



# Taiwan Communiqué

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## Frank Hsieh DPP presidential candidate *A surprise victory*

On May 6<sup>th</sup> 2007, the ruling DPP party in Taiwan announced that former Premier and Kaohsiung mayor Frank Hsieh had won the primary, and would be the party's candidate in the 2008 presidential elections. Mr. Hsieh was formally nominated by the DPP at a party meeting on 30 May 2007.

The DPP decided to forego the second phase of the primary process, which involved a public opinion poll. The weighted result of the primary and opinion poll would have given an end score, resulting in the selection of the winner. However, since Mr. Hsieh had such an overwhelming lead, 44.6% vs. 33.4% for his nearest competitor (Prime Minister Su Tseng-chang), his three competitors bowed out. DPP Chairman Yu Shi-kun garnered 15.8% of the vote, while vice-President Annette Lu trailed behind with 6.2%.

Photo: GIO

Hsieh's primary victory pits him in the presidential race against Mr. Ma Ying-jeou, who in early May 2007 was selected unopposed by the Kuomintang party as its candidate in spite of his indictment on corruption charges. On 12 February 2007, Mr. Ma was charged with diverting the equivalent of US\$333,000 from a Taipei city expense fund between 2002 and 2006 when he served as the city's mayor. Mr. Ma subsequently resigned as KMT chairman, but said he would run for president in 2008.



**Frank Hsieh Chang-t'ing**

## *Yeh Chu-lan as vice-presidential candidate?*

At the time of this writing, it has not been announced whom Mr. Hsieh would select as his running mate. He is widely reported to favor Ms. Yeh Chu-lan, who has long experience as a legislator and administrator: she stepped into prominence in Taiwan's political arena in April 1989, after her husband Cheng Nan-jung — a well-known opposition editor and writer — burned to death when police surrounded and stormed the office of his magazine, *Freedom Era Weekly*. She ran for a seat in the Legislative Yuan in December 1989, and was re-elected for four terms.

Photo: GIO



**Mrs. Yeh Chu-lan**

In 2000, during the first Administration of President Chen, she became Minister of Transportation and Communications. From 2002 to 2004 she served as Chairperson of the Commission for Hakka Affairs (a Cabinet position), and in 2004 became vice-Premier when Mr. Yu Shyi-kun was the Prime Minister. In late 2005 she moved to Kaohsiung to take the acting mayor's position after then-mayor Frank Hsieh was appointed to be Prime Minister.

**Taiwan Communiqué comment:** *Ms. Yeh would be an excellent running mate for Mr. Hsieh: she has wide administrative experience, is a Hakka and can thus increase support for the ticket from the Hakka minority (15% of the population), has served as a legislator from a Taipei district, but also has broad support in the South because she served as Kaohsiung mayor.*

## *Ma Ying-jeou can't find a running mate*

In the meantime, the KMT's Mr. Ma Ying-jeou was having trouble finding a running mate: on Thursday, 31 May 2007, the KMT Speaker of the Legislative Yuan, Mr. Wang Jin-pyng turned down Mr. Ma's request to team up on a ticket. Mr. Wang is the leader of the native-Taiwanese faction within the KMT. He has been increasingly angered and frustrated by the refusal of the leadership of the party to move into a more "Taiwanese" direction.

On 25 May 2007, a KMT spokesperson did acknowledge that at the upcoming congress on 24 June 2007, the party would include “Taiwan-centered” values in its party regulations, but said it would not ditch ultimate unification with China as the party goal. The changes will mark the first ever mention of “Taiwan” in the party’s regulations. Observers in Taiwan consider the move an election ploy to attract more native Taiwanese to vote for the party in the upcoming legislative and presidential elections.

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Mr. Wang seemed to have been particularly angered by the fact that he was bypassed as Chairman of the KMT, when Mr. Ma stepped down in February 2007 because of the indictment on corruption charges. Wang felt that this was a good opportunity for the KMT to show that it was a “Taiwanese” party. However, the inner circle around Mr. Ma – which is exclusively composed of Chinese mainlanders



### Mr. Ma inviting Wang Jin-pyng to ride the pedicab

– rejected the idea and eventually went for Mr. Wu Po-hsiung, a Hakka who has a long record of collaboration with the KMT: he previously served as (appointed) Taipei City mayor (1988-1990), interior minister, and presidential secretary general (1991-1996).

## *Premier Su resigns, Chang Chun-hsiung succeeds him*

On May 12th 2007 — following his defeat in the DPP primary — Prime Minister Su Tseng-chang decided to resign in order to give President Chen a free hand to appoint a new Prime Minister for the last year of his presidency. He formally stepped down on Monday May 21st 2007, and was succeeded by former Premier Chang Chun-hsiung, who earlier served as Prime Minister from October 2000 through February 2002.

The new Premier Chang is also a key member of the DPP: like President Chen, (former) Premier Su, and DPP Presidential candidate Frank Hsieh, he served as a defense attorney for the “Kaohsiung Eight” defendants in the 1980 “Kaohsiung Incident” trial. This involved a military tribunal of eight leading members of the democratic opposition, who were arrested following the “Kaohsiung Incident” of 10 December 1979 and accused of “sedition”, when they organized a Human Rights Day commemoration asking for democracy and an end to martial law in Taiwan.

