



# Taiwan Communiqué

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# 113

## President Chen: “Four Yes and one No” *Speech at FAPA’s 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary*

On March 4<sup>th</sup> 2007, the Formosan Association for Public Affairs held its 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary celebration in Taipei. The highlight of the event was a banquet for some 1200 guests at the Lai Lai Sheraton in Taipei, where President Chen and Vice President Annette Lu spoke.

In his speech, President Chen pronounced his new “*Four Yes and one No*” policy line: *Yes* to independence, *Yes* to a new Constitution, *Yes* to “*Taiwan*” as the formal name for the nation, and *Yes* to further development as a normal country in the international community. In Taiwan these are also referred to as “*four imperatives, and one non-issue.*”

Photo: FAPA

President Chen said *No* to left-right polarization in the country. Some interpreted that statement as a direct response to former President Lee Teng-hui, who earlier in the day, had been critical of Chen’s policies, arguing that it led to left-right polarization. President Chen emphasized that the



President Chen Shui-bian at FAPA's 25th anniversary celebration in Taipei

primary choice for the people of Taiwan is to be accepted as an independent country, or else be forced to assimilate into the PRC.

In pronouncing his new policy line, President Chen was also trying to create a positive outlook for Taiwan's future, and distance himself from the restrictive and negative "Five noes", imposed on him by the US Administration (see below).

## *An important qualifier*

The day after the speech, the State Department issued a statement, saying that it expected President Chen to adhere to the "Five noes" (alternatively referred to as "*Four noes and one will-not*") pledge, which he pronounced in his inaugural speech in 2000. In his inaugural address on 20 May 2000, President Chen stated the following:

*"...as long as the CCP regime has no intention to use military force against Taiwan, (emphasis added - Ed.) I pledge that during my term in office, I will not declare independence, I will not change the national title, I will not push forth the inclusion of the so-called "state-to-state" description in the Constitution, and I will not promote a referendum to change the status quo in regards to the question of independence or unification. Furthermore, the abolition of the National Reunification Council or the National Reunification Guidelines will not be an issue."*

First it is important to point out the qualifier at the beginning of President Chen's statement: "*as long as the CCP regime has no intention to use military force against Taiwan*" which is being conveniently overlooked by the State Department. In plain English, this qualifier means that if the PRC regime *does* show intention to use military force against Taiwan, then there is – to say the least – less reason to stick to the "Five noes."

Now, during the seven years that have passed since the 2000 inauguration speech, China has aggressively built up its military force threatening Taiwan: in those seven years it has almost doubled its annual military budget, acquired modern weapon systems from Russia, which are – according to the 2006 DOD report on the military power of the PRC — *specifically aimed at attacking Taiwan, and preventing the US from coming to Taiwan's assistance*. In those seven years, the Chinese missile arsenal aimed at Taiwan has also grown from some 200 missiles in 2000 to 900+ missiles at present.

So, it might be helpful if the State Department would remember the qualifier, instead of continuing to harp on the "Five Noes" themselves only.

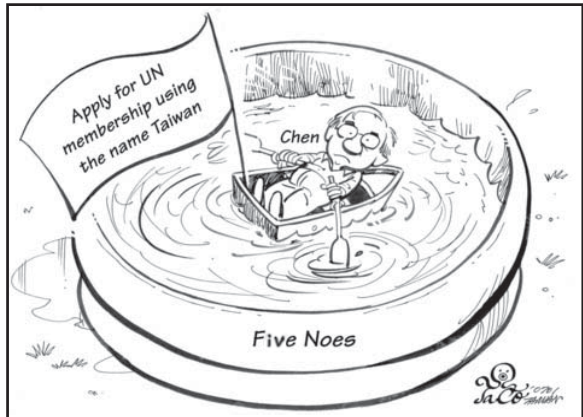
## Where did the “Five noes” come from?

Secondly, it is also important to analyze where the “Five noes” originally came from. They had their origins in the “Three noes” pronounced by former President Bill Clinton during his visit to Shanghai in June 1998. There, during a meeting with academics, Mr. Clinton stated that the US did not support a) “One Taiwan, One China” or “Two China’s”, b) an independent Taiwan, and c) Taiwan membership in the UN.

The statement caused a major uproar in Washington DC: Two days later, the **Washington Post** said in an editorial, titled “*Siding with the dictators*”, that Mr. Clinton’s statement were “..what China wants to hear”, and that it **did** constitute a change of policy, “...and not for the better.”

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Prominent members of Congress termed it “a major deviation of existing US policy”, and it prompted U.S. Senators Robert Torricelli (D-NJ) and Trent Lott (R-MS) to introduce Resolution 107 in the Senate, reaffirming U.S. commitment to Taiwan. On 10 July 1998, the Senate passed the Resolution by a vote of 92-0.



### The State Department's "Five noes" restricting President Chen's room for maneuver

The “Three noes” of Mr. Clinton did thus introduce the “no support for independence” clause into the lexicon

of the State Department. Up until that time, the US had taken no position on the future of Taiwan’s status, simply stating that it should be arrived at peacefully.

The person behind this move was Mr. Sandy Berger — National Security Adviser in the second term of President Clinton — who fell into disrepute recently when he was convicted of stealing highly classified documents from the National Archives, and destroying some of them.

In his recent book “*The China Fantasy*”, author Jim Mann identifies Mr. Berger as the founder of **Stonebridge International**, a consulting firm which, according to its own website, “has a proven track-record of success, helping leading multinationals with

*complex operations in China.*” According to Mr. Mann, Mr. Berger is only one of many prominent Americans who profit handsomely from supporting the status quo in China.

