiwan Communiqué

Published by:

*Formosan Association for Public Affairs*  
552 7th St. SE, Washington, D.C. 20003  
Tel. (202) 547-3686

International edition, January / February 2007  
Published 6 times a year  
ISSN number: 1027-3999

# 112

## “228” remembered

### *60th Commemoration of February 28, 1947*

Sixty years ago, the “228 Incident” took place in Taiwan. It refers to the date February 28th 1947, when the arrest of a cigarette vendor in Taipei led to large-scale protests by the native Taiwanese against the corruption and repression of Chiang Kai-shek's Chinese Nationalists, who came over from China and occupied Taiwan "on behalf of the Allied Forces" after Japan's defeat in 1945.

In the following days Chiang's government secretly sent troops from China to the island. The Chinese soldiers started to round up and execute a whole generation of leading figures, students, lawyers, doctors. It is estimated that up to 28,000 people lost their lives in the turmoil. During the following four decades, the Chinese Nationalists ruled Taiwan with iron fist under a martial law, which lasted until 1987.

Photo: Taiwan Communiqué



Papercut image of soldiers arresting and executing civilians during the 228 Incident

Thousands of others were arrested and imprisoned in the “White Terror” campaign which took place in the following decades. Many of these remained imprisoned until the early 1980s. Until the beginning of the 1990s, the events of 1947 were a taboo subject on the island. The Kuomintang did not want to be reminded of their dark past, and the Taiwanese did not dare to speak out for fear of retribution by the KMT’s secret police.

The massacre is still a defining factor in the political divide in Taiwan: native Taiwanese see it as the horrific beginning of the Kuomintang’s repressive minority rule, and dominance of the political system at the expense of the Taiwanese population, which ended only with the transition to democracy under former President Lee Teng-hui in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

In Taiwan, the event will be remembered through a series of commemorative gatherings, while in Washington DC a symposium at the Brookings Institution, and an exhibit in Congress will call attention to the importance of 228 in understanding present-day Taiwan.

## *George Kerr and Allan Shackleton*

Two foreigners, who made an important contribution to the understanding of what happened during those dark days of 1947, are George Kerr – an American – and Allan Shackleton – a New Zealander.

Mr. Kerr was a Consular officer at the American Consulate in Taipei when the events unfolded. After he left the Foreign Service, he lectured in Japanese history at the University of Washington, Stanford University and at UC Berkeley. In 1965 he published his monumental work, “**Formosa Betrayed**”, which is still the most important reference work on the events of 1947 and subsequent years.

Allan Shackleton – a citizen of New Zealand – served as an officer in the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA), providing technical and engineering assistance in the rebuilding of Taiwan after World War II. He was a first-hand observer of the atrocities which happened, and after his return to New Zealand at the end of 1947, wrote a manuscript with his eyewitness account, titled “**Formosa Calling.**”



**George Kerr**



**Allan Shackleton**

However, for many decades the manuscript lay unpublished among his family's memorabilia – until 1998, when his son Colin made it available to *Taiwan Communiqué*, which published it in cooperation with the Taiwan Publishing Company in Upland, CA.

## *Towards reconciliation?*

In the early 1990s, former President Lee set in motion a process of reconciliation: on behalf of the – Kuomintang-led – government, he extended his apologies to those who lost relatives in the massacre and initiated a system of compensation payment to families who lost members. He also set up an Academia Sinica study commission to uncover what really happened during the 1947 events. This Commission issued a report in 1993, which concluded that up to 28,000 people lost their lives at the hand of the Chinese Nationalist soldiers. However, the Commission had not been able to examine the archives of the military and secret police agencies, which continue to be closed to researchers.



**Kuomintang: "We are seeking the perpetrators of the 228 Incident!"**

However, in 2000 – when DPP President Chen was elected — the entrenched old guard of the Kuomintang started to move backwards again: led by stalwarts such as Messrs. Lien Chan and Kuan Chung, the KMT hardliners have continued to deny the gravity of the event, and downplay the number of people killed in the massacre. They have been unwilling to face up to history and to atone — let alone apologize — for what happened.

The Kuomintang has also reneged on promises to return assets that were obtained illegally during its 40 year rule under martial law, and instead has been selling the assets to fill the coffers of the party. In the meantime, it has used its position of power, influence, and money to make life unpleasant for democratically-elected President Chen, and to thwart efforts by the DPP government to initiate reforms by blocking such initiatives in the Legislative Yuan where the KMT and its ally, James Soong's Peoples First Party, still hold a majority.

*Taiwan Communiqué comment: A true reconciliation on the island can only take place if the old Kuomintang acknowledges its repressive past and apologizes for the horrors perpetrated against a whole generation of Taiwanese. There is hardly a family on the island that did not lose a father, mother, brother or son in the event.*

*If a sincere apology would be forthcoming, the Taiwanese would be willing to forgive. However, at present, the Kuomintang under Mr. Ma Ying-jeou has only made some token gestures, while continuing to obstruct a democratically-elected DPP government in its functioning, and blocking progress on important issues like national security and revising the anachronistic "ROC" Constitution, which was written by and for a government of China in 1946.*

*For the international community it is important to understand that the Taiwanese dislike and mistrust of the Chinese and their intentions is not only based on ideological or political difference with China's present – rather undemocratic – regime in Beijing, but deeply rooted in the anguish of a large-scale massacre followed by some 40 years of repressive rule by the Chinese Nationalists.*

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## President Chen's world travels

In May 2006, President Chen wanted to make a stop-over in the United States on his way to Costa Rica and Paraguay, but under pressure from the China, the Bush Administration inexplicably denied him landing rights in the continental United States – relegating him to Alaska and Hawaii – which prompted President Chen to fly via the Middle East and Europe.