Premier Chang maintained most ministers from the Su Cabinet, such as Foreign Minister James Huang and Mainland Affairs Council Chairman Chen Ming-tong (who recently succeeded Dr. Joseph Wu who moved to Washington in April to serve as Taiwan's representative there), but also did some reshuffling: he named Air Force General Lee Tien-yu as the new minister of national defense, replacing Mr. Lee Jye, who will retire. General Lee is a former Air Force pilot, who served as commander-in-chief of the Air Force from 2002 until 2004, when he was promoted to chief of the general staff. General Lee stepped down from that position on 1 February 2007 to become a presidential adviser. He was one of the first Chinese mainland military officers to have a good communication with the predominantly native-Taiwanese DPP when it was still in the opposition in the early 1990s.

Photo: GIO



**New Prime Minister  
Chang Chun-hsiung**

He also appointed Dr. Shieh Jhy-wey, presently Taiwan's representative to Germany, to be the new head of the Government Information Office. Dr. Shieh, who is known for his mastery of language, said that it is his hope to turn the GIO into the **"Good Ideas Office"**, *"... because it is my job to come up with policy proposals for the government and clarify the government's policies for the public."*

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## Taiwan into the WHO

### *Applying for full membership*

Since 1997, Taiwan has – supported by a number of diplomatic allies — worked hard to join the World Health Organization (WHO), which held its annual World Health Assembly (WHA) meeting in Geneva in May.

Since 1998, the US Congress has supported Taiwan's participation in the WHO through a series of resolutions. In 2002, this effort bore fruit, when the Congress passed resolutions leading the Bush administration to accept an amendment to Public Law 107-10. On 4 April 2002, President Bush signed the Bill into law.

However, since 2002 very little has happened: the State Department says in its annual reports to Congress that it is seeking “meaningful participation” and observer status for Taiwan, but it has done very little to achieve this. The fact is that Taiwan is even being kept out of key meetings dealing with communicable diseases such as pandemic flu and other possible diseases.

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Taiwan's hopes for “meaningful participation” have also been dashed by a 2005 memorandum of understanding signed by the WHO with China. In the secret MOU, which only recently came to light, the WHO agreed to request China's permission for any activities involving Taiwan's participation.



**Taiwan knocking on the door of the WHO**

Thus, frustrated by the fact that the past ten years have not seen any progress on this issue, the Taiwan

government announced on 12 April 2007 that it was initiating a more forceful approach, applying for full membership in the organization under the name “Taiwan.” Previous applications were made for only observer status under the vague and nondescript “Taiwan Health Entity” title. In recent opinion polls on the island, 95% of the respondents stated that they supported full membership in the WHO under the name Taiwan.

## ***Congress writes in support of Taiwan***

Taiwan's efforts received support from the US Congress through a series of letters: on 4 May 2007, twenty-six members of the House of Representatives sent a letter to European Commission President Jose Manuel Barroso, stating that pursuant to Rule 3 of the WHA Rules of Procedure, the DG of the WHO “*may invite a country applying for WHO membership to be a WHA observer before the application is approved.*”

The twenty-six Congressmen urged Barroso to give European support for Taiwan's participation in the WHO, and emphasized the importance of Europe and the United States “*to speak with one voice on a matter that has great significance for the vital field of international public health.*”

On 10 May 2007, a group of seven senators led by Senate Taiwan Caucus co-chair Trent Lott (R-MS) sent a letter to WHO Director Margaret Chan, saying “...we believe that the WHO would be strengthened by granting Taiwan full membership status at the World Health Assembly.” The seven senators added “... we encourage you to use your substantial influence to persuade states to support Taiwan’s participation as a full member in the Assembly. Doing so will make a significant contribution to global health security.”

## *The State Department’s report to Congress*

In a related development, at the end of March 2007, the US State Department issued its annual report to Congress. The report was referred to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. In the report, the Department describes the efforts it has undertaken to achieve Taiwan’s participation in the WHO, as well as bilateral health policy activities.

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The main problem with the report is that many of the activities described took place in the period 2003-2005. This leaves the impression that very few initiatives were undertaken during the past two years, and raises the question whether the State Department is pursuing this issue aggressively enough. It also seems that the Administration could do more in terms of building a coalition of like-minded members in support of Taiwan’s participation. No efforts are described to line up with e.g. European member states of the WHO.



**China Health Organization: "this is much better"**

Another problem with the report is that it describes “meaningful participation / observer status” as an end-goal. While the original Congressional Resolutions on this issue (in the period 1998 – 2002), and the approved legislation (in 2002 and 2004), indeed called for Taiwan’s participation as an observer in the WHO, this was *by no means* meant to be an “end-state.” Observer-ship was always seen as a stepping stone towards full membership. The State Department assertion that it does not support membership for Taiwan in the WHO runs contrary to these intentions: the door should be left open for further progress.

The report also contains language to the effect that the United States considers “statehood” a requirement for membership of the WHO. We checked the website of the WHO and found that e.g. Niue (population 1,000) and Tuvalu (population 10,000) are listed as members, while the Palestinian Authority and the Malta Order of Chivalry have observer status. It seems ironic that these “states” are a member of the WHO, while Taiwan with its 23 million inhabitants is being kept out.

The report also seems to imply that the State Department does not consider Taiwan a nation-state. More on that in the article below.

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## Is the US a nation-state?

*By Gerrit van der Wees, editor Taiwan Communiqué*

In past *Taiwan Communiqué*'s we discussed the issue of the status of Taiwan (*"Is Taiwan a nation-state?"* issue no. 111, December 2006). We provided arguments that under the definition of the 1933 Montevideo Convention – to which the US is a signatory — Taiwan does possess all attributes of a nation-state: a defined territory, population, government, and capability to enter into international agreements. Indeed, it has diplomatic ties with 25 other nations in the world.

The question is not whether Taiwan is a nation-state – *it is!* Rather, the question is how it is recognized internationally: the old KMT claim to represent China is not there anymore. The government in Taipei now only claims to represent Taiwan and surrounding islands – indeed a major difference from 35 years ago, when the now-outdated “One China” policy was established.

