



# Taiwan Communiqué

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**134**

## 2012 elections: Tsai Ing-wen ahead *Homecoming of the piggybanks*

When this issue of *Taiwan Communiqué* reaches our readers, the presidential and legislative elections will be only some three weeks away. It had been an even match, with the difference between the two main candidates for the presidency, incumbent President Ma Ying-jeou and his challenger Dr. Tsai Ing-wen of the DPP, never more than a few percentage points apart. But from mid-October 2011, Dr. Tsai started to pull ahead of President Ma (see opinion polls below).

On the following pages we present key issues and developments which played a role in the campaign. A major recent event was the “*homecoming of the piggybanks*” on 10 December 2011, when some 50,000 supporters came to a rally in front of the Presidential Office in Taipei to turn in their piggybanks, filled with donations.

The piggybank campaign was initiated in mid-October 2011, after a ham-fisted reaction from President Ma’s Control Yuan which threatened an investigation and fines when three toddlers in Tainan donated their piggybanks to the DPP election campaign. The DPP returned the piggybanks, but the episode galvanized the country into a nationwide piggybank campaign (see more on page 5).

Photo: Tsai Ing-wen campaign



**Dr. Tsai Ing-wen acknowledging well-wishers at the piggybank homecoming**

## *Election campaign enters final phase*

The closeness of the race is a good sign: it means that democracy is alive and well in Taiwan, and that the DPP under the leadership of Dr. Tsai has fully recovered from its loss in 2008, when the KMT's Ma Ing-jeou won a landslide victory.

If the DPP wins, it means a broad-based rejection of Ma's policies of moving towards China too far and too fast. The people on the island do want good relations with China, but Ma has charged ahead, and pushed the island further into China's orbit at the expense of Taiwan's sovereignty and international space. Many also argue that human rights, democracy and fairness in the judicial system have suffered under Ma's reign.

But Ma's popularity has also nosedived because of bad governance, unfulfilled promises in the economic area (his ill-fated 6-3-3 promises of 2008), a widening gap in income distribution and increasing unemployment among farmers and laborers. The DPP's Tsai Ing-wen has hammered away on these domestic issues, and has been able to present reasonable and rational alternatives which are appealing to the electorate.

## *Opinion polls show Tsai Ing-wen in the lead*

Opinion polls in Taiwan should always be viewed with caution. Those of government agencies like the Mainland Affairs Council and pro-KMT publications such as the **China Times** and **United Daily News** are generally suspect as they favor the ruling Kuomintang. The skewed results are due to the long association of these institutions with the repressive KMT during the years of martial law (1949 – 1987).

During the past years a number of new polling organizations have entered the field, and their more professional approach have increased the reliability of the polls. The main ones were Global Views Magazine and TVBS. Although TVBS is generally considered a very "blue" (pro-Kuomintang) news outlet, their polls have been surprisingly objective.

In addition, the Taiwan Election and Democratization Study at National Chengchi University and the Academia Sinica were traditional sources of election polls which were done on a scholarly basis, and which were considered more neutral.

Since the presidential election campaign started this Spring, most polls showed a very even race, with Tsai and Ma generally not more than a couple of percentage points away from each other. Unsurprisingly, the **United Daily News** and **China Times** show Ma ahead by half a dozen percentage points.

However, starting in October 2011, a number of polls showed Tsai Ing-wen pulling ahead of Ma by several percentage points. The first one was the **Global Views Magazine**'s poll in October 2011, which showed Tsai ahead of Ma by 4-6%. Regrettably, the poll was never published, as the Global Views polling operation was suddenly closed down, reportedly because the poll results "ruffled feathers." Press reports in Taiwan indicated that Ma's campaign manager King Pu-tsung was behind the move.

However, several other polls subsequently confirmed the trend in Tsai's favor:

	Date	Tsai Ing-wen	Ma Ying-jeou	James Soong
<b>TVBS</b>	Nov. 12	47.3%	45.8%	
<b>Taiwan Thinktank</b>	Nov. 23	39.6%	38.7%	11.7%
<b>Taiwan Braintrust</b>	Nov. 23	40.1%	33.5%	11.2%

Copyright: Taipei Times

Both **Taiwan Thinktank** and **Taiwan Braintrust** are considered more sympathetic to the DPP's Green Camp.

On the next couple of pages we present the reasons for the decline in Ma's poll numbers and the rise of Tsai Ing-wen's popularity. The main reason is that Dr. Tsai has been able to run an effective, issue-driven campaign, where she has focused on domestic issues, such as unemployment, income distribution, the plight of the farmers, and the environment.