In early January 2007, President Chen Shui-bian was invited to Latin America again. This time to attend the swearing-in ceremonies of Nicaragua's newly-elected President, Daniel Ortega. To its credit, the Bush Administration now resisted Chinese pressures, and granted President Chen and his entourage a stopover in San Francisco on the way over, and in Los Angeles on the way back.

Presumably, the strong reactions in Congress to the Administration's May 2006 decision not to grant approval for a landing in the continental United States, did play a role: at a hearing with Deputy Secretary of State Robert B. Zoellick in May 2006, quite a number of members of Congress strongly criticized the Administration for not treating the elected head of a friendly foreign government with due respect.

## *Stopping over in San Francisco and LA*

On 8 January 2007, he was greeted in San Francisco by a large crowd of Taiwanese-Americans, chanting “Welcome President Chen”. The sea of green-clad well-wishers drowned out a small group of red-shirted pro-unification extremists, who called for him to step down.

Photo: Simon Lin



### **Well-wishers greet President Chen on his arrival in Los Angeles**

During his stay in San Francisco, President Chen talked on the phone to a good number of members of Congress in Washington. Because the new Congress had just started its session in Washington, Congressmen were not able to travel to welcome President Chen, like they had done on previous occasions in New York and Florida. Among others, he did talk to the new Democratic majority leader, Harry Reid of Nevada, to the new Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Tom Lantos, and to the ranking Republican on the Committee, Ileana Ros-Lehtinen of Florida.

On the way back, President Chen landed in Los Angeles, but his flight was delayed for five hours because of Mexican antics regarding over-flight (see below).

As it was, he was welcome again by several hundred members of the local Taiwanese-American community, and met with LA Mayor Antonio Villaraigosa, and a number of members of the academic community, headed by Pepperdine University scholar Bruce Herschensohn.

## *Congressman Tancredo protests Mexican move*

The return flight from Nicaragua to Los Angeles was rather eventful, because on 11<sup>th</sup> January, Mexico suddenly caved in to Chinese pressures and blocked over-flight

through Mexican airspace to the Presidential plane. On the way down to Nicaragua, overflight had not been a problem, so the Mexican abrupt change-of-mind was rather peculiar. On 19 January 2007, US Congressman Tom Tancredo (R-CO) made the following statement regarding the Mexican moves in the US House of Representatives:

*Madame Speaker, I rise today to applaud our government's decision to allow Taiwan President Chen Shui-bian to visit the United States earlier this month. As you know, President Chen visited both Los Angeles and San Francisco as part of a larger North American trip.*

*Unfortunately, Mr. Speaker, the government of Mexico was not nearly as hospitable to our democratically elected friend. While President Chen was on his way to Los Angeles he was informed by Mexican authorities that his plane was prohibited from flying over Mexican air space. This unexpected notification forced the President's plane to make a detour over the Pacific Ocean, extending his flight time to Los Angeles from five to ten hours. This arbitrary decision delayed some of President Chen's meetings with U.S. officials, and more importantly, put President Chen and the other passengers on his plane in danger.*

*Mexico had given Chen permission to fly over Mexican air space on Chen's way to Nicaragua, so why did Mexican officials refuse to grant Taiwan's democratically elected President the same courtesy on his return flight? I think we all know the answer to this question, Madame Speaker.*

*In all likelihood, Mexico's sudden change of heart is attributable to pressure exerted by the People's Republic of China. Beijing has been relentless in its efforts to isolate our democratic friends on Taiwan, and this shameless move by the mainland is just the latest in a long series of indignities that the Beijing authorities have visited on the Taiwanese people.*

*Madame Speaker, communist China is always quick to talk about how much they respect the "Taiwan Compatriots" across the Taiwan Strait. Unfortunately, their hostile actions never reflect that deceptively rosy rhetoric. By continuing to insult and disrespect Taiwan's democratic government, China insults and disrespects the people of Taiwan who elected that government.*

*By outsourcing their campaign of intimidation to other countries like Mexico – who seem more than willing to subcontract their foreign policy to Beijing – China continues to drive the people of Taiwan further and further away.*

*I hope that the next time Taiwan's democratically elected president visits the United States; we can host him here in Washington.*

*And finally, Madame Speaker, I hope next time Taiwan's democratically elected president visits North America, that other democratic countries in our region will treat him with the courtesy and respect they would afford to any other democratically elected head of state.*

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## US policies drive Taiwan's isolation

*By Dan Blumenthal. Mr. Blumenthal is a resident fellow in Asian Studies at the American Enterprise Institute and was recently appointed co-Chair of the Congressionally-mandated US-China Economic and Security Review Commission. This article first appeared in the Taipei Times on Jan 09, 2007. Reprinted with permission.*

US policy toward Taiwan is riddled with peculiarities. Taiwan is a liberal democracy with a prosperous, free-market economy and is the very model of the kind of "responsible stakeholder" Washington hopes China will be in the future.