The US indeed does not have diplomatic relations with the government in Taipei, but this was in response to the fact that the previous KMT Administration in Taipei maintained — until 1991 — that it was the government of *all of China*. **That** claim – which was recognized by the US until 1979 – fell into disrepair after the PRC's entry in the United Nations in 1971. However, de-recognition in 1979 did not change Taiwan's status in any way: it only changed *which government* was recognized by the US as the government of China. De-recognition also did not mean that Taiwan suddenly became a non-country.

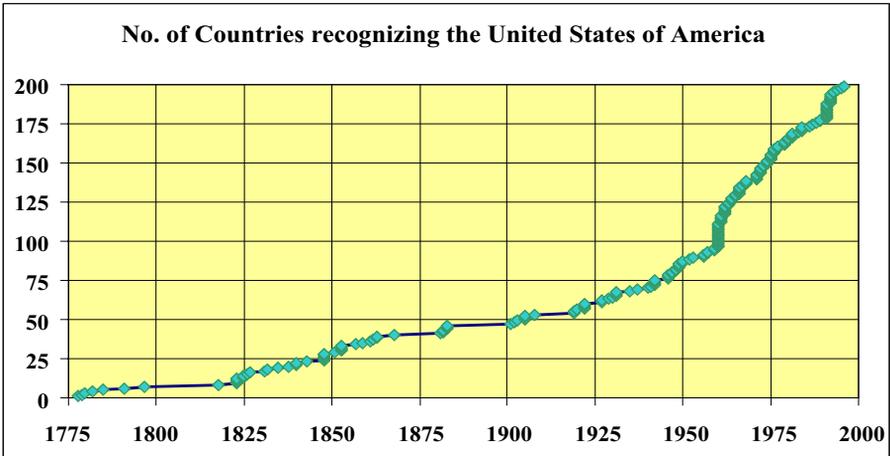
We also want to emphasize that diplomatic recognition by itself doesn't determine whether a country is a nation-state or not. One often hears the common misconception

that Taiwan is not a state “because it is not recognized as such by the international community.” In plain (American) English: this is hogwash. Some examples: from 1949 until 1979, the US did not recognize the PRC: was China therefore not a state? At present, the US doesn’t recognize Cuba: is Cuba therefore not a nation-state?

But a prime example of how fuzzy the issue can be, is the history of the United States itself. The question “Is the US a nation-state?” will probably be answered by most people with an affirmative “yes.” However, the next question is more difficult: “When did the US become a nation-state?” Most Americans would emphatically say “1776”, when the Founding Fathers issued the Declaration of Independence.

However, during the first two years after the Declaration of Independence, not a single country recognized the young republic. The first country to recognize the US – France – didn’t do so until September 1778. The second country – Spain – not until a year later, and during the first 42 years of its existence (until 1818), **the US was recognized by only seven countries around the world.**

Graph: Taiwan Communiqué



In the 1820s, a number of Latin American countries followed, and in the 1830s some more European countries, such as Belgium, Sardinia and the Two Sicilies (!?). Interestingly, the United States did not reach the number of 25 diplomatic recognitions (Taiwan’s present number!) until 1848, some 72 years after the Declaration of Independence. Was the US therefore not a nation-state during that time? The graph, which is based on records of the State Department website, presents the growth of the number of diplomatic ties over time.

## The Taiwan status quo “as we define it”

*By Harvey Feldman. Ambassador Feldman is distinguished fellow in China Policy in the Asian Studies Center at the Heritage Foundation. This article first appeared on the website of the Heritage Foundation on 22 May 2007.*

Photo: Heritage Foundation

The Bush Administration has often said it opposes attempts by either side—China or Taiwan—to alter the status quo in the Taiwan Strait area. This admonition, given by White House or State Department spokespersons, is almost always directed at statements from, or actions taken by, the government in Taipei. Apparently, China’s yearly addition of 100 offensive missiles aimed at Taiwan, for a total now approaching 900, does not count as an alteration of the status quo. Although these administration spokespersons often add the words “as we define it” after “status quo,” they do not, in fact, define it.



**Ambassador Feldman**

So perhaps we should take up the task. At the most obvious level, the status quo is an entity called China on one side of the Taiwan Strait and an entity called Taiwan on the other. The claims each makes certainly are part of the status quo and so deserve some consideration.

The Chinese government asserts something it calls “the sacred One China Principle” which, when it speaks to the people of Taiwan, goes like this: One China is the China that will be created by the necessary and inevitable unification of Taiwan with the mainland. But when China addresses an international audience, it goes like this: There is only one China in the world, and Taiwan is a province of that China whose only lawful representative is “the people’s government in Beijing.” This is the formula used to block Taiwan’s participation in the World Health Organization and other international bodies.

Back in the days of one-party authoritarian rule on Taiwan, Taipei claimed to be the seat of the legitimate government of all China, including not only Taiwan but Mongolia and Tibet as well. And the United States recognized it as such, more or less, up to January 1, 1979, when diplomatic recognition switched to Beijing. “More or less,” because after President Nixon’s visit to China in 1972 and the issuance of the Shanghai Communiqué, diplomatic niceties aside, America dealt with the government in Beijing as the government of China and the government in Taipei as the government of Taiwan. Despite the subsequent change in diplomatic relations, it still does. And we recognized Mongolia many years ago.