At the end of Mr. Clinton’s second term, Mr. Berger was still at the helm of the NSC, and when Mr. Chen Shui-bian won the Taiwan presidency in March 2000, Mr. Berger moved into action, and told his subordinates to get Mr. Chen to commit to forego moves towards Taiwan independence.

Between the date of the election, 18 March 2000, and the date of his inauguration as President, 20 May 2000, President Chen’s position was not all that secure: there were rumors of an impending coup by Taiwan’s military which had been a Kuomintang stronghold for 50-plus years. Under the circumstances, Mr. Chen relied heavily on American support, and eventually agreed to include what was to become the “Five noes” in his inauguration speech. Reportedly even the American officials who were instructed by Mr. Berger to lean so heavily on Mr. Chen, were very reluctant to do so, and felt “very uncomfortable” pushing it down Mr. Chen’s throat.

In any case, the “Five noes” were never accepted by the Taiwanese people in any fashion – a point made by all three major DPP contenders for next year’s presidential elections in Taiwan, who stated in a TV-debate on 24 March 2007 that the pledge had been made under pressure and without the consent of the people on the island (see article on page 16).

***Taiwan Communiqué comment:*** *Instead of clinging to a negative legacy of the disreputable Mr. Berger, the State Department should show a positive creativity along the direction outlined by President Chen Shui-bian: acceptance of Taiwan by the international community as a full and equal member.*

*The least the State Department could do, is to move away from the anachronistic “One China” mantra it has fallen into over the past few years, and return to the basics of the policies of the 1970s and 1980s, which stated that the US recognizes the government in Beijing as the government of the People’s Republic of China, and expects the tension across the Taiwan Strait to be resolved peacefully.*

*On the issue of Taiwan’s future, the US policy in the 1970s and 1980s was one of strict neutrality, remaining totally agnostic on the question of unification versus independence. What the US could say at this stage – after the achievement of democracy on the island – is that the island’s future should be determined in a democratic manner in accordance with the principle of self-determination, as enshrined in the UN Charter. If the State Department wants to express “no support for independence” it should also express “no support for unification” — or remain strictly silent on the issue.*

## *Opinion polls: increasing Taiwanese identity*

President Chen's statement come also at a time when opinion polls in Taiwan show strong support for the concept that Taiwan is a sovereign nation, for the principle that the people on Taiwan should determine the country's future themselves, as well as for Taiwan's membership in the United Nations under the name "Taiwan."

A poll of 1,034 Taiwan adults conducted by the DPP Public Survey Center in early March 2007 showed that 69 percent believe that "*Taiwan is a sovereign and independent country and not part of China,*" while 83 percent believe that the current status in the Taiwan Strait should be defined by the Taiwan people, 71 percent support an application to join the United Nations using the name of "Taiwan", and 85 percent maintain that any agreements signed with China that are related to Taiwan's sovereignty must be ratified by the Taiwan people through a national referendum.

In addition, the DPP poll showed that just over 68 percent of those surveyed identified themselves as "Taiwanese," up from 62.5% in a survey by the Academia Sinica in 2004. This poll confirms a sea change in public opinion on the island, which we noted earlier in our article titled "Is Taiwan a nation-state?" in *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 111, December 2006.

A poll of 1,067 Taiwan adults released by the **Taiwan Thinktank** in early March 2007 showed that nearly 80 percent also said they agreed that "the Taiwan people themselves should decide Taiwan's future," with 14.5 percent saying that both sides should resolve Taiwan's future together and 82 percent said the PRC "had no right to intervene in Taiwan's domestic affairs" and 77 percent approved use of the name of "Taiwan" to apply for entry into the United Nations.

Moreover, both the Taiwan Thinktank and the DPP polls indicated most of these views are shared, if to different degrees, by majorities of respondents regardless of political partisanship or ethnic identification, including "pan-blue" supporters and "middle voters" and are especially firm among young voters.

The Taiwan Thinktank survey also indicated that support for Taiwan's status as an independent state, the right of the Taiwan people to decide their own fate and to use the name of "Taiwan" to enter the United Nations was no less strong among Taiwan adults polled who had worked or lived in China over five years.

# Name and Constitutional Change

## *Ditching “China” at state-owned companies*

On Friday, 9 February 2007, a number of state-owned companies in Taiwan, including the Chinese Petroleum Corp (CPC), China Shipbuilding Corp (CSBC), and the Chunghwa Post Co decided in their board meetings to drop the references to “China” and include “Taiwan” in their titles.

The move was part of a broader move by the Taiwan government to modernize the state-owned companies and bring them into the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Most of the companies came over from China with the Chinese Nationalists of Chiang Kai-shek, and retained “China” in their names during the five decades of repressive Kuomintang rule on the island.

Premier Su Tseng-chang said also that avoidance of confusion between “Taiwan” and “China” among members of the international community was a reason for changing the names. “*It is as simple as that,*” he said, “*As long as it is a good thing for the companies and for the country, we will continue to do so.*”

However, observers in Taiwan considered some of the changes half-baked: for instance the Chinese Petroleum Corp became “CPC Corp, Taiwan”, while China Shipbuilding Corp became “CSBC Corp, Taiwan” – hardly earth-shaking moves. It would have been more sensible to give these companies a title such as Taiwan Petroleum Corp and Taiwan Shipbuilding Corp.

The only company that made a significant change was the postal service: it changed from “Chunghwa” (China) to Taiwan Post Co. Even more importantly, stamps from Taiwan will now bear the straightforward and elegant “Taiwan” imprint, and not anymore the confusing “Republic of China” label.