Despite its exclusion from donor conferences, Taipei has provided material support to the war on terrorism and reconstruction efforts in Iraq and Afghanistan. In addition, it has supported US counter-proliferation efforts such as the Proliferation Security Initiative. If Taiwan is a model of freedom at home and responsibility abroad, why is Washington's attitude toward Taipei so sour?

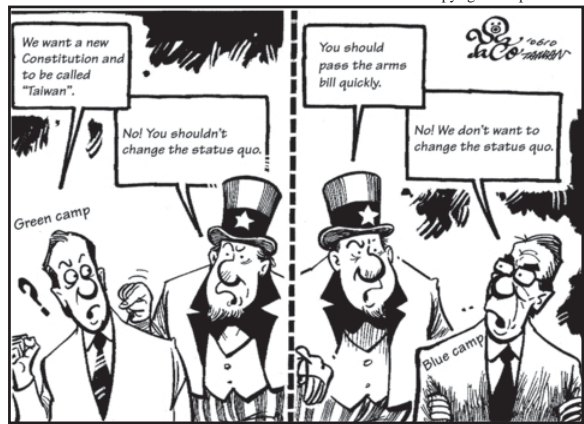
It wasn't supposed to be this way. The administration of US President George W. Bush came to power determined to change the perceived Beijing tilt of former US president Bill Clinton. Bush offered Taiwan a generous arms package and made Taiwan a "normal" security partner, allowing Taipei to make arms requests according to its own timeline as it sought to fill its defense needs.

The president said that the US would "do whatever it takes" to help Taiwan defend itself. Moreover, after Sept. 11, 2001, attacks in the US, Bush formulated a "freedom agenda" to advance freedom worldwide. In that spirit, he has supported Georgia, Ukraine and other countries formerly under Soviet control, despite Russian protests.

Given the thrust of Bush's policies, it is indeed odd that Washington treats Taiwan as a virtual pariah: humiliating Taipei by micromanaging transit stops by its president and publicly warning that "independence means war," as if any responsible leader in Taiwan were pushing for formal independence. The US has also denied Taiwan a Free Trade Agreement, despite granting them to less economically capable countries such as Morocco, Jordan and Oman.

The truth is that there is practically no positive agenda between Taipei and Washington. The US engages in only half-hearted efforts to help Taiwan gain observer status in the

World Health Assembly. It has denied Taiwan requests for upgraded F-16s despite a clear need for them. There has been little effort to include Taiwan in the "freedom agenda" or the global community of democracies that the Bush administration has touted. Including countries like Egypt and excluding Taiwan from that community damages the very idea it is built on.



### The status quo dilemma between Taiwan and the United States

Despite a growing need for Washington and Taipei to coordinate their military plans, the security relationship has not fared much better. Military relations are still governed by restrictions on visits by US general officers that began during the administration of former US president Jimmy Carter. The defense relationship largely rests on decisions made in the late years of the Clinton administration — when US Department of Defense officials woke up to the reality of China's increased military power.

Washington's weak support for Taiwan will have serious consequences, especially as Beijing actively undermines Taiwan's de facto independent status. As China works to isolate Taiwan internationally and intimidate it militarily, Taiwan's options are dwindling. Either it will lash out or it will "Finlandize," that is, become a China-compliant neutral power. Neither option serves US interests. The former could provoke China into starting a war, while the latter would result in a second South Korea-like democracy, which is no longer willing to support US policy in Asia.



Why did the Bush administration change its attitude toward Taiwan? One can venture that perhaps Washington has convinced itself that the price of China's cooperation on North Korea is a freeze in US-Taiwan relations. Unlike president Bush's meetings with Georgian President Mikheil Saakashvili, no high level government official has met President Chen Shui-bian. Taipei's policies are thus provided to the president and his top advisers through the interpretive lenses of sometimes hostile bureaucrats.

Another explanation reflects pure anxiety — China's military threat to Taiwan is indeed formidable. Should China take military action against Taiwan, the costs of US intervention would be several times higher than they would have been a decade ago.

It is true that the ruling Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) has had its share of difficulties as it grows into its role as the governing party. But how different has the DPP's experience been from that of parties in Hungary or Romania? There is a generic set of experiences that formerly dissident parties such as the DPP undergo as they transform into governing parties. The freedom agenda of the US should include an understanding that democratic transformation is an unruly process.

It is convenient to blame Taiwan for the weakened tie. If only it would be quiet about its aspirations for a greater international personality, the thinking goes, the problem would go away. Yet the problem lies in Beijing's growing military threat to Taiwan. China's latest white paper justifies its military build-up as a means to "deter" the "separatist forces" in Taiwan.

Really? Just how many hundreds of missiles and attack aircraft, dozens of submarines, and destroyers are needed to deter an unlikely "threat?" It is next to impossible for Taiwan to declare independence: two thirds of the legislature would have to vote for it before it was put before the public in a referendum.

The fact is that China's military policy is simply a convenient rhetorical device to continue its military expansion. Every year that China grows stronger is a lost opportunity for Washington to make clear that the Taiwan issue will be settled by mutual consent, not by coercion. Until China's Taiwan policy conforms to 21st century norms of negotiation informed by consent of the governed, Washington would be wise to help end Taiwan's isolation. Taipei has much to offer in the realm of regional and international security.