In 1991, a dozen years after the U.S. switched diplomatic recognition to Beijing, the Taipei government stopped claiming to be the legitimate government of China and asked to be recognized only as the government of the territory it obviously controls, Taiwan and associated islands. But the government still calls itself, formally, “The Republic of China” (ROC for short), its name under a constitution written for all of China, adopted in Nanjing in 1947, and brought to Taiwan by Chiang Kai-shek in 1949. That constitution has been amended many times, for example to eliminate the seats of those who claimed to represent mainland districts not under ROC control since 1949, but it remains in force.

The U.S. regarded neither the amendments nor dropping the claim to be the legitimate government of all of China to be changes in the status quo—or at least not changes that merited some statement of displeasure. After all, it would be a bit difficult to insist that the ROC should maintain its claim to legally govern all of China when the U.S. recognizes another in that role. But were the Taipei government to call the mainland-issued 1947 constitution null and void, drop the name Republic of China, and call itself something simple and descriptive like “Taiwan,” the U.S. would likely denounce these actions as a most grievous unilateral change in the status quo. China would regard it as intensely provocative.

Taiwan’s two most recent presidents have frequently asserted that Taiwan is a state separate from China, sovereign and independent. But so long as this claim is not placed within a legal framework, Washington and Beijing have decided that, however galling, they can live with it.

So that’s not a change in the status quo either. Indeed, statements about Taiwan being an independent, sovereign entity have been made so often over the last 10 years that one may even say they too form part of the status quo, along with Washington’s admonition that “you’d better not pass any legislation that says so” and Beijing’s threat that “if you do we will have to attack you.” In 2005, China enshrined that threat in a piece of legislation known as “The Anti-Secession Law.” But since everyone knows China does not decide its policies on the basis of law, this too was not considered a change in the status quo.

So what is the status quo? For that matter, what is Taiwan’s status? The U.S. says it follows a “One China Policy.” Does that mean it regards Taiwan as a Chinese province? Actually, no. In fact, the U.S. makes no formal statement at all about Taiwan’s status. In the communiqué establishing diplomatic relations with the People’s Republic of China, the U.S. “acknowledged” the Chinese position that there is but one China of which Taiwan is a part. That word, “acknowledged,” is diplomatic jargon meaning “we understand that is your claim.”

Washington has never said it regards Taiwan as a PRC province. Nor, when various Taiwan spokesmen assert that the island republic is a separate, independent sovereignty, has the U.S. contradicted that claim. It is true that both the Clinton and George W. Bush administrations have said they would not support Taiwan's membership in international organizations that admit only states. But in this, they appear not to have read American law carefully enough.

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Is there American law on the subject? Yes, there is the Taiwan Relations Act (TRA), and quoting it may help clarify matters. To begin with the matter of membership in international organizations, TRA, in Section 4(d), states that the withdrawal of diplomatic recognition from Taiwan provides no basis for opposing its membership in the international financial institutions (e.g., the World Bank and IMF) or any other international organization. As far as American law is concerned, Taiwan's competence for such membership is unquestioned.



**"Mr. Washington, sir: why don't we maintain the status quo and *not* cross the Delaware River?"**

So is Taiwan a state? In American law it certainly is. The TRA states,

*Whenever the laws of the United States refer or relate to foreign countries, nations, states, governments, or similar entities, such terms shall include and such laws shall apply with respect to Taiwan.*

Moreover, the TRA authorizes the President to sell arms and enriched uranium fuel to Taiwan, sales which, under American law, can be made only to friendly states and governments. Taiwan is not a part of China for purposes of American immigration law. And the U.S. negotiates executive agreements, essentially treaties, with its government. So World Health Organization membership for Taiwan is completely in keeping with the "status quo as we define it," as are agreements currently under discussion between the U.S. and Taiwan on investment, taxation, and government procurement. By the same token, a U.S.–Taiwan Free Trade Agreement, when the U.S. finally makes the political decision to move it forward, will be fully consistent with the American one China policy.

Participation in the International Civil Aviation Organization, International Maritime Organization, and other international institutions for which statehood may or may not be a requirement are also all perfectly in keeping with the U.S. policy.

So just what is the status quo? In fact, the status quo is that, for all purposes other than the exchange of formal embassies and ambassadors, American law treats Taiwan as a state separate from the People's Republic of China.

And beyond the implications this holds for questions of bilateral agreements and international organizations, the TRA says that, should the PRC attempt to alter Taiwan's status "by other than peaceful means, including by boycotts or embargoes," the U.S. would treat this as "a threat to the peace and security of the Western Pacific area and of grave concern to the United States."

Clearly, there is nothing to be gained and much to be lost by needlessly provoking China by some form of words or pushing it into a situation in which it feels obliged to strike out militarily. But it would be useful for the U.S. government, as it seeks to maintain the status quo "as we define it," to review just how it is defined already in the Taiwan Relations Act.

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## **DOD 2007 report on China's military power** *Gearing up to take Taiwan by force*

On 25 May 2007, the US Department of Defense issued its "**2007 Annual Report on the Military Power of the People's Republic to China.**" The 42-page report to Congress presented a concise overview of China's military expansion. The buildup was termed a "threat" by Defense Secretary Robert Gates.