**President Ma's 6-3-3-campaign check bounced:  
"No problem, I will write another one"**

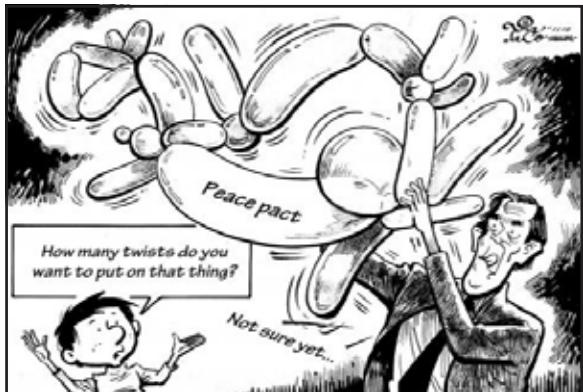
Ma's decline in the polls was also prompted by three specific events: his "peace accord" proposal, the piggybanks episode, and the entry into the race by Peoples' First Party candidate James Soong. Below a few more words on each of those developments.

## *Ma Ing-jeou's ill-fated "Peace Accord"*

On 17 October 2011, President Ma Ying-jeou was presenting the latest in a series of plans for Taiwan's "golden decade" in Taipei, and as part of this he suggested that a "Peace Accord" could be signed with China within the next decade. He said that Taiwan would consider moving in the direction of such an agreement under three conditions: if it had strong public backing, met the genuine needs of the country and could be carried out under the supervision of the legislature.

The proposal sent shockwaves through Taiwan: the idea of a "Peace Accord" had been discussed earlier, but during the past couple of years, Ma had kept it on the backburner, as it would involve "political talks" – something he had said he would not do during his first term in office. To many in Taiwan, the proposal had all the appearance of being a first step on a sliding slope towards unification.

Copyright: Taipei Times



**Ma's "Peace Pact": "How many twists do you want to put on that thing?"**

The proposal thus sent Ma's poll ratings into a nose dive, and a few days later, on October 20<sup>th</sup> 2011, Ma called a special press conference in an attempt to make the idea of a peace treaty more palatable to the voting public by saying that a referendum on the issue could be considered.

This caused another uproar, as until now Mr. Ma and his ruling Kuomintang party have strenuously objected *any* referendum on issues such as the Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement (ECFA). Against that background his support for a referendum seemed less than credible.

An important aspect of the "Peace Accord" proposal was its vagueness. Ma never specified how he would meet "the genuine needs of the country" or between whom the accord would be concluded: China would certainly not agree to a government-to-government agreement, while anything less than that would undermine the sovereignty of Taiwan.

DPP Chairwoman Tsai Ing-wen was also quick to point out that in 1951 the PRC government in Beijing signed a “Peace Accord” with the “local authorities” in Tibet, only to invade it a few years later, after it had softened resistance to its rule.

When the furor over the remarks still had not died down a few days later, President Ma came up with a list of ten conditions which presumably needed to be fulfilled before he would move ahead with a peace accord. According to a statement made during a campaign stop in Changhua County, Ma said that it would involve 10 guarantees as “one framework, two prerequisites, three principles and four assurances.”

According to Taiwan press sources, the ten conditions were:

1. Cross-strait exchanges were based on the “1992 consensus,” with different interpretations of what “one China” means;
2. Two prerequisites for cross-Strait negotiations: a high degree of domestic consensus and mutual trust between Taipei and Beijing;
3. Three conditions: meeting the true needs of the country, have strong public support and be supervised by the Legislature;
4. In addition, four assurances: talks on a peace agreement would have to ensure ROC sovereignty, Taiwan’s safety and prosperity, ethnic harmony and cross-strait peace, as well as a sustainable environment and just society.

Photo: AFP



**Piggybanks of all sizes were presented to the DPP**

Peculiarly though, when Mr. Lien Chan, who was the KMT administration’s envoy to the November 2011 APEC meeting in Honolulu, discussed the “Peace Accord” with Chinese president Hu Jin-tao, he didn’t even mention the ten conditions – an indication that they were only for domestic consumption.

## *Piggybanks flying off the shelves*

The second event that prompted a downturn in President Ma’s fortunes comes straight out of a fairy tale: on October 9<sup>th</sup> 2011 three kids, triplets, were

accompanied by their mother and grandfather to a DPP campaign rally, where they donated their piggybanks to Dr. Tsai.