Predictably, the move was criticized strongly by the two pan-blue parties, the Kuomintang and PFP, which still live in their fictional “Republic of China” world, and dream of unification with China. The KMT and PFP even threatened to cut the budget for the Taiwan Post Co.

Oddly, the move was also criticized by the State Department, which issued a statement saying that the US did not support “*administrative steps by Taiwan authorities that would appear to change Taiwan’s status unilaterally or move toward independence.*”



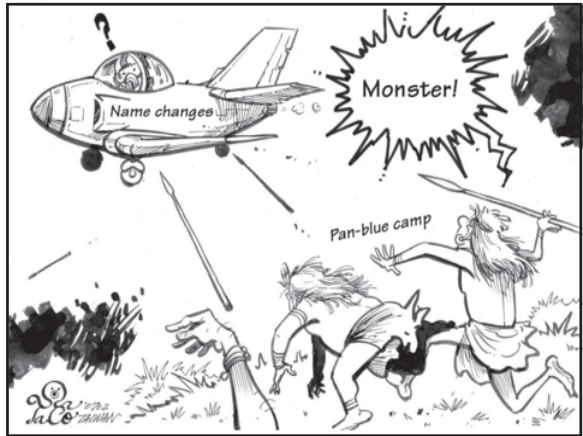
New stamp with *Taiwan* imprint

In turn, the State Department's statement was strongly criticized by Congressman Tom Tancredo (R-CO), who wrote in a letter to Secretary Condoleezza Rice, dated 20 February 2007:

*"First, it is rather difficult to understand how a decision about what the name of a local business might be in Taiwan is any of the State Department's concern. It seems to me that Taiwan's elected leaders and investors are perfectly capable of determining what the name of a particular shipbuilding company ought to be.*

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*Second, for the State Department to equate the renaming of a gas station with a change of Taiwan's international status is, to say the least, rather puzzling. While there are many important factors to be concerned with when it comes to cross-strait relations, I am not sure the name of Taiwan's national airline or post office are among them.."*



**Pan-blue cavemen throwing their sticks and spears at "Name change" aircraft**

Referring to China's passage of the anti-secession law in 2003, Rep. Tancredo wrote: "Clearly, this act represented

*a change in the "status quo" – yet the strongest and most direct rebuke to China that State Department spokesman Richard Boucher could muster was "[W]e think it's important for both sides to focus on dialogue." The best then-White House spokesman Scott McClellan could do at the time was to characterize the law as "unhelpful."*

The Congressman concluded: "We often hear that the State Department is concerned about unilateral actions by either China or Taiwan that might change the "status quo." In practice, however, the department seems more than willing to criticize Taiwan's leaders (often for quite trivial things), yet very reluctant to rebuke the leadership in Beijing."

## ***Adapting the Constitution to the present-day reality***

During the past few years, much has been said and written about Taiwan's Constitution. The DPP government has been pushing to change it, so it will reflect the present-day reality that Taiwan is a free and democratic country. On the other hand, the KMT and PFP

opposition have been obstructing any change, and want to maintain the present “Republic of China” Constitution.

First, it is therefore necessary to take a look at the present Constitution, and see what it really entails: it was adopted by China’s National Assembly in Nanking on 25 December 1946, and promulgated by Chiang Kai-shek’s KMT regime on 1 January 1947—the same regime which a few weeks later ordered the brutal “February 28” crackdown, in which up to 28,000 Taiwanese lost their lives (see “228” *Remembered* in *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 112).

The governmental structure defined in this 1946 Constitution was that of the “Republic of China”, which was established in 1911, and ruled China until 1949, when Mao Tse-tung’s Chinese Communist Party gained power and established itself as the *People’s* Republic of China.

Some two-thirds of all articles are outdated and not relevant to present-day Taiwan. In envisioning changes to the Constitution or a new Constitution, the DPP government has outlined re-engineering of the Constitution aimed at improving the efficiency and effectiveness of the government. Two examples:

- \* The present system involves a *cumbersome five-branch government*: in addition to the usual executive, legislative, and judicial branches, Taiwan is presently still saddled with an Examination Yuan and a Control Yuan. Due to a number of reasons these two branches are hardly functioning anymore, and most proposals would reduce the system to a three-branch system;
- \* The present system boils down to a *semi-Presidential system*, in which the President has the executive power, but with a Prime Minister appointed by the President. Under this system, it is very difficult to break any stalemate between the executive and legislative branch—as has been shown in the present political gridlock between the DPP-controlled executive and the Legislative Yuan in which the KMT/PFP have a majority.

Most proposals that have been aired until now suggest that the system be changed to a parliamentary system in which a Prime Minister requires majority support in the legislature. One such proposal was recently unveiled by **Taiwan Thintank**, a prominent pro-government institution in Taipei ([www.taiwanthinktank.org](http://www.taiwanthinktank.org)). The proposed Constitution was drafted by a team of scholars led by Prof. Chen Ming-tong of National Taiwan University’s Graduate Institute of National Development, Prof. Chen Tsi-yang, a law professor at National Taipei University, and Prof. Chen In-chin, a law professor at Ming Chuan University.



In general, international observers seem supportive of these type of re-engineering changes. However, there still seems to be objection – not in the least from the KMT/PFP, which still hold a majority in the legislature – to any changes that touch “sovereignty” issues, such as name of the country, territory, flag and national anthem.