The main conclusion of the report is that China is gearing up for a "... *comprehensive transformation from a mass army designed for protracted wars of attrition on its territory to one capable of fighting and winning short-duration, high-intensity conflicts against high-tech adversaries* — which China refers to as local wars under conditions of informatization" (*emphasis added – Ed*). It states that China is pursuing "asymmetric warfare options" through its heavy investments in areas such as ballistic and cruise missile systems, undersea warfare systems including submarines and advanced naval mines, and counterspace systems,

The report adds that China is “*expanding from the traditional land, air, and sea dimensions of the modern battlefield to include space and cyberspace.*” It states that PRC military strategists are even considering “*international law*” as an instrument to deter adversaries. It says that “*in a Taiwan Strait context, China could deploy an information campaign to portray third-party intervention as illegitimate under international law.*”

Photo: FAS

The report indicates that Taiwan remains the main near term focus of China’s military buildup, but suggests that Beijing is also generating military capabilities “*beyond Taiwan*”, i.e. “*other regional contingencies, such as conflict over resources or territory.*” It describes acquisition by the PLA of long-endurance submarines, precision-guided air-to-ground



**Dong Feng 31 missiles on parade in Beijing**

missiles, long-distance military communications, and long-range ballistic missiles “*which could be used for crises not involving Taiwan.*”

As in past reports, the Pentagon criticized Beijing’s lack of openness about its plans, strategies and intentions. In a press conference on 24 May 2007, US Defense Secretary Robert M. Gates criticized lack of transparency, and expressed concern about the continued double-digit percent increase in defense spending by China. The DOD report estimates that the real Chinese expenditures are approx. between US\$ 85 and 125 bln., some two to three times the officially announced defense budget of US\$ 45 bln.

The report states that the essence of the Chinese secrecy surrounding military growth is captured by former supreme leader Deng Xiaoping’s 24-character maxim “*hide our capacities and bide our time; be good at maintaining a low profile.*”

In the subsequent sections, the report gives an overview of the various weapon systems on which China is putting major emphasis in its treats against Taiwan:

- \* Increase in the number – and higher accuracy — of short-range ballistic missiles: the estimate given by the DOD report was approximately 900 in October 2006, increasing at more than 100 a year. This puts the present number at around 980;

- \* The deployment of additional Russian-made Sovremenny II guided missile destroyers fitted with anti-ship cruise missiles and wide-area air-defense systems;
- \* Building and testing a second-generation of nuclear submarines, the Jin-class (Type 094), which will each be outfitted with twelve 5,000-mile-range JL-2 missiles, vastly improving China's nuclear missile strike capabilities;
- \* Expanding the number of advanced fighter aircraft that can conduct combat operations against Taiwan without refueling (currently estimated at 700 aircraft), and increasing the capabilities of those aircraft: China is deploying the F-10 multi-role fighter to operational units and is producing the Su-27 SMK/Flanker (F11-A) under a co-production pact with Russia.
- \* The report states that these aircraft are armed with *“an increasingly sophisticated array of air-to-air and air-to-surface weapons, satellite and laser-guided precision ammunition, and cruise missiles.”*

The report also highlighted the strategic forces modernization, as evidenced by the new Dong Feng DF-31A intercontinental range ballistic missile (range 11,270 km), which will achieve initial operational capability in 2007, and which gives China the capability to strike any target in the continental United States.

***Taiwan Communiqué comment:*** *The report does show rather clearly that Beijing does have the intent to use military force against Taiwan. There are people who still argue that there is “no evidence”: we suggest they are sticking their collective heads in the sand.*

*The question is not “if” the Chinese want to use force, but “when” they will use it. At present they are inhibited from doing so by a relatively firm stance of the United States, which has emphasized “peaceful resolution.” It shows the importance for the US not to have weak knees.*

*But the US – and Western Europe – need to do more: they need to emphasize to Chinese leaders that the present policy of threats and intimidation does not have a place in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, and that responsible stakeholderhood does include acceptance of Taiwan as a friendly neighboring state, instead of perpetuation of the Chinese Civil war in which the Taiwanese had no part.*

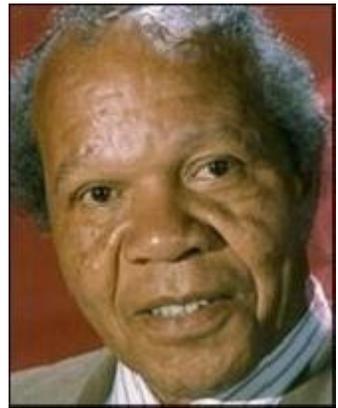
## Saint Lucia establishes Taiwan relations

### *December elections bring diplomatic ties*

At the end of April 2007, the governments of Taiwan and Saint Lucia announced the resumption of diplomatic ties between the two countries. The move was brought about by the political switch on the Caribbean island following the December 2006 elections, which brought the United Workers Party of Sir John Compton back to power.

Sir John led his country, with a population of 170,000, to independence from Britain in 1979. Under his leadership, the tropical island established relations with Taiwan in 1984, but when he lost elections in 1997, the then prime minister Kenny Anthony of the St. Lucia Labour Party switched recognition to Beijing.

However, according to External Affairs Minister Rufus Bosquet, the Chinese ties only brought them “... *very large and expensive buildings which are difficult to maintain*”. Thus, when Compton’s United Workers Party swept to victory in December 2006, it was just a matter of time before relations with Taiwan would be re-established.



**Sir John Compton**

Mr. Bosquet explained that the ruling United Workers Party operates on the general concept of sustainable development for the country, and added that “*this is an area in which the Taiwanese are very proficient.*”

Taiwan foreign minister James Huang, who was in the Saint Lucia capital of Castries for the signing of the joint communiqué reestablishing diplomatic relations, also explained that Taiwan had never asked St. Lucia to sever relations with China.

***Taiwan Communiqué comment:*** *Indeed Taiwan would be pleased if dual recognition would be possible, but this concept has until now always been rejected by China, which still operates on the basis of the “either-or” mode.*

*If the international community wants a peaceful resolution of the China-Taiwan conflict, it needs to find creative ways in which the two countries can live in peace next to each other. Dual recognition would be a good way forward.*

## *Sir John Compton: a profile in courage*

Sir John Compton, whose return to power prompted the reestablishment of diplomatic ties between Taiwan and St. Lucia, is a profile in courage. He became the leader of the conservative United Workers Party in 1964, and was St. Lucia's Prime Minister when it was still under British rule. He led his country to independence in 1979.