The donation made it into the press, prompting a high official in the Ma administration's Control Yuan to threaten an investigation and a fine for the DPP if it did not return the money, as the children were below the voting age and were legally barred from donating to the campaign.

The DPP returned the piggy banks and the money, but the episode caused a backlash against the Ma administration for its heavy-handedness. In the following weeks, the DPP had tens of thousands plastic piggy banks made, colored yellow, red, blue and green. These flew off the shelves and resulted in a wave of support for Tsai's candidacy.



Photo: Tsai Ing-wen campaign

#### **Tsai Ing-wen address a crowd of tens of thousands at the piggybanks homecoming**

The piggybanks became a major symbol of the Tsai campaign's emphasis on small donations from ordinary folks, instead of big donations from big business which are prevalent in the KMT campaign. According to DPP headquarters, some 300,000 piggy banks were distributed. Tsai Ing-wen told people to let the piggy banks "come home" to the DPP headquarters on December 10<sup>th</sup> – with their bellies filled with donations.

In late November a fourth type of "limited edition" piggy bank made its entry: a "Robin Hood" piggy bank in a Robin Hood outfit: an Associated Press newswire story had referred to Tsai as the "female Robin Hood" of Taiwan, taking from the rich to give to the poor. The image caught on, and became a major campaign tool too.

### ***James Soong enters the race***

The third significant factor in the election campaign was the entry into the race by James Soong, a former Kuomintang stalwart who became disenchanted with President Ma. Soong had also been a third party candidate in 2000, who came in a close second after winner Chen Shui-bian, but who also significantly outpolled KMT candidate Lien Chan.

Messrs. Lien Chan and Soong teamed up in the 2004 presidential election, and lost by a hair against then incumbent Chen Shui-bian. After Ma was elected in 2008, Soong presumably expected a position commensurate with his status in the KMT. However, Ma and Soong were longtime rivals dating back to the early 1980s when both were upcoming stars in the KMT hierarchy, and Ma sidelined him and his political influence diminished.

By running for president Soong is reportedly hoping to garner a sufficient number of seats for his Peoples' First Party (PFP) candidates in the Legislative Yuan, so he can exert influence as a powerbroker and kingmaker in the legislature. Most opinion polls give him anywhere between 10 and 15% of the vote.

## *International Committee for fair elections set up*

On 15 December 2011, the formation of the International Committee for Fair Elections in Taiwan (ICFET) was announced in Taipei. Honorary Chairman is former President Lee Teng-hui, who served as Taiwan's president from 1988 until 2000. Chairman of the committee is Prof. Peng Ming-min, who was the DPP candidate running against Lee in 1996, when the first presidential elections after Taiwan's transition to democracy took place.

The committee consists of some 100 international scholars, writer and members of parliament. Prominent member in Europe are Edward McMillan-Scott, Vice President of the European Parliament, Charles Tannock, MEP and Chair of the Taiwan Friendship Group, Hans van Baalen, MEP and President of the Liberal International, and Graham Watson, MEP, President, European Liberal Democrat and Reform Party.

In the United States and Canada, the group includes, amongst others, Ambassador Natale H. Bellocchi, Former Chairman of the American Institute in Taiwan, Professor Edward Friedman of the University of Wisconsin, David Kilgour, Former Secretary of State for Asia Pacific (Canada), Perry Link, Professor Emeritus at Princeton University, Ross Terrill, Harvard University, John Tkacik of the International Assessment and Strategy Center, and Stephen Yates, Former Advisor to the US Vice President.



Lee Teng-hui



Prof. Peng Ming-min

The committee has the following basic aims:

- \* To safeguard the tremendous gains in democracy and human rights that the Taiwanese people have fought so hard to achieve over the past three decades.
- \* To ensure that, in the unprecedented joint elections for President and Legislative Yuan in January 2012 , the will of the people is fully manifested, and in particular to prevent any untoward interference from any external actor.
- \* To ensure a peaceful environment, domestically and internationally, for both the elections process and the post-election period.

To achieve these objectives, the International Committee will engage in activities to raise awareness in the international democratic community about the importance of preserving Taiwan's democracy. At the same time, the International Committee will endeavor to raise confidence among the Taiwanese people that they can make their choice freely, and that their choice will be respected by the international community.