For those who are objecting to such “sovereignty” changes, it might be worthwhile to examine what precisely they entail:

\* **Territory:** according to the present Constitution (article 26), the territory of the “Republic of China” encompasses all of China, including Outer Mongolia and Tibet. Ironically, not included is Taiwan itself! The reason being that this definition is based on the 1936 Constitution, when Taiwan was still a colony of Japan;

\* **The flag:** according to article 6 of the present Constitution, the flag of the “Republic of China” was selected in Nanking, China and is based on the Kuomintang party flag; No connection with Taiwan itself.

\* **The national anthem:** this is a 1928 Chinese Kuomintang party song, which does have very little to do with present-day Taiwan.

**Taiwan Communiqué comment:** *Forcing Taiwan to maintain relics dating to the past glory of another country seems to be misplaced, to say the least. It would be akin to telling Americans that they should cling to a Constitution which defines the British Isles as the territory of the nation, the Union Jack as the flag, and Rule Britannia as the national anthem.*

*Self-determination is a basic principle, enshrined in the UN Charter. We should ensure that the Taiwanese can determine their own future; this includes enacting a new Constitution, which reflects the new Taiwan nation that exists on the island today.*

Copyright: Taipei Times



**Mr. Ma Ying-jeou to China: "Take a good look at our common (Constitutional reform) enemy."**

The main question is of course how to avoid a conflict across the Taiwan Strait. This can best be done by impressing more strongly upon the Chinese leaders that aiming 900+ missiles is “unhelpful” – to use a favorite expression of the State Department — and that peaceful coexistence between China and Taiwan as two friendly neighbors is imperative. The DPP government has been trying hard to work in that direction, but Beijing seems bent on provoking a crisis with its military buildup.

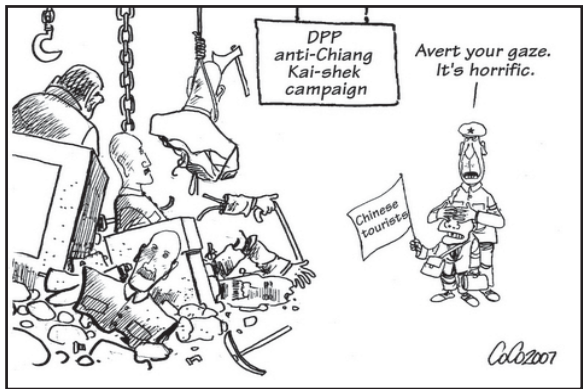
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## Taiwan and its past: Chiang Kai-shek must go

**By Jerome Keating.** Professor Keating teaches history in Taipei, and is a keen observer of political developments in Taiwan. This article was first published in the Taipei Times on Sunday, Mar 18, 2007. Reprinted with permission.

How developing democracies deal with their dictatorial pasts is crucial. Taiwan is undergoing such changes. A number of statues of the late dictator Chiang Kai-shek have recently been removed from various places around the nation, and moved to a park in Taoyuan. Chiang Kai-shek International Airport has been renamed Taiwan Taoyuan International Airport. The question of the rectification of other names is being dealt with.

Copyright: Taipei Times



**Chiang Kai-shek statues being removed**

Yes, change is in the air, but Taiwan has still not yet caught up with the rest of the world. One major statue of Chiang Kai-shek glaringly remains, the statue in Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall in Taipei. This statue and memorial name must go.

When visiting Budapest several years ago I was at first surprised and almost shocked to find that a tourist attraction, named Statue Park, had been created right outside the city. There, all the statues of the Russian occupation had been gathered once Hungary became a democracy. To place row after row of these forced figures of Hungary’s Russian

Communist past in one place provided both an eerie, surrealistic and much more telling memorial of what Hungary had endured than any written account.

Similarly, above Budapest, the Liberty Statue monument prominently stands on Gellert Hill overlooking the city and the Danube River. This monument too has received its own rectification — a rectification of inscription. Originally erected in 1947 by the conquering Russians, it used to bear the hypocritical inscription: “*Erected by the Hungarian Nation in memory of the liberating Russian heroes.*” Some liberation!

The Hungarians quickly realized the destructive and oppressive nature of these heroes. In 1956 they rebelled and were severely put down. It would be 1989 before the Hungarians finally got rid of their despotic past. At that point, they changed the inscription to reflect the reality of what they felt. It now reads, “To the memory of all those who sacrificed their lives for the independence, freedom and success of Hungary.” This inscription goes beyond those who fought the Nazis in World War II and includes all who died under the Russian regime, particularly those who died during the 1956 Uprising.

Lithuania has dealt with its past in a different way; it created a mock Stalin World. This world is more a theme park with rides amid statues of Lenin and Stalin, comical reminders of Russian rule from 1940 to 1991. A controversial Russian prison where visitors can be jailed highlights the atrocities of that era, but some feel it is in bad taste. Comic or not, the people are conscious of their past suffering.

In nearby Estonia, President Toomas Hendrick was recently interviewed on **Deutsche Welle TV**. An articulate man, Hendrick spoke about Estonia’s shared problem, monuments celebrating the “Russian Liberation of Estonia.” His point was clear; it was ridiculous for Estonia to speak of Russian liberation when the number of mass murders, pillaging and imprisonments was much worse under the Russians than under the Nazis.

Taiwan can ask a similar question: How can it tolerate statues of the murderous past of Chiang and his Chinese Nationalist Party (KMT)? Taiwan’s experience under Chiang and the KMT proved far worse than that under a colonizing Japan.

Even in Russia’s capital they have purged statues of the “butcher” Stalin though they still honor statues of Lenin.

Now look at Taiwan. Ironically it had its first purging and rectification of history many years ago. In libraries, one can still find remnants of this in copies of old encyclopedias where KMT government censors painstakingly went through and blocked out all

references to Mao Tse-tung and the People's Republic of China. Those who mentioned the name of Mao or communism would be jailed or even executed.