As President Chen recently stated in his new year's address, Taiwan is prepared to share its experiences and soothe the growing pains of other new democracies. Washington behaved admirably toward the new democracies in Ukraine and Georgia despite Russia's resurgent strength. The US can still do the same with Taiwan.

## Taipei and Kaohsiung election results

In our previous issue of *Taiwan Communiqué* (no. 111) we gave a preview of the mayoral and city council elections, which were held on 9 December 2006, in Taiwan's two largest cities, Taipei and Kaohsiung.

The elections were considered a major litmus test for political opinion on the island, following several months of political troubles plaguing President Chen, as well as an important bellwether for upcoming elections, such as the Legislative Yuan elections in December 2007, and the Presidential elections in March 2008.

### *The DPP wins in Kaohsiung but loses Taipei*

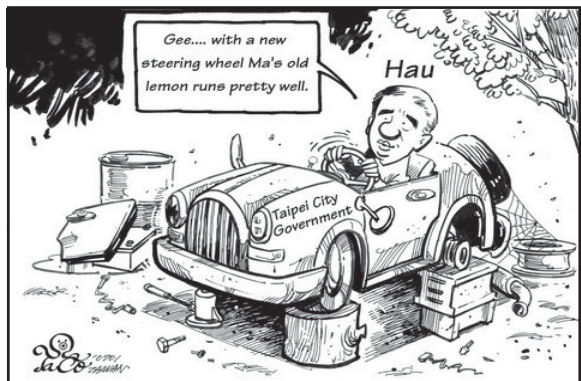
The results showed a rather even split between the two major parties on the island, the ruling DPP and opposition Kuomintang: The KMT's candidate Hau Lung-pin won in its northern stronghold Taipei, while the DPP's candidate, Ms. Chen Chu, won in the pan-green southern stronghold Kaohsiung.

The election results also showed a diminished importance of two minor parties: James Soong's PFP party in the pro-unification pan-blue camp, and the Taiwan Solidarity Union (TSU) in the pan-green camp. Mr. Soong ran as an independent candidate in Taipei, but lost badly, indicating increasing marginalization in Taiwan's political landscape.

For Taipei it is interesting to note that Frank Hsieh of the DPP gained significantly in comparison to the previous

elections in December 2002: Hsieh/DPP now received some 41% of the votes vs. Lee Ying-yuan's 35.5% in 2002. Mr. Hsieh also gained in actual numbers: 526 thousand votes vs. Mr. Lee's 488 thousand in 2002.

Copyright: Taipei Times



**New Taipei Mayor Hau: "Gee... with this new steering wheel, Ma's old lemon runs pretty well."**

In comparison, Mr. Hau Lung-pin / KMT dropped from Ma Ying-jeou's 63.5% in 2002 down to 53.9% at the present. In actual numbers, it was a drop from Ma's 873 thousand in 2002 to Hau's 692 thousand at present. So, while the KMT did indeed win Taipei, the voting trend in Taipei shows a significant trend in the DPP's direction.

In Kaohsiung, DPP candidate Chen Chu won with a narrow margin over KMT contender Huang Chun-ying. The difference was 1114 votes on a total of 768 thousand votes. The recount requested by the KMT did not change the outcome of the election.

## *What do the results tell us?*

The international news media generally lauded the election results as a comeback for the DPP: **TIME Asia** gave its coverage the headline: "*Taiwan's ruling DPP is back in the game*" (11 December 2006), while in its article titled "*Taiwan leans away from China*" (12 December 2006), **Newsweek** described how the elections "... revealed an unexpected groundswell of support for the Independence Party, dashing hopes for reconciliation with the Mainland."

The London-based **Economist** also considered the election results a positive sign for the ruling DPP in its article "*Embattled DPP receives a boost*" (11 December 2006). Our own conclusions are as follows:

- \* In spite of the fact that Taiwan is a young and fragile democracy, the elections went well, and showed a maturing of Taiwan's democracy in spite of the obstructionist tactics by extremist pro-China elements in the old Kuomintang and PFP parties;
- \* The two main political parties held on to their power base, while the smaller parties lost ground and seem increasingly marginalized;
- \* The political troubles swirling around President Chen – and to a lesser extent Taipei mayor Ma Ying-jeou – due to corruption allegations connected with special funds, appear not to have influenced the outcome to any considerable extent;
- \* Since the DPP did better than expected, the main political leaders in the party will continue in their respective positions, which will bring stability to the political landscape on the island;
- \* The departure of Mr. James Soong from the political scene will enable KMT Chairman Ma Ying-jeou to move forward with sensitive issues such as the budget for the US arms sales to Taiwan, which had been blocked in the Legislative Yuan due to obstruction from Mr. Soong's PFP legislators. It remains to be seen though if Mr. Ma is willing to show leadership on this issue.

# China's rise not so peaceful anymore

## *Hu Jintao and the Chinese White Paper*

At the end of December 2006, there were two events, which signaled that China was accelerating its military buildup: the first one was a speech on 27 December by Chinese President Hu Jintao to the Central Military Commission, where Hu said: “*China should strive to build a powerful navy that adapts to the needs of our military’s historical mission in this new century and at this new stage.*”

He added: “*We should make sound preparations for military struggles and ensure that the forces can effectively carry out missions at any time.*” Over the past years, China has added a significant number of submarines and surface battle ships, including Kilo class submarines and Sovremenny class battleships purchased from Russia, in an attempt to create a “blue water” capability, which is primarily focused on a conflict over Taiwan.