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## **President Obama's “pivot” to Asia**

In mid-November 2011 US President Barack Obama travelled East. During the visits to Honolulu, Australia and Bali Indonesia a new US policy towards East Asia emerged: both President Obama and Secretary of State Hillary Clinton emphasized a reinforced US presence in East Asia. While they stated that the moves were not intended to “contain” China, it was clear that China’s expansionistic moves during the past years were the prime cause for the “pivot” from the Middle East towards East Asia.

Below we first present some quotes from both President Obama and Secretary Clinton, summarize the points made by the Taiwanese-Americans at a demonstration in Honolulu, and then an analysis by former AIT chairman Nat Bellocchi of what President Obama’s pivot may mean for Taiwan.

### ***Reinforcing US presence in Asia***

At the meeting of the Asia-Pacific Economic Co-operation forum in Honolulu, President Obama focused on strengthening the Taiwan Pacific Partnership (TPP) initiative: a multilateral trade agreement between a number of selected countries bordering on the Pacific. China is not part of this initiative.

At the meeting the new government in Japan signaled its intention to join the TPP, while the Ma government in Taipei also expressed its interest, though no formal contacts have been made.

During a presentation on the sidelines of the APEC meeting in Honolulu, Secretary Clinton specifically mentioned Taiwan: she told an audience at the East-West Centre in Honolulu that Washington would also stick to a “strong relationship with Taiwan ... an important security and economic partner”.

While the Honolulu event was primarily focused on economics, the next two stops we primarily related to security: in Australia president Obama emphasized a strengthening of the US-Australian security relationship, announcing the stationing of some 2,500 Marines in Darwin in Northern Australia. At the East Asia Summit in Bali, the focus was primarily on the South China Sea, with virtually all of the 18 participating Asian leaders expressing concern about China expansionistic moves.

## *Taiwanese-Americans in Hawaii demonstrate in support of Taiwan's international recognition*

During the November 2011 APEC meeting, the Taiwanese-American community in Honolulu demonstrated in support of their homeland. Hawaii FAPA Chapter President Dr. Lin Yu-chong, stated that *“Taiwan has been considered a second-class member of the international community for too long. It is a member of APEC, but Taiwan’s level of representation is not on par with that of the other APEC members. This is unfair and it needs to change. After all Taiwan is a sovereign, independent country; just like the other APEC members.”*

Photo: FAPA-Hawaii



**Taiwanese-Americans in Hawaii rallying in support of their homeland**

Dr. Lin stated that the international community should not give in to the pressure from a repressive and undemocratic China, which wants to isolate Taiwan. He said that the US and other democratic nations should stand by the principles of human rights and democracy, and work towards normal relations with Taiwan, which has achieved a vibrant democracy.

He added that the Taiwanese-American community is also concerned about the erosion of democracy and justice in Taiwan. He said this was due to the increasing shadow of China over the island, made possible by the drift to China precipitated by the present government of President Ma Ying-jeou.

Dr. Lin concluded that the people of Taiwan have fought long and hard for their democracy, and said that the international community should embrace this democratic nation in their midst, and normalize relations with a free and democratic Taiwan instead of letting it dangle in international diplomatic isolation.

## ***Obama's "pivot": Implications for Taiwan***

*By Nat Bellocchi, former chairman of the American Institute in Taiwan. This article first appeared in the Taipei Times on 5 December 2011. Reprinted with permission.*

In the middle of last month, US President Barack Obama made a three-stop tour with a primary focus on East Asia: He first attended the APEC summit in Honolulu, then flew to Australia and finally headed to Bali to attend the East Asia Summit.

At the APEC meeting, Obama pushed the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), a multilateral economic and trade agreement intended to boost free trade across the Pacific. In Australia, he strengthened US-Australian defense and security cooperation and announced that about 2,500 US Marines would be stationed in Darwin, while in Bali the main theme was freedom of navigation in the South China Sea.

These moves signal a renewed US emphasis on East Asia. The Obama administration is talking about a strategic “pivoting” away from the Middle East, where the US is winding down its engagement in Iraq and Afghanistan, toward East Asia.

This pivot to Asia recognizes that the region is an important driver in the global economy. By making this move, the US also recognizes that for the US economy to grow and prosper, it is essential to have a stable security environment. By beefing up its economic and security presence in East Asia, the US wants to ensure stability in the region.

This stability is being threatened by an increasingly belligerent China, which is throwing its weight around at the expense of its neighbors, particularly those that border the South China Sea and the island groups between Japan and Taiwan. By making moves on both the economic and the security fronts, the US is creating a multilateral economic and security network that is designed to provide a strong foundation for the TPP.