Taiwan did not suffer because of Mao. In reality, it suffered from the corruption of the KMT and Chiang following their defeat by Mao. The KMT never mentions the reality of this attempted purging, rectification and avoidance of their past history where they claimed that defeat gave them the privilege to be colonizers. Despite this past reality, many KMT leaders resist the removal of the generalissimo as if he were a hero of Taiwan.

The countries of Europe have long carried out the systematic removal of statues addressed to the memories of their totalitarian and despotic pasts. In creating anti-propaganda parks from propagandistic statues they have clearly countered the original hypocrisy of their past rulers. Taiwan needs to catch up.

The gathering of statues of Chiang in a Taoyuan park is a good start. Only when people visit that park and see the volume of statues placed around Taiwan in honor of this megalomaniac leader will they begin to realize his full character.

A side issue of the Chiang Kai-shek Memorial is whether to tear down the walls. A few extra gates could be built to ease access, but taking down the walls will serve no great purpose. If one visits 2/28 Park, it too has limited access and yet, visitors do not complain. The first matter of the day would be the removal of the colossal statue of the generalissimo. This statue could be half-buried in sand Ozymandias-style in the Taoyuan park with the inscription, "My name is Chiang Kai-shek, king of kings."

Changing the name of the Memorial is also necessary. The generalissimo's throne could be left empty as a sign to any future dictators. A symbol of democracy could be enshrined and the walls filled with the names of all those killed under Taiwan's lengthy Martial Law and White Terror.

The presence of Chiang's statue is a constant reminder that Taiwan has still not had transitional justice and the return of its state assets. When will justice be served?

## "228" Commemorated

In our previous issue of *Taiwan Communiqué* we presented background information on the “228 Incident”, the March 1947 massacre of up to 28,000 Taiwanese at the hands of Chiang Kai-shek’s Chinese Nationalist troops. In Taiwan, this 60<sup>th</sup> Commemoration was remembered in many memorial services in different cities such as Kaohsiung, where commemorative events were held at the History Museum, which was Kaohsiung’s city hall in 1947, when it was attacked by the KMT military commander, resulting in the death of many of the city’s councilors at the time.

In the capital Taipei, a large-scale memorial concert was held in front of the Presidential Palace, while Premier Su Tseng-chang unveiled a new postage stamp depicting the 228 National Memorial Hall. This was one of the first postage stamps bearing the name “Taiwan” (see article *Name and Constitutional change* on page 6).

Photo: Yang You-chen

In the United States, there were also memorial gatherings in many cities with large Taiwanese-American communities, such as New York, San Francisco and Los Angeles. Below a brief summary of two special events: the 228 Symposium at the Brookings Institution, and the “March for Taiwan” from Philadelphia to Washington DC.



Panelists at Brookings Symposium

### *Looking back and looking forward at Brookings*

The Symposium at the Brookings Institution on 22 February 2007 was jointly organized by Brookings and the Formosan Association for Public Affairs (FAPA). It brought together a group of scholars and analysts from the United States and Taiwan for an in-depth discussion of the historical meaning of “228”, and at the same time to look forward, and see what could be done to bring about closure and reconciliation on the island.

At the beginning of the forum, a moving documentary, produced by Mr. M.T. Lee was shown with images of Taiwan before, during and after the 228 events of 1947.

It showed the deep scar the event had left on the psyche of the Taiwanese, in particular since under the subsequent “White Terror” period, the Kuomintang did not allow any discussion of the events for some 40 years.

In the first session, titled “*Looking back*”, three scholars discussed historical aspects: Professor Steven Phillips of Towson University examined the importance of 228 for the course of Taiwan’s history, while Professor Peng Ming-min – a prominent member of Taiwan’s democracy movement and the DPP candidate in Taiwan’s first democratic presidential elections in 1996 – discussed the relevance of 228 for the understanding of present-day Taiwan. Professor Peng called the 228 incident “*a ghost that lives in the collective conscience of the people of Taiwan.*”

Photo: Yang You-chen



**Prof. Peng Ming-min (C) and Prof. Lin Tsung-kuang (L) at the Symposium**

The session was concluded by Dr. Richard Bush – Senior Fellow and Director of the Center for Northeast Asian

Policy Studies at Brookings — who examined the role of George Kerr, who served as attaché at the US Consulate in Taipei during the 228 Incident. Mr. Kerr became disenchanted with his superiors for doing little to prevent the massacre, left government service in mid-1947, and later wrote a book titled **Formosa Betrayed**, which has become a key reference work on the 228 massacre.

In the second session, titled “*Moving forward*”, Drake University Professor Lin Tsung-kuang gave the first presentation on differing perceptions of 228 from Taiwanese and American perspectives. Professor Lin’s father, Lin Mao-sheng, was one of the most prominent Taiwanese academics killed by the Kuomintang troops in 1947. He warned of the possibility that 228 could happen again if the international community allows China to take control of Taiwan.

The second speaker was former US deputy assistant secretary for East-Asian and Pacific Affairs, Randall Schriver, who described the lack of understanding on the part of American officials of historic events such as 228, and the disconnect between those in Taiwan — for whom 228 continues to loom large — and those in Washington, who know very little about it. He urged a better appreciation of this history, so US officials can have

a better understanding of present-day initiatives in Taiwan such as the “name change” movement and the removal of statutes honoring a regime responsible for such suffering.