The second event occurred on 29 December 2006, when the China State Council issued the annual White Paper on National Defense. The paper is primarily designed to lead the outside world to believe that China’s intentions are “peaceful”: the opening paragraph of the paper mentions “peace” and “peaceful” four times, while the opening sentence of defense policy starts out “China pursues a national defense policy which is purely defensive in nature.”

However, the paper then goes on to justify the aggressive military buildup and sound the ominous warning that “...it is the mission of China’s military to stop separation and promote unification .... And defend national sovereignty, territorial integrity ...” — all code words for Taiwan. In fact, the paper terms Taiwan’s moves to consolidate its democracy “a grave threat”, and concludes that Washington makes matters worse by continuing to sell advanced weapons to Taiwan.

## *The ASAT anti-satellite test*

The January 11<sup>th</sup> 2007 destruction of one of its own aging low-earth orbiting weather satellites with a kinetic-kill vehicle, launched on top of one of its long-range DF-21 missiles, is yet another strong indication that China’s intentions are not so peaceful.

For Taiwan it is doubly threatening: in a crisis situation, China could destroy one of Taiwan’s LEO satellites, while this ASAT test also appears to be a signal by China to the

United States, that if China attacks Taiwan, it might be more costly for the US to come to Taiwan's assistance.

While the test took place on January 11<sup>th</sup>, it took some 12 more days before China even acknowledged that the test had taken place. To many observers in the US and elsewhere, this delay constituted yet another lack of transparency. The test also casts a cloud on China's intentions: the Foreign Ministry blandly stated that China remained committed to the "peaceful development of outer space" — yet, the test constituted a significant and provocative step in the militarization of space.

Photo: FAS

Aside from the military and security aspects, the destruction of a satellite in this manner also creates a large amount of space debris at an altitude and orbit which is heavily used for earth-observation and weather-related missions, and thus creates the danger of a satellite being hit and destroyed by the orbiting debris, which will remain in that orbit for many generations to come. In addition, it created severe dangers for manned spaceflight.



**Chinese DF-21 missiles on display in Beijing**

The test is also just one in a series of incidents during the past months, indicating that China is expanding its capabilities and is willing to push the envelope more aggressively: the "painting" of an American satellite with a laser weapon in the Fall of 2006, and the stalking of the US aircraft carrier *Kitty Hawk* by a Chinese nuclear submarine in November 2006.

A humoristic side-note was on display in Moscow: On January 19<sup>th</sup> — a full week after the test took place — the Russian Defense minister Sergei Ivanov called the reports that a Chinese ballistic missile has hit a satellite "highly exaggerated rumors." A few days later he had to eat his words...

Another interesting episode took place in Washington itself, where Mr. Stephen Hadley, President Bush's national security adviser was quoted by the **New York Times** as suggesting that China's leadership might not have fully known what the military was

doing. This view was countered a few days later by Richard Lawless, Deputy Undersecretary of Defense for Asian and Pacific Security Affairs, who stated in a testimony before the US-China Economic and Security Review Commission, that this was simply not the case.

**Taiwan Communiqué comment:** *The test and its aftermath need to be seen against the background of China's intentions: will China behave as a "responsible stakeholder" — as we would like to believe — or is this a myth created by wishful thinking, and will China continue to develop in the direction of an economically powerful, but politically very undemocratic colossus, which is expanding at the expense of its democratic neighbors such as Taiwan?*

*The article by Elizabeth Economy in the **Washington Post**, titled "China's Missile Message" (January 25, 2007) presents a lucid analysis of this issue.*

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## **Promote real reform for Taiwan**

*By Jerome Keating. Prof. Keating teaches history in Taipei, and is a keen observer of political developments in Taiwan. The article was first published in the Taipei Times on Thursday, Jan 25, 2007. Reprinted with permission.*

Former Democratic Progressive Party chairman Shih Ming-teh's protest campaign is distant history. The due process of law for the alleged corruption of Taiwan's president is taking its course as it should. Despite all the hullabaloo of a few months ago, the area outside Taipei Railway Station has been purged of the red-shirted demonstrators.

Taiwan has no lack of sunshine reformers, self-serving reformers, show-boating reformers and free-loading reformers. These will always be here to lead the naive and seek their spot in the limelight. What Taiwan could use more of, however, are sincere and dedicated people who are interested in true reform across the board with the goal of benefiting Taiwan.

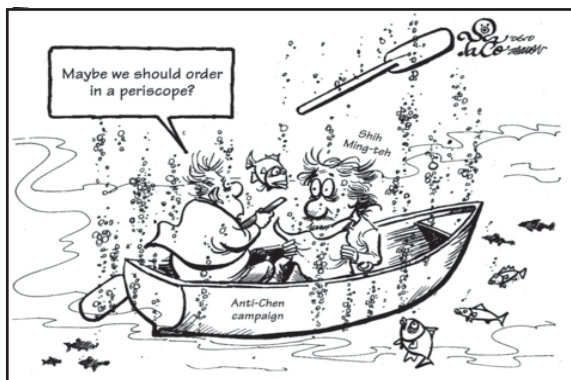
Shih's whole campaign collapsed as it became evident that it was not supported by the voice of the people. It was fueled by those with a pronounced hatred for President Chen Shui-bian. It turned out that the March of a Million was actually no more than 360,000 pan-blue supporters.