What implications do these developments have for Taiwan? The increased US presence is good for Taiwan because it ensures safety and security in the region, in particular freedom of navigation in the all-important sea lanes surrounding the island. Being an export economy, Taiwan is highly dependent on free navigation through these waterways.

However, the new US approach also presents a valuable multilateral framework for the region, of which Taiwan needs to be an integral part. Taipei's policy over the past few years has over-emphasized its bilateral ties with China, at the expense of its relations with other key democratic countries in the region, such as the US, as Japan and South Korea. This imbalance can now be redressed by strengthening economic and security relations with democratic friends and allies.

Thus, Taiwan needs to redouble its efforts to be included in preparations for the TPP and in multilateral discussions on strategic issues, such as freedom of navigation in the South China Sea. Taiwan is an important link in the chain of countries stretching from Japan and South Korea in the north to Indonesia, Australia and New Zealand in the south.

The importance of Taiwan as a key link in this chain also needs to be recognized by the other countries in the region and they need to be more inclusive of the nation as talks on the TPP and regional security get underway. Too often, China's perceived sensitivities leave Taiwan in limbo.

A May 2005 **Businessweek** article about Taiwan's economic prowess titled "***Why Taiwan Matters***" said: "The global economy couldn't function without it."

This remains true today, but even more importantly, it is a vibrant democracy and its continued existence as a free and democratic nation is key to safety and security in the Asia-Pacific region. And that is what Obama's pivot is all about.

## An American missionary in Taiwan's White Terror

As a young Methodist missionary, Rev. Milo Thornberry and his wife Judith were sent to Taiwan in 1965. There they became close friends with Prof. Peng Ming-min, a prominent democratic opposition leader who was under house arrest at the time, and two of Prof. Peng's courageous students, Hsieh Tsung-min and Wei T'ing-chao.

Through Hsieh and Wei (who had only been released from prison in 1968-69), they started to assist families of political prisoners, and when Peng felt threatened by the secret police, Milo and Judith, together with friends in Japan, devised a plan to spirit Peng out of the country, which succeeded in January 1970s.

Photo: Taiwan Communiqué

The Kuomintang regime never discovered their role in the escape. Thornberry made it public at a major conference of people who assisted Taiwan in its quest for democracy in December 2003, organized by the Taiwan Foundation for Democracy in Taipei. He subsequently wrote a book about their experiences, which was published in early 2011, title: *Fireproof Moth; a Missionary in Taiwan's White Terror*. See our book review in **Taiwan Communiqué** no. 132:

<http://www.taiwandc.org/twcom/132-index.htm>



**Rev. Thornberry addressing the annual Thanksgiving Banquet of the Taiwanese Association of America, Greater Washington Chapter**

## *Rev. Thornberry comes to Washington*

In November 2011, Rev. Thornberry came to Washington to speak at the annual Thanksgiving Banquet of the Taiwanese Association of America, Greater Washington Chapter (TAA-GWC). His speech, titled *Legacies of Conscience and Courage: Peng Ming-Min, Hsieh Tsung-min, and Wei T'ing-chao*, paid tribute to the courage of Prof. Peng and his two students, and highlighted their pioneering role in Taiwan's subsequent

transition to democracy. The banquet speech was attended by some 300 members of the Taiwanese community.

He also spoke at a seminar at George Washington University's *TaiwanForum*, where he recounted his experiences in Taiwan in the 1960s and the focused on three more general topics:

1. What was the role of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan's subsequent democratization in the 1970s and 1980s? How could such a relatively small group (some 2 % of Taiwan's population) play such a key role?
2. How was Taiwan in those days perceived by the United States? Why was there not more awareness in US policy circles of the "White Terror," the lack of human rights and democracy on the island?
3. What are the implications of this part of Taiwan's history for the present? Some of the divisions that were created when the Nationalists came over from China still exist today. Taiwan has come a long way, but some of the old debates still reverberate in the discussion on how to move forward into the future.

## *A conspiracy of silence*

On the issue of US (lack of) awareness of the repression in Taiwan, Thornberry decried the "conspiracy of silence." He said in the 1960s and 1970s, there were many Americans in Taiwan — missionaries, students, teachers, military and US State Department personnel, businesspeople and tourists — but few of them did anything to stop or expose the White Terror.