When he ran for elections in December 2006, he was criticized for his advanced age (82), but he responded: *"I am not here running for the Olympics. Age is really in the state of mind, I am giving my experience and my intelligence that God gave to me. I am not going for a Marathon, I am not going for the Olympics."*

Still, his health turned out to be a factor: in early May 2007, Sir John had a series of strokes, and was hospitalized and moved to a hospital in NYC. On May 16th, the deputy-leader of the ruling United Workers Party, Mr. Leonard Montoute, announced that Compton was unable to stand or walk on his own and that the cabinet will select a new Prime Minister to lead the island nation.

The Constitution states that the Governor-General, Dame Calliopa Pearlette Louisy, will appoint a person from the Assembly of the House who has the majority of support in the House. The House has 17 members, 11 of the ruling UWP, and 6 of the opposition Saint Lucia Labour Party.

***Taiwan Communiqué comment:*** *We extend our best wishes to Sir John Compton and his family. We hope and pray for a speedy recovery so he can enjoy his remaining years with his family.*

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## Report from Washington

### *High-level resolution introduced in the House*

By Coen Blaauw. FAPA-Headquarters

On 1 May 2007, sixteen members of the US House of Representatives introduced bipartisan resolution HCR136 calling for the complete removal of all restrictions on visits by Taiwanese high-level officials to the United States. Led by Rep. Steve Chabot, the resolution calls upon the Administration to comply with its obligations under the

Immigration and Nationality Technical Corrections Act of 1994 in which the President or any other high-level officials of Taiwan shall be admitted to visit the United States.

In addition, the resolution notes that, *“Since the Taiwan Strait is one of the flashpoints in the world, it is essential that United States policymakers directly communicate with the leaders of Taiwan.”* It concludes: *“All restrictions on visits by high-level elected and appointed officials of Taiwan to the United States, including the democratically elected president of Taiwan, should be lifted.”*

Currently, according to self-imposed “guidelines” maintained by the Department of State, Taiwan’s President, Vice President, Premier, Ministers of Defense and Foreign Affairs may only visit locations far away from Washington on “transit visit”, but are not allowed to visit Washington for meetings with US officials. The resolution states that these restrictions *“... deprive the (US) President, Congress and the American public of the opportunity to engage in a direct dialogue regarding developments in the Asia-Pacific region and key elements of the relationship between the US and Taiwan.”*

The resolution urges the US to engage in *“...direct high-level exchanges at the Cabinet level with the government of Taiwan, in order to strengthen a policy dialogue with Taiwan”*, and states that it is in the interest of the United States *“... to strengthen links between the US and the democratically-elected officials of Taiwan and demonstrate stronger support for democracy in the Asia-Pacific region.”*

## ***Security Archives: how Nixon betrayed Taiwan***

In December 2003, the Washington DC-based **National Security Archives** published newly declassified documents on the secret machinations of Messrs. Nixon and Kissinger during their February 1972 trip to Beijing (see *"The Nixon—Kissinger capers"*, **Taiwan Communiqué** no. 106, January 2004).

We recently obtained yet another set of declassified documents of the same trip to Beijing, which show that Messrs. Nixon and Kissinger betrayed Taiwan, and sold it down the river. The documents, a set of “memorandum of conversation” covering seven meetings during the period Febr 21<sup>st</sup> through 28<sup>th</sup> 1972, present an almost word-for-word transcript of meetings of Messrs. Nixon and Kissinger, accompanied by NSC staffers John Holdridge and Winston Lord, with a Chinese delegation led by Premier Chou En-lai. The two meetings in which Taiwan was discussed extensively took place on February 22<sup>nd</sup> and 24<sup>th</sup> 1972 at the Great Hall of the People in Beijing.

The session of February 22<sup>nd</sup> 1972 starts off with light banter, and also sheds an interesting light on Nixon's preoccupation with secrecy: he indicated that the full 500-page report of Kissinger's earlier visit had not been disseminated to the State Department, and that even Secretary Rogers and Assistant Secretary Marshall Green had only received a "sanitized memorandum", because "...our State Department leaks like a sieve."

The most crucial statements regarding Taiwan are made when Mr. Nixon reiterates the "five principles" on which Kissinger and Chou En-lai reportedly agreed:

1. There is one China, and Taiwan is part of China. There will be no more statements made – if I can control our bureaucracy – to the effect that the status of Taiwan is undetermined.
2. We have not and will not support any Taiwan independence movement.
3. We will, to the extent we are able, use our influence to discourage Japan from moving into Taiwan as our presence becomes less .... (the rest of the paragraph is blackened out by the censors – Ed.).
4. We will support any peaceful resolution of the Taiwan issue that can be worked out. And related to that point, we will not support any military attempts by the Government on Taiwan to resort to a military return to the Mainland.
5. We seek the normalization of relations with the People's Republic. We know that the issue of Taiwan is a barrier to complete normalization, but within the framework I have previously described we seek normalization and we will work towards that goal and will try to achieve it.