Then there were the donations. Shih's campaign managed to collect around NT\$110 million (US\$3 million) in donations. But despite the immediacy of the donations and the pan-blue cries for accountability by Chen, Shih's campaign has purposely avoided true accountability for the sources of its own income.

Yes, here was a huge fund for the purpose of pressuring the government to depose Chen. This money was never accounted for. It was suspected that Chen Yu-hao, a swindler who ran off with Tuntex funds, funded Shih's campaign. It was also suspected that China may have contributed to the campaign.

Copyright: Taipei Times

Shih's campaign was not transparent in accounting for its sources and spending. The story that it came from grass roots supporters donating NT\$100 each has not been proven. The straw that broke the camel's back, however, came with the realization that Chinese Nationalist Party (KMT) Chairman Ma Ying-jeou might be indicted for suspected misuse of funds, and perhaps much more easily than Chen.



**Shih Ming-teh in his sunken "anti-Chen" rowboat:  
"Maybe we should order a periscope?"**

In addition, many legislators and officials from the pan-blue and pan-green camps themselves may not have clean hands. Blinded by its fixation with vilifying Chen, the pan-blue media unintentionally opened a Pandora's Box that revealed a system prone to corruption and in dire need of reform. This system is just one of many problems that remain from the country's time as a one-party state.

After Ma came into focus, the pan-blue media shut up. To say anything further would have meant analyzing the flaws in the system and calling for reform. It would have meant dragging the KMT's skeletons out of the closet. The pan-blue media and the demonstrators were more interested in attacking Chen.

Where is Shih now? He has pulled off a disappearing act. Shih says he is in seclusion in a little apartment with a back door near Taipei Railway Station until next year. Is that what the campaign money was for? Shih will occasionally show his head to try to justify that the money spent on him was not wasted.

Nevertheless, an obvious question remains. Was Shih ever committed to real reform? He never campaigned against pan-blue corruption. Although he traipsed around the nation campaigning against Chen, Shih could not bring himself to lead his troops the short distance to Keelung where the mayor had been convicted of corruption with a capital C. The mayor is still in office there and protected by the KMT.

Copyright: Taipei Times

None of Taiwan's sunshine reformers want to tackle that reality. Where have all the supporting politicians like People First Party Chairman James Soong gone? Soong joined Shih and then ran for and lost Taipei's mayorship. Soong is checking up on his property in the US. He was not dedicated to reform.



#### Ma Ying-jeou's reforms sailing in an inverted world

Where are all the sages of Academia Sinica and the literary figures that weighed in on the depose Chen debate? They are suddenly silent. Have they weighed in on any of the other convicted or accused corruption cases in this country? Not quite — those cases are nitty-gritty reform cases that demand a lot of work with little exposure to the limelight.

There is no question that Taiwan needs reform of both political camps. There is also no question that Taiwan's governmental system is in desperate need of reform. With the approach of the legislative elections in December, sincere reform must be a critical factor in evaluating and selecting candidates.

In the coming year, Taiwan must assess what true reform is. While it does that, let me make a few related predictions for this year. Only time will tell if my predictions are correct.

- \* We will never see true accountability of the sources that donated money to Shih's protest campaign.
- \* We will never see full accountability for the expenditure of the NT\$40 million to NT\$50 million remaining in that fund either. The records for expenditure of the first NT\$60 million were vague.



- \* The KMT's stolen assets that Ma promised in 2005 would be sold will not all have been sold by the end of this year.
- \* The money from whatever assets the KMT does manage to sell off will — like the previous sales — never be returned to the public. The money will be used to pay off the KMT's bills or fund Ma's presidential campaign.
- \* The media will continue to avoid doing its job. It will neither push for true reform across the board nor will it seek to find out answers to questions like where Shih's campaign money came from and where it went.

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# Report from Washington

## *A Taiwanese-American tribute to Stephen Solarz*

*By Coen Blaauw, FAPA Headquarters*

On Saturday December 16, the Formosan Association for Public Affairs (FAPA) held a festive banquet in Washington DC concluding the organization's 26th annual board meeting. As special guest the association had invited former Member of the U.S. House of Representatives, Congressman Steve Solarz.

In the 1980s, Mr. Solarz served as Chairman of the Asia and Pacific Subcommittee in the House Foreign Relations Committee, and in that capacity was one of the main engines behind the US Congress' push for human rights and democracy on the island. In a brief, very moving speech, Mr. Solarz – who was accompanied by his wife Nina – recounted how he became involved in the Taiwan transition to democracy.

When he started his career in Congress in the mid-1970s, Solarz knew very little about Taiwan, but was befriended by a number of Taiwanese Americans, including Prof. Trong Chai, one of the co-founders of FAPA.

Before the establishment of FAPA in 1982, small groups of Taiwanese Americans had met with Rep. Solarz, urging him to help convince the Administration that the people of Taiwan deserved a separate immigration quota to the United States instead of falling in the same quota as immigrants from China. The Solarz bill — which was introduced in the Senate by Senator Ted Kennedy — passed both Houses of Congress and was signed into law by President Reagan in 1981.

In subsequent years, Solarz held many hearings on the lack of human rights and democracy in Taiwan, and on Taiwan's martial law, which would not be lifted until 1987. At that time, he – together with Congressman Jim Leach of Iowa — was of a new generation of politicians, which took human rights and democracy seriously when Kissinger and his people treated them cynically.