In the US, few people knew what was happening: "There were a few voices who reported the corruption and brutality of Chiang and the Nationalists, but their voices were lost in the deafening crescendo of anti-communism in the US," he said. "Anti-communism justified the US' decision to look the other way when it came to White Terror."

He said that the "shadows" from the period of martial law also had a bearing on the diverging views of Taiwan's future. After democratization in Taiwan, none of the officials responsible for the White Terror were brought to account. "Since the election of the President Ma Ying-jeou administration, not much has been heard from it about the period of White Terror," he added. "Does the KMT simply want to forget that period, believing that younger generations who didn't experience White Terror will not care about it?" he asked.

He urged that this past is acknowledged openly and dealt with justly, and wondered “...if Taiwan can live into the future without denial.”

He also said that “The shadows of the conspiracy of silence also fall on the US government. Some officials in today’s administration seem little more concerned about the hopes and aspirations of the Taiwanese people than they were during the period of White Terror.”

He added that back in the 1960s and 1970s, “... although they knew the reality, they deemed it in the US national interest to disregard the Taiwanese people in favor of Chiang Kai-shek. Now, I fear that the Taiwanese people’s interests are disregarded because of US interests in China, not to mention the complication of our indebtedness to China. The issues now and then are different, but the readiness to disregard the will of the Taiwanese people is the same,” he said.

Thornberry asked whose side the US was really on. “Are we on the side of a democratic Taiwan or that of a repressive China? Are we letting China dictate what constitutes stability? Is the past even past?” he asked.

He concluded: “I believe the struggle for justice will continue in Taiwan in and beyond the elections of Jan. 14, 2012. Unless we choose to be blind, as the citizens of the US were when White Terror reigned, our people and our institutions of government need also to come to terms with our past in Taiwan. That’s no small task.”

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## **San Francisco Peace Treaty at 60**

### *Seminar at University of California Berkeley*

On 10 September 2011, a seminar was held at Berkeley to commemorate the 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the San Francisco Peace Treaty. The event was sponsored by the FAPA San Francisco chapter, together with the Students for a Sovereign Taiwan at UC Berkeley and the North American Taiwanese Professors’ Association.

The Treaty formally ended World War II in the Pacific, and was signed on 8 September 1951 by 48 states. In the Treaty, Japan formally gave up sovereignty over Taiwan, but it was not decided to whom sovereignty was given, leaving this an issue to be resolved

in the future. Many participating nations stated that Taiwan's future would need to be decided in due time in accord with the purposes and principles embedded in the Charter of the United Nations, i.e. self-determination.

Lee Yamei, Chapter president opened the meeting with a word of welcome to the four speakers and the some 70 participants in the gathering. The speakers were Gerrit van der Wees, editor of *Taiwan Communiqué*, Akira Chiba of the Japanese embassy in Washington, former State Department official John Tkacik Jr., and Gordon Chang, author of *The Coming Collapse of China*.

Photo: FAPA San Francisco

Gerrit van der Wees gave a presentation on the general background of the San Francisco Peace Treaty, and describing the situation in Taiwan and the formal status of Taiwan before the Treaty. He recounted how it had been a Japanese colony which was occupied by the Chinese Nationalists after the end of WW II. He mentioned the repression by the Chinese Nationalists, in particular the 2-28 massacre in 1947 in which some 28,000 Taiwanese, many of them leading members of the society, were killed by Chiang Kai-shek's troops.



**Speakers and organizers of the San Francisco Peace Treaty at 60 Conference**

He concluded by saying that in spite of the good intentions of "San Francisco" to have a determination of Taiwan's future on the basis of the wishes of the "Formosan people" (as they were referred to at the time), the island remained under occupation of Chiang's Nationalist regime, which ruled under Martial Law until 1987, continuing its "White Terror" for some four decades. Also, that Chiang Kai-shek's claim to represent all of China led to de-recognition in the 1970s and political isolation from 1979 until the present.

Akira Chiba followed with a presentation on Japan's position on the status of Taiwan. He stated that as losing side in World War II in the Pacific, Japan had little choice but to abide by the conditions imposed by the Allied forces. In its agreements with China (Communiqué of 1972 and Treaty of 1978) Japan had not agreed to China's claims over Taiwan but simply referred back to the Potsdam and Cairo Declarations.

Mr. Chiba then briefly recounted two other aspects of relations between Japan and Taiwan: that in 2012 the old Alien Registration Law (under which people from Taiwan were referred to as “Chinese”) will be abolished and under the new Immigration Control Act Taiwan citizens will be referred to as being from Taiwan. He also showed PRC maps dating from 1969, showing that the PRC at the time considered the Senkaku/Tiaoyutai to be Japanese territory.