**Taiwan Communiqué comment:** *The problem with Mr. Nixon's statement is of course that – up front – he accepted China's assertion that "Taiwan is part of China" without any pre-condition. No consideration whatsoever of the views of the native Taiwanese (85% of the population) on the status or future of their country, or any reference to basic principles like freedom and democracy.*

*Later, the situation was corrected— to some extent — through the efforts of Secretary of State Rogers and Assistant Secretary Green (who were being kept in the dark by Messrs. Nixon and Kissinger), and language of the eventual Shanghai Communiqué only refers to the US "acknowledging" the Chinese position, but not accepting or recognizing the "Taiwan is part of China" phrase as US policy.*

*Thus, the Shanghai Communiqué became part of formal US policy, together with the 1979 Taiwan Relations Act, and the Communiqués of December 1978 and August 1982. Still, under the surface, the Nixon/Kissinger betrayal continued to fester, and some of the people associated with the effort to normalize relations with China continued to try to introduce the language of the secret meetings into US policy.*

*Over time, they succeeded to some extent: the addition of the phrase “we do not support Taiwan independence” by President Clinton in 1998 is an example. During the period 1972 through 1998, it was not part of the official lexicon or policy – which restricted itself to emphasis of a “peaceful resolution” — but it suddenly (re)appeared. Now we know where it came from.*

The full set of documents can be downloaded from the National Security Archive at George Washington University: [www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/nsa/publications/DOC\\_readers/kissinger/nixzhou/index.html](http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/nsa/publications/DOC_readers/kissinger/nixzhou/index.html)

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## Book review

*A War like no other, by Richard C. Bush and Michael O’Hanlon*

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

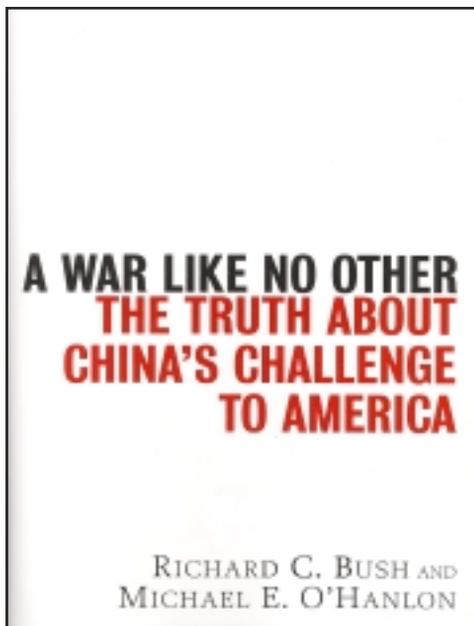
The main thesis of this book is that through miscalculations and misperceptions, a war could break out between the US and China, and that the main “issue” which could spark the conflict is Taiwan. So far, we agree.

But then the authors argue that almost all of the other areas of tension, such as China’s rise, expanding military power, trade balance, etc. can be “managed.” In presenting the thesis in this way, the authors are playing into China’s cards by overemphasizing Taiwan as an “issue” and a “problem” for China, instead of looking at Taiwan as a country in its own right.

China has ample problems that it should deal with, but the leaders in Beijing continue to play up the “Taiwan issue”, primarily for internal political reasons. The fact is that the man-in-the-street in Beijing or in Southeast China cares much more about economic issues, the environment, or the harsh “one-child” policy, and doesn’t give a hoot about “unification” with Taiwan – although (as the authors do indicate) sentiments can be whipped up by the regime.

Another fundamental problem is that the book starts with the premise that an action from the Taiwanese side, intended to protect its sovereignty, will be deemed “provocative” by the Chinese, and would lead to an escalation, and to war. This is the same as saying that George Washington or Thomas Jefferson’s emphasis on *Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness* was “provocative” to London and led to the 1776 War of Independence, or that Czechoslovakia and Poland in 1938 should not have “provoked” Hitler Germany into annexing them.

Yes, a war in the Taiwan Strait is certainly possible, but it will come about because of bullying by Beijing and/or by weak knees on the American side. The authors could have called the attention of their readers to the fact that *anything* the Taiwanese will do to safeguard their hard-won democracy and freedom will be considered “provocative” by the totalitarian leaders in Beijing. In the past, matters such as democratic elections for all seats in the Legislative Yuan (1992), direct elections for the presidency (1996), the abolition of the “Taiwan Province” (1997), the coming to power of the DPP (2000), and the referendum law (2003) were considered “provocative” by Beijing.



A third major problem with the book is that it preoccupied with war scenarios. Wouldn't it be more desirable to spend time and energy on developing “peace scenarios”: “*A Peace like no other?*” The people in Taiwan have worked hard for their democracy and want nothing more than to live in peace with all their neighbors, including China. We're sure that there could be hard-nosed analyses to devise ways in which peaceful coexistence as two friendly neighbors would come about. This could, hopefully, lead some American – and even some Chinese — leaders to start doing some out-of-the-box thinking, and envision normalization of relations between the three countries.

The authors take the present – very uncompromising — state of mind and non-conciliatory position of the Chinese leaders as a given. Wouldn't it contribute to a solution if US – and European – leaders would try to foster a new thinking in the minds

of the present, or next, generation of Chinese leaders? After all, democratization in Eastern Europe occurred when reformist leaders such as Gorbachev and Yeltsin started to push for “glasnost”. We would have liked to see the authors discuss the Chinese equivalent of “glasnost” (*Kaifang*, “opening”).

The authors do rightly make the point that in the case of a conflict, the US would need to stand by Taiwan if and when China attacks. The country is a democracy and a US ally. Its location straddles major sea-lanes from Japan/Korea to SE Asia. Failure to come to its defense would put American trustworthiness as an ally into question.