Solarz also rallied behind the imprisoned “Kaohsiung Eight” human rights and pro-Taiwan independence activists — which included current vice president Annette Lu, Kaohsiung mayor Chen Chu, as well as Examination Yuan President Yao Chia-wen — who had been charged with sedition for “trying to overthrow the government” when they organized a Human Rights Day celebration in Kaohsiung in December 1979.

Shortly thereafter, a young Taiwanese-American professor, Chen Wen-cheng, aligned with Taiwan's democracy movement and critical of the then Kuomintang Nationalist government, was beaten to death by security agents during a trip to Taiwan in 1981. Solarz drafted an amendment to the Arms Export Control Act prohibiting arms sales to countries that engage in a “consistent pattern of intimidation and harassment” against the people of the US.



**Solarz speaking to the FAPA-  
Board meeting**

Next, in a September 1985 article in the **Los Angeles Times**, Solarz condemned the government-directed 1984 Daly City, California, assassination of Taiwanese journalist Henry Liu. Mr. Liu had written a critical biography of KMT leader Chiang Ching-kuo, and Solarz said this was a “*frightening example of the long arm of Taiwan martial law tearing at the fabric of American democracy.*”

Up until his departure from Congress in 1993, Solarz continued to call for Taiwan's further democratization. He held hearings calling for the lifting of the Kuomintang blacklist which effectively barred Taiwanese American pro-democracy and independence activists from returning to their homeland Taiwan, etc.

After his retirement in 1993, Solarz still played a crucial role on behalf of Taiwan on Capitol Hill. He was instrumental in making sure that the House overwhelmingly passed the Taiwan Security Enhancement Act in 2000. The bill authorized the sale of several specific military items to Taiwan, including conventional submarines, theater missile defense equipment, destroyers equipped with AEGIS, and concluded that the future of Taiwan should be determined with the express consent of the people of Taiwan.

His aide Stanley Roth would go on to become Assistant Secretary of State for East Asia and Pacific Affairs during the Clinton Administration in 1997. Another aide, Richard Bush, would become chairman of the board of the American Institute in Taiwan the same year.

For a professional lifetime of fighting for democracy for the people of Taiwan Kuomintang President Lee Teng-hui decorated Mr. Solarz in 2000 with the Order of the Brilliant Star. When asked by the assembled press how he would wear the decorative honor, Solarz quipped: *“I read the instructions and I still haven’t figured it out.”*

Mr. Solarz ended his brief speech with these words from poet William Butler Yeats: *“Think where man’s glory most begins and ends, and say my glory was I had such friends.”* The crowd of some 200 Taiwanese-Americans from all across the country rose to their feet and gave him and his wife a standing ovation.

## **New faces in the House and Senate Taiwan Caucus**

The November 2006 US elections not only changed the face of the US Congress, but also brought some new faces to the chairmanship of both the House and Senate Taiwan Caucus.

On the House side, the co-chair seat vacated by Sherrod Brown (D-OH) – who was elected to the Senate – will be filled by a founding member of the Caucus, Rep. Shelley Berkley (D-NV). A resident of Las Vegas for over four decades, Rep. Berkley has been a strong Taiwan supporter during her seven year tenure in the House of Representatives. To name but a few of her contributions:

- \* She co-sponsored a resolution calling for the conclusion of a US-Taiwan Free Trade Agreement.
- \* She was one of some 25 members of Congress welcoming Taiwan’s former President Lee Teng-hui to Washington DC at a reception under the dome of the Capitol in the Fall of 2005.

- \* In an extension of remarks that she inserted into the Congressional Record she called for Taiwan's inclusion in the United Nations.
- \* During a Committee hearing last spring she asked Deputy Secretary of State Robert Zoellick, what steps the US had taken to get Taiwan into the WHO; how the US was discouraging the EU from lifting its arms embargo on China; and—in view of the Chinese anti-secession law and the hundreds of missiles that China is currently pointing at Taiwan – what the Administration was doing to urge China NOT to take unilateral steps to change the status quo.

On the Senate side, the seat vacated by George Allen (R-VA), who lost his re-election campaign, will be filled by Senator Trent Lott (R-MS), a prominent Republican, who served as Senate Majority Leader from 1996 to 2001. Mr. Lott will join Democratic Senator Tim Johnson (D-SD) as co-chair of the Senate body.

Mr. Lott is a longtime supporter of Taiwan during his congressional career, first in the House (1972-1988) and then in the Senate from 1988 until the present. In 1998, he came out strongly against then-President Bill Clinton, who had gone to China in June and declared his infamous “three noes” policy.

In a strong rebuke to President Clinton, on 7 July 1998, Mr. Lott introduced—together with Democratic Senator Robert Torricelli (D-NJ) — Resolution 107 in the Senate, reaffirming U.S. commitment to Taiwan. The Resolution reiterated that the future of Taiwan should be determined by peaceful means. On 10 July 1998, the Senate passed the Resolution by a vote of 92-0.

In 2006, Mr. Lott stated his support for high-level contacts with the democratically-elected leaders of Taiwan, and for visits by Taiwan's top leaders to Washington – visits which are presently off limits under outdated, self-imposed State Department guidelines dating back to the 1970s, when Taiwan was still ruled by the authoritarian Kuomintang regime.