John Tkacik followed with an account of the US position on Taiwan’s status before and after the San Francisco Peace Treaty. He said that in the period 1946-1950 the US government became very disillusioned with Chiang Kai-shek’s Nationalists: in a March 1947 cable from the US ambassador to the Secretary of State it was stated that Chiang’s occupation of Formosa had become a “*serious national embarrassment*” for the US.

Photo: FAPA San Francisco



**Speakers Akira Chiba, John Tkacik and Gordon Chang**

Mr. Tkacik also showed US declassified documents that in preparation for the SFPT conference General MacArthur argued in favor of a plebiscite by the people on their island to decide on their future. He also referred to an August 25<sup>th</sup> 1950 document in which the US government formally notified the UN that “*The actual status of [Formosa] is that it is territory taken from Japan by the victory of the allied forces in the Pacific. Like other such territories, its legal status cannot be fixed until there is international action to determine its future. The Chinese [Nationalist] Government was asked by the Allies to take the surrender of the Japanese forces on the island. That is the reason the Chinese are there now.*”

Mr. Tkacik went on to show documentation that in 1971 the US government considered Taiwan’s status unsettled, and also discussed the August 2007 episode in which the US government impressed upon UN Secretary-general Ban Ki-moon that his reference to “Taiwan is part of China” was incorrect and inappropriate, prompting Ban to confirm that the UN would no longer use the phrase.

Gordon Chang closed the series of presentations by bringing the audience to the present time and discussing how the San Francisco Peace Treaty is important in the debate about Taiwan's status today. He emphasized that in the 19<sup>th</sup> and a large part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century "people" had little say in what was happening to them: he gave the example of Hong Kong and Macau which transitioned from being a colony of Britain/Portugal to being a colony of China.

But he said the idea of self-determination is increasingly placed at the center of what the world believes. He said the sovereignty over Taiwan belongs to its people, but that just about everybody is intimidated by Beijing. But he said that perceptions of Beijing are changing fast, as the world is at two inflection points when it comes to China: China's economy is heading in the wrong direction with growth slowing fast and the property bubble overhanging everything. The second inflection point is reached when people realize that China's trajectory is not benign, and start forming coalitions to counter China's rise and influence.

He concluded that when that happens, this will create an opportunity for Taiwan, and its aspirations to determine its own future will be recognized and respected internationally, just like what happened to the Baltic states after the end of the Cold War. That would be one step closer to an ideal world.

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## **Report from Washington**

### ***House Committee on Foreign Affairs unanimously passes Taiwan Policy Act***

On 17 November 2011, the Foreign Affairs Committee of the United States House of Representatives unanimously passed legislation to strengthen the U.S. commitment to Taiwan's security.

The passage of HR 2918, as introduced by Committee chair Ileana Ros-Lehtinen (R-FL) on 14 September 2011 was a clear signal that House members on both sides of the aisle not only forcefully support Taiwan's self-defense capability, but also a list of over 20 other provisions that will broaden and deepen the bilateral relationship between the United States and Taiwan in various ways, including trade and commercial ties, participation in international organizations, and through the sale of defensive arms.

Most importantly, the bill provides that the 1982 Six Assurances continue to be a core component of U.S. foreign policy and reaffirms the principle that the future of Taiwan must be determined in a peaceful manner and with the assent of the people of Taiwan.

During the mark-up hearing, Committee Members stressed the importance of re-articulating America's commitment to Taiwan. Committee chair Ros-Lehtinen stated: "*The bill considered and adopted today will help ensure that Taiwan's peace, prosperity and security will be maintained for the next three decades and beyond.*"

She added "*Secretary of Defense Leon Panetta's commitments last month in Bali that we gave Beijing a "heads up" before the formal announcement on arms sales to Taiwan raises further concern about adherence to the Taiwan Relations Act and Ronald Reagan's Six Assurances.*"

Top Democrat on the Committee Rep. Howard Berman stated: "*I am a strong supporter of Taiwan, and both of these bills will bolster our bilateral relationship with an important friend and ally.*"

Prof. Bob Yang, President of the Formosan Association for Public Affairs, commented: "*This is a powerful signal to the people of Taiwan, and the Taiwanese-American community in the U.S. While the Taiwan Relations Act (TRA) has been the cornerstone of U.S.-Taiwan relations for over 30 years; the Taiwan Policy Act aligns the TRA with the developments in these past decades, and will go on to act as the firm foundation of this critical relationship for the next 30 years.*"

*"We commend the committee for its leadership in recognizing the importance of the U.S.-Taiwan relationship for peace and stability in the Asia Pacific, and in safeguarding that values of freedom and democracy that the people of Taiwan share with their American friends,"* Yang said.