Still, the book perpetuates a number of basic misconceptions. Here are some examples:

The authors state on page 8: “*There are people in Taiwan who want ... a totally separate country ... and those people are in a clear minority.*” This is simply incorrect: in a recent opinion poll by Taiwan Thinktank, some 63% of the respondents agreed that – if there were no threat from China — they would be in favor of Taiwan independence. The poll showed that, even if there were a threat by China, some 53% favored independence. The US – and presumably other Western nations — want the people in Taiwan to be able to make a free choice on their future. Isn’t this a very clear signal regarding the direction the people of Taiwan would like to see their country take – without a gun pointed at their head?

The authors explain time and again (pp. 14, 21, 32, 74...) that China wants to leave behind “the century of humiliation” it suffered in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century. Well, come off it: that was more than 100 years ago! The problems China faced during the past century – Civil War, Great Leap Forward, Cultural Revolution, Tienanmen Massacre — were totally of its own making. Perpetuation of the “humiliation” lament is neither constructive nor helpful.

The authors state (page 64) that “Only native Taiwanese seek Taiwan independence.” This generalization is also incorrect: in the 1990s there was even an association of “Mainlanders for Independence”, and several prominent mainlanders such as former presidential secretary-general Chen Shih-meng and Prof. Ruan Ming, the secretary of CCP leader Hu Yao-bang, are active supporters of Taiwan independence.

The book is so deeply disappointing, because it unfairly paints Taiwan into a corner. For example, in one sentence (page 33), the authors state: “...*much of this book is about Taiwan – why it is a big problem, how it became one, what we can do about it, and most of all how to avoid an escalating war should a crisis erupt despite our best efforts to prevent one.*”

Well, any objective observer will agree that **China** is the big problem here. Taiwan is a small democracy; it doesn’t threaten China, it doesn’t want to start a war with China, but simply

wants to be left alone in peace, and not be annexed by China, which is still ruled by a totalitarian regime. There is nothing “radical”, “reckless” or “provocative” about that.

A final misconception is that the authors believe that “...*policymakers have generally handled the Taiwan and China problem reasonably well*” (page 162), and that “*the core of US policy (of dual deterrence) is basically correct*” (page 163). Well, if that is the case, why do we still have such a major problem on the table? If the policy had been “correct”, wouldn’t the problem have been solved?

We also have a problem with calling *dual deterrence* “correct”: if a bully threatens a small kid on the block, the “correct” policy would be to tell the bully to knock it off. Telling the small kid not to play with its marbles would *not* be right. The sad lesson of history is – as President Chen said in a recent speech – that “appeasement breeds aggression.”

The best way to prevent a war is not to have weak knees, not to send mixed signals to China or give China the impression that its claims on Taiwan are accepted, recognized or even acknowledged by the US: Beijing will **not** move against Taiwan if the US makes it crystal clear that it considers “*any effort to determine the future of Taiwan by other than peaceful means ... a threat to the peace and security of the Western Pacific area*” (Taiwan Relations Act, Section 2.b.4). It is time for the US to make clear it stands ready to fulfill this pledge, and leave no doubt that the US will help defend Taiwan.

The full title of the book is **A War like no other; the truth about China’s challenge to America**. It was published by John Wiley & Sons, Hoboken NJ, March 2007.

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## In the limelight

In this new feature of *Taiwan Communiqué*, we focus on an organization or person making an impact on the understanding of Taiwan in the world today. The first limelight is on the Centre of Taiwan Studies at the well-known School of Oriental and African Studies in London, United Kingdom.

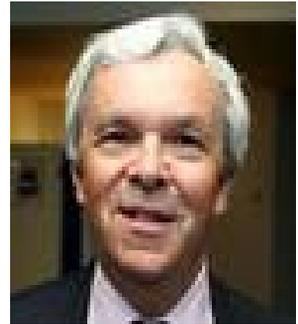
## *Centre of Taiwan Studies, SOAS*

The Taiwan Studies Programme at the School of Oriental and African Studies was established in 1999. Since its inception, it has become one of the leading centres for Taiwan Studies in the world. In 2006-7 the School launched a MA in Taiwan Studies, the first graduate degree focusing on Taiwan in the English speaking world. It offers the widest program of advanced interdisciplinary courses on Taiwan's society, culture, politics, language and economics available outside Taiwan.

Photo: SOAS

The Centre also has specialists in Taiwan's film, literature, domestic politics, international relations, religion, economic development, history, international relations, religion, cultural policy and political economy. Therefore the school is able to offer PhD supervision to students conducting doctoral research on Taiwan in a variety of academic disciplines.

The School has also become an important center for Taiwan Studies academic events in the world. During term time it holds regular public seminars, in which scholars working on Taiwan present their research. It also manages the annual European Association of Taiwan Studies conference, which is the largest such event in Europe. In addition, it hosts at least one international Taiwan Studies conference a year.



**Prof. Robert Ash**

In its studies and presentations, it focuses on Taiwan's critical geo-strategic position in the Asia-Pacific Region and the development of its relationship with China, as well as the countries of North East and South East Asia. It also looks at Taiwan's role as an important shaping influence on economic and political developments throughout the region. In its analysis of the development experience of contemporary Taiwan, it highlights the unique, but transferable model of economic growth, social transformation and political modernization.

The Director of the SOAS Taiwan Studies Programme is Professor Robert Ash, an expert in Taiwan's economic development. For more information on the Centre, please see its website: [www.soas.ac.uk/taiwanstudies](http://www.soas.ac.uk/taiwanstudies) or contact Dr. Dafydd Fell, who specializing in Taiwan's domestic politics. Dr Fell can be reached at [df2@soas.ac.uk](mailto:df2@soas.ac.uk). The address of the Center is: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, Thornhaugh Street, Russell Square, London WC1H0XG, Tel: +44 (0)20 7637 2388

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