**Congresswoman Shelley Berkley (D-NV)**



**Senator Trent Lott (R-MS)**

Mr. Lott has also been a strong proponent of US arms sales to Taiwan to counter the military buildup by China against the island.

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## Book review

### The China Fantasy, by Jim Mann

#### *How our leaders explain away Chinese repression*

*Reviewed by Gerrit van der Wees, Editor Taiwan Communiqué*

Mr. Jim Mann is one of America's foremost observers of US-China relations: for many years he was a reporter for the **Los Angeles Times** in Beijing, and in the 1990s he served as the newspaper's Washington bureau chief. In 1996 he joined the Woodrow Wilson Center as a scholar-in-residence, and is now a writer-in-residence at John Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS).

On Thursday, February 1<sup>st</sup> 2007, Mr. Mann appeared before the US-China Economic and Security Review Commission, where he gave testimony on the state of US-China relations, in which he presented his view on the direction in which China is heading. He said that US (and European) policy towards China simply operates with the wrong paradigm. His testimony summarizes the main message of an upcoming book, titled "*The China Fantasy: How our Leaders explain away Chinese repression*", which will be published in mid-February 2007.

The wrong paradigm, he says, comes from the widespread Western assumption that "*China is inevitably destined for political change*". But in Mann's view, "*while China will certainly be a richer and more powerful country 25 years from now, it could still be an autocracy of one form or another. Its leadership (the Communist Party, or whatever it may call itself in the future) may not be willing to tolerate organized political opposition any more than it does today. This is a prospect that our current paradigm of an inevitably changing China cannot seem to envision.*"

In his testimony he presented three scenarios:

- \* the Soothing Scenario for China's future, founded on the "notion that China's political system will inevitably move towards liberalization and democracy.....It is the one that dominates our official discourse."

- \* the Upheaval Scenario which “predicts that China is headed for some sort of major disaster, such as an economic collapse or political disintegration, because it won’t be able to maintain political stability while continuing on its current course.”
  
- \* a Third Scenario which “is one that few people talk about or think about these days, at least not in the United States. It is this: What if China manages to continue on its current economic path and yet its political system does not change in any fundamental way? What if, twenty-five or thirty years from now, a wealthier, more powerful China continues to be run by a one-party regime that continues to repress organized political dissent much as it does today; and yet at the same time China is also open to the outside world and, indeed, is deeply intertwined with the rest of the world through trade, investment and other economic ties? Everyone assumes that the Chinese political system is going to open up but what if it doesn’t?”



**Writer Jim Mann**

Mr. Mann concludes his testimony by saying: *“In sum, I think the paradigm of inevitable change impairs America’s thinking and its public discussion of China today. The paradigm prevents us from coming up with policies towards a China whose political may not change, in any fundamental way, for a long time.”*

Certainly essential food-for-thought for the policymakers in the US Congress and Administration, and in the European governments and parliaments as well! The book will be published in mid-February 2007 by the Viking Press / Penguin Group, New York.

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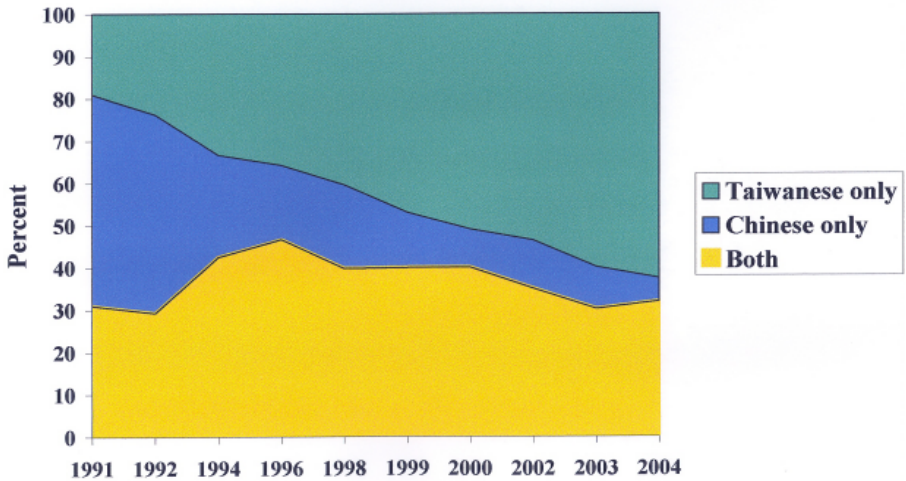
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# Notes

## *Graph on Growth of Taiwanese identity*

In *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 111 we presented an article titled “*Is Taiwan a Nation-State?*” in which we also discussed the growth of the Taiwanese identity on the island. One of our faithful readers suggested that the graph accompanying the article should have been an “area” graph instead of a “line graph”: this would present a much clearer illustration of the main trend of decreasing Chinese and increasing Taiwanese identity. Below you find the new graph.

**Growth of Taiwanese identity**



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**FROM:**  
Formosan Association for  
Public Affairs  
552 7th St. S.E.  
WASHINGTON, DC 20003

**First-class Mail**  
U.S. Postage PAID  
Washington DC  
Permit no. 354

ISSN Number: 1027-3999

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January / February 2007

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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*

Internet homepages: [www.fapa.org](http://www.fapa.org) and [www.taiwandc.org](http://www.taiwandc.org)

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