Schriver asked the audience to imagine a counter-factual world, in which senior US policymakers in the departments of state and defense, the National Security Council and its staff and the offices of the vice president and president are steeped in the history of 228. He stated: “*In such a case ... senior US officials would know that Taiwanese lived the next 40 years after 228 not being allowed to speak their own language, study their own history and honor those who were sacrificed as a result of 228.*” And asked: “*In such a counter-factual world, would senior US officials have a different view of the Taiwanese desire to replace a Constitution that had been promulgated by the regime responsible for 228 and the oppression that followed?*”

The final speaker was Mr. Neil Kritz of the United States Institute for Peace, a specialist in the area of transitional justice. Mr. Kritz discussed issues related to historical memory, and the possibilities and requirements for reconciliation. He brought to the discussion experience from a number of other countries that have had to deal with traumatic historical events, such as Germany, South Africa and Latin America, and analyzed an array of ways in which these countries have worked through the process of accountability, the search for truth and closure, and reconciliation.

### ***“Run for Taiwan” from Philadelphia to Washington***

From 24 through 28 February 2007, a group of some 25 Taiwanese from different parts of the United States made a “run for Taiwan”, covering some 250 km from Philadelphia to Washington DC. The group received a send-off from Philadelphia’s National Constitution Center – not far from the Liberty Bell and Independence Hall — at noon on Saturday, where a memorial gathering was held with speeches and music .

During the run, the group ran into a heavy snow storm in Delaware, and had to trudge through some 40 km of snow and slush. Along the route, supporters handed out a manifesto calling on Americans to learn about the 228 Incident, and urging President Bush and the Congress to help safeguard Taiwan’s democracy, and support Taiwan’s membership in the UN.

In Washington, the group was joined by some 200 supporters, who walked the last mile from the Smithsonian to the Rayburn Office Building on Capitol Hill. There they were welcome by several members of Congress, including congressmen Scott Garrett (R-NJ) and Tom Tancredo (R-CO). The speeches in Congress included a moving account by

Mrs. Lin Hsu Yung-mei, daughter of Professor Lin Mao-sheng – a prominent scholar killed during the 1947 massacre.

Mrs. Lin described how on the night of 11 March 1947, her father had been dragged out of the house by six soldiers and disappeared, never to be seen or heard from again. She said: *“Injustice and senseless silence ... Now their stories can be told.”* She also compared the impact of 228 on the Taiwanese with the Holocaust’s impact on the Jewish people, and invoked the cry, “never again.” She said: *“The victims in both cases were not numbers. These were human beings. And the Taiwan people hope that the US continues to share our pain and joins us in saying, ‘never again’.”*

Photo: CNA



**"Run for Taiwan" participants in front of the Capitol in Washington**

The meeting included a minute of silence exactly at 28 minutes past 2:00 pm, and the singing of Green forever, my Taiwan – a song expressing the Taiwanese desire for freedom, democracy and independence.

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## **DPP primaries for 2008 presidential race**

### *A profile of the candidates*

From the beginning of March through the middle of May 2007, the ruling Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) in Taiwan is going through the process of selecting its candidate for the March 2008 Presidential elections. Since president Chen Shui-bian will have served two terms, he cannot be re-elected.

In early March 2007, no less than four DPP luminaries registered as candidate: Prime Minister Su Tseng-chang, Vice-President Annette Lu, DPP Chairman Yu Shyi-kun, and former Premier and Kaohsiung mayor Frank Hsieh Chang-t'ing. DPP party members will



vote on presidential hopefuls on 6 May 2007, after which public opinion polls will be held. The party will announce its final candidate on May 30. The primary process will also include the selection of candidates for legislative elections, which are to be held in December 2007.

Below we present a brief profile of each of the candidates:

Photo: AP

**Prime Minister Su Tseng-chang** is a strong candidate, who is able to use his present position to gain visibility. He became involved in politics in Taiwan in 1980, when – together with President Chen Shui-bian and a number of other young lawyers – he courageously took up the defense of the eight major defendants in the Kaohsiung Incident trial, a turning point in Taiwan’s modern history (see <http://www.taiwandc.org/hst-1979.htm>). The defendants included Vice-President Annette Lu and Ms. Chen Chü, who was elected mayor of Taiwan’s second largest city, Kaohsiung, in December 2006.



**Premier Su Tseng-chang**

Photo: GIO

Mr. Su subsequently was elected a member of the now-defunct Taiwan Provincial Assembly, and later served as County Magistrate of Pingtung County (1989 - 1993) and Taipei County (1997 – 2001). He also served a Secretary-General of the presidential Office (2004-2005) and DPP Chairman before becoming Prime Minister in January 2006.

**Vice-President Annette Lu** was an active member of the *tangwai* movement and a feminist before she was arrested in December 1979 for giving a speech about Taiwan’s international status at the “Kaohsiung Incident” of December 1979. The full text of the speech can be found in the publication **The Kaohsiung Tapes** <http://www.taiwandc.org/kao-tapes.pdf>. In April 1980, she was sentenced by a military court to twelve years imprisonment on “sedition” charges, but on 28 March 1985, she was released on medical bail.



**Vice President Annette Lu**

After some years of recuperation and reorientation, she decided to become politically active again, and won a seat in Taiwan Legislative Yuan in 1993. Four years later, she ran for the position of Taoyuan County Magistrate and won. For the 2000 Presidential elections, DPP candidate Chen Shui-bian selected her as his running mate, and the Chen-Lu ticket won against a divided pan-blue field of KMT candidate Lien Chan and independent candidate James Soong.

During her term as vice-President, Annette Lu has shown herself a tireless advocate of Taiwan's membership in international organizations. She received a Master's degree from the University of Illinois, and another Master's from Harvard University.

**DPP Chairman Yu Shyi-kun** is a founding member of the DPP, who has come a long way from his humble beginnings as a farm boy growing up in rural Ilan County on Taiwan's eastern shore. He worked himself through school, and eventually received a BA in politics from Tunghai University. Like Premier Su Tseng-chang, he served as a *tangwai* member of the Taiwan Provincial Assembly. In 1990, he was elected County Magistrate of Ilan County, serving two terms in that position. During his term he was voted first among Taiwan's 27 mayors and county magistrates for his excellence in administration and planning.

In 1999 he became secretary-general of the DPP party, and served as spokesman for President Chen's 2000 presidential campaign. Between 2000 and 2006 he served in a variety of positions, including Vice Premier, secretary-general of the presidential office, and Prime Minister (February 2002–December 2004). In January 2006, he was elected DPP Chairman with 54% of the vote.

**Former Premier and Kaohsiung mayor Frank Hsieh Chang-t'ing** is an equally-seasoned politician. Like Premier Su he became politically-active when he volunteered to defend the Kaohsiung Incident defendants in early 1980. In the 1980s, he served two terms as member of the Taipei City Council – part of the time together with President Chen Shui-bian. In 1989

Photo: GIO



**DPP Chairman Yu Shyi-kun**

Photo: GIO



**Mr. Frank Hsieh**

he successfully ran as a DPP-candidate for the Legislative Yuan, and served in that capacity for six years. In 1996 he joined the ticket of DPP candidate Prof. Peng Ming-min in Taiwan's first democratic presidential elections, but Peng lost to incumbent President Lee Teng-hui.

Mr. Hsieh served as DPP party Chairman from 2000 through 2002, and was Prime Minister from January 2005 through January 2006. In December 2006, he ran for the position of Taipei mayor, in an attempt to succeed KMT mayor Ma Ying-jeou. Although he lost out to KMT candidate Hau Lung-pin, he was credited to receive a higher percentage (41%) for the DPP than was thought possible in the capital city, where most mainlanders reside, who generally vote *en bloc* for the Kuomintang.

Mr. Hsieh received a Bachelor's from Taiwan National University, and a Master's of Law from Kyoto University.

***Taiwan Communiqué comment:*** *As is seen from this line-up, the DPP has an abundant supply of seasoned and experienced politicians. This is in stark contrast to the KMT, which is basically stuck with Mr. Ma Ying-jeou, although Mr. Ma can't even run as the KMT candidate because of his February 2007 indictment on corruption charges. Yet, the KMT changed its anti-corruption rules so it can support Ma's run for the presidency.*

*The DPP thus needs to go forward with the primary process and arrive at the best possible candidate. This process itself is a good training run for the presidential elections themselves. It is important that during this process the candidates maintain unity within the party and have a gentlemanly – or ladylike (in the case of Annette Lu) — debate.*

*It is also important that after the primaries are over, the losing candidates close ranks behind the winning candidate. A victory in March 2008 is in the cards, but depends very much on unity within the party.*

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# Report from Washington

## *Congressman Tancredo speaks out for Taiwan*

*By Coen Blaauw. FAPA-Headquarters*

With the 110th Congress having been in the nation's Capital for only a few weeks, with offices and staff still refurbishing their new office spaces, with freshmen still learning how to get as quickly as possible from the Cannon to the Rayburn, Congressman Tom Tancredo (R-CO) found time to take several groundbreaking actions on behalf of democratic Taiwan.

First: on 16 February 2007, the Congressman introduced HCR73 urging the US Administration to normalize relations with Taiwan. The operative part of the resolution states: *it is the sense of Congress that – (A) the President should abandon the fundamentally flawed 'One China Policy' in favor of a more realistic 'One China, One Taiwan Policy' that recognizes Taiwan as a sovereign and independent country, separate from the Communist regime in Beijing; (B) the President should begin the process of resuming normal diplomatic relations with Taiwan.*

Second: on the eve of 28 February 2007, the Congressman issued a statement in the Congressional Record to commemorate the 60th anniversary of Taiwan's "228" Massacre. During the 1947 event, Chiang Kai-shek's Chinese Nationalist soldiers rounded up and executed an entire generation of Taiwanese leaders, including mayors, lawyers, doctors, and students. Scholars estimate that up to 28,000 people lost their lives in the massacre. During the "White Terror" of the subsequent years, the Nationalists ruled Taiwan under martial law, which ended only when democratization set in during the mid-1980s.

Congressman Tancredo likened the event to the 1770 "Boston Massacre", and wrote: *"On February 28, 1947, the arrest of a cigarette vendor in Taipei triggered large-scale protests against military repression of Taiwan's residents. [...] Over the next half-century, the movement that grew out of the event helped to pave the way for Taiwan's momentous transformation from a dictatorship to thriving and pluralistic democracy."*

Rep. Tancredo concluded: *"I hope Members will join me in commemorating this important historical event, and I look forward to the day that we can welcome Taiwan's elected President to Washington, DC."*

And finally, on 7 March 2007, Rep. Tancredo -- together with Rep. Dana Rohrabacher (D-CA) and Thaddeus McCotter (R-MI) — introduced HR 1390 requiring Senate confirmation “of an individual appointed to serve as the Director of the American Institute in Taiwan.”

Historically, AIT Directors have been chosen by the President on the recommendation of the State Department. Rep. Tancredo explained: “The Taiwan Strait is a dangerous place. So why are we applying more congressional scrutiny to who heads up our embassy in a tourist destination like Barbados than we do to who is heading our mission in Taiwan? Given the strategic importance of the US-Taiwan relationship and US obligations under the Taiwan Relations Act, Congress ought to play a role in deciding who represents US interests in Taiwan.”

In the Dear Colleague letter that Rep. Tancredo sent around earlier, the Congressman writes that full Senate confirmation “will put a legislative `stamp of approval’ on whoever is appointed to this position in the future.”

Taiwanese Americans are very grateful for Rep. Tancredo’s actions. They all serve to further normalize U.S. relations with Taiwan and to further make Taiwan a normal country.

## *Joseph Wu new Taiwan representative in DC*

On 18 March 2007, Taiwan Prime Minister Su Tseng-chang confirmed news reports that Mainland Affairs Council Chairman Joseph Wu would succeed Representative David

Lee as Taiwan’s man in Washington. Mr. Lee is moving to Ottawa to become Taiwan’s representative in Canada.

The move is significant, because Dr. Wu is a DPP member, and has close ties to the Presidential office in Taipei: he served as deputy secretary-general of the Presidential Office from 2002 through 2004, when he moved to the Mainland Affairs Council. In the latter position, he was a frequent visitor to Washington, communicating often with members of the Administration, Congress, and think-tanks.

Photo: AFP



**Dr. Joseph Wu goes to Washington**

During a press conference on 18 March 2007, Dr. Wu said that he was confident he would be able to communicate the administration's intent to the US accurately, adding that his experience in handling cross-strait relations would be helpful in his new job. "*I think I am familiar with President Chen Shui-bian's way of thinking, and I am able to interpret his ideas easily, precisely and directly,*" Wu said. He added: "*Cross-strait affairs have been the focal point of our diplomatic work, and having an understanding in this field is quite important when it comes to foreign affairs.*"

Dr. Wu received his MA degree in political science from University of Missouri-St. Louis in 1982, and his Ph.D. from Ohio State University in 1989. He returned to Taiwan in 1989 to serve as deputy director of the Institute of International Relations of National Chengchi University in Taiwan.

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## Book review

### *The Making of Taiwanese identity, by Mark Harrison*

*Review by Gerrit van der Wees, editor of Taiwan Communiqué*

This is a book for scholars. Harrison is Research Fellow in Chinese Studies at the Centre for the Study of Democracy at the University of Westminster, London. Harrison approaches the issue of Taiwanese identity in multiple layers, and from a number of different angles: social science, political science, history, and more. He accessed a large number of difficult-to-find sources, books and publications, especially from the Japanese period, as well as the early Taiwanese independence movement in the 1950s and 1960s.

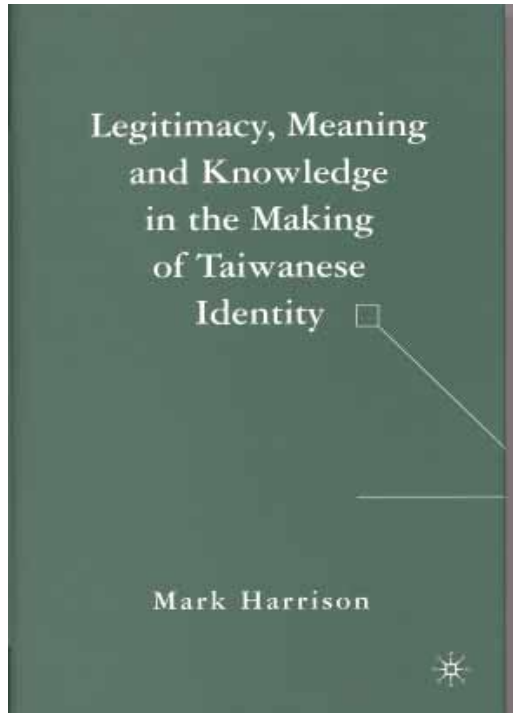
Harrison does weave together a very complete, but also very intricate and complex picture of how Taiwanese identity evolved during the past century. He does use a multitude of excellent references to make his points, and gives good insights on how different scholars have approached the issue of Taiwanese identity.

For example, he describes how different scholars looked at the nascent "Taiwan consciousness" movement during the Japanese colonial period, which lay at the roots of present-day Taiwanese nationalism. He also analyzed how scholars and Taiwanese themselves invoked the 228 Incident as a defining moment of Taiwan's post World War II history.

Harrison also closely examines the writings by Thomas and Joshua Liao of the Formosan Nationalism movement of the 1950s, which later grew into the Taiwan Independence Movement of the 1960s and 1970s. He also describes how in the 1950s – after Chiang Kai-shek and his Nationalists had come over from China and assumed power in Taiwan – prominent Western scholars such as Prof. John Fairbank at Harvard did support self-determination for the Formosans and Taiwan independence.

Another good analysis is Harrison’s description of how major political events, such as the 2-28 Incident of 1947, and the incidents in the late 1970s and early 1980s (Chung-li and Kaohsiung), illustrate how a collective memory – and through that the Taiwan national idea and Taiwanese nationhood – developed and gained strength in the subsequent years.

He concludes his work with a chapter on how the Taiwanese have arrived at a very *inclusive* definition of their identity. E.g., he quotes Lin Yi-hsiung – the Kaohsiung Incident defendant, who served as a chairman of the DPP in the late 1990s – as saying: *“Taiwanese are people who are prepared to make their homes in Taiwan ... regardless of where they came from, and regardless of when they arrived in Taiwan.”*



In all, an excellent scholarly work, with a trove of references about the formation of the Taiwanese identity. The full title of the book is ***Legitimacy, Meaning, and Knowledge in the Making of Taiwanese Identity***. It was published by Palgrave MacMillan, New York, December 2006.

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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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