**Chairwoman Ileana Ros-Lehtinen (R-FL)**

## ***US Congress: Ensuring free and fair elections***

On 1 December 2011, at a conference titled "Ensuring Free and Fair Elections: Taiwan 2012" several prominent members of the US Congress discussed the upcoming presidential and legislative in Taiwan. The meeting was organized by the Los Angeles-based Formosa Foundation and focused on the fairness of the election campaign.

A panel of experts was moderated by Carolyn Bartholomew of the US-China Economic and Security Review Commission. The panel included Ms. Louisa Coan Greve of the National Endowment of Democracy, former Taiwan representative in Washington Dr. Joseph Wu, Ms. Sarah Cook of Freedom House, and Mr. Julian Baum, former reporter for the Christian Science Monitor and the Far Eastern Economic Review.

Photo: Formosa Foundation

Carolyn Bartholomew said the presence of members of Congress and of Congressional staff at the conference was a sure sign of the importance placed on Taiwan: “*Taiwan sets the stage and tone for democracy in Asia.*”

Senator Sherrod Brown(D-Ohio), along-time supporter of Taiwan, was the first speaker. He called Taiwan a “*marvel of maturing democracy,*”

but also said there were concerns about fairness in the election. He emphasized that the US would work with whoever was elected and he would continue to push for Taiwan’s full membership in the WHO and the UN.

Just a couple weeks earlier, on 21 November 2011, Senator Brown had sent a letter to US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, in which he urged the United States neutrality in the Taiwan elections. He said that “[A]s members of the Administration continue to visit our close ally and fellow democracy, I ask that you work to ensure that our government does not actively or inadvertently influence the outcome of the upcoming Taiwanese elections.” Brown was referring to a sudden spate of US high-level visits to Taiwan over the past few months.

US Representative Howard Berman (D-CA), ranking member of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, said there was concern that the four-month transition period following the election could present “*some challenges to the process of a peaceful transfer of*



**Speakers at the Congressional Conference on free and fair elections in Taiwan**

*power between outgoing President Ma and the incoming president-elect, if DPP candidate Dr Tsai were to win. We will be watching to see if Beijing tries to meddle in this process, either by pressuring the lame-duck administration for any concessions or taking a strident or hostile stance toward the incoming president,” he added.*

Representative Ed Royce, a California Republican, said: “*Taiwan’s democratic transformation is a legacy to be proud of. But like anywhere else, it’s one that needs constant protection. We have to safeguard our gains in democracy and human rights, taking nothing for granted. In any country, democracy or not, there is a tendency to try to stifle debate, shutdown political opponents. This is wrong. If the government strays from its principles, it’s our responsibility to help the Taiwanese stand up for free elections and free speech — keeping Taiwan honest to its democratic legacy,*” he said.

Former Taiwanese representative to the US, Dr. Joseph Wu, said that Taiwan’s democracy was “*young and fragile*” and that it still contained signs of past authoritarianism, particularly in the way the government handled the media and judiciary. Over the past three years, he said, there had been some retreating of democracy and it was now vital for the US to do everything in its power to ensure free and fair elections in the country.

Dr. Wu announced that an international committee including former Taiwanese president Lee Teng-hui, former presidential adviser Peng Ming-min and other heavyweights from the US, Japan and other countries would officially be established on 15 December 2011 to keep a close eye on the elections. The Committee would also be on alert during the four-month transition period after the elections to ensure a smooth transfer of power, he said.

US House Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Ileana Ros-Lehtinen closed the series of speakers. She announced that her committee will hold hearings in early 2012 to assess the fairness of the elections.

Photo: Formosa Foundation



**Congressman Howard Berman (D-CA) addressing the conference**

Ros-Lehtinen said that many observers had expressed increased concern about back-sliding within Taiwan's democracy and that the conference was being held to help ensure a poll "*unmarred by outside interference of any kind.*" She said that Taiwan was a model for democracy and the rule of law in East Asia, but that the "*red dragon across the Strait*" sought to influence the electoral outcome.

Ros-Lehtinen told the conference: "*For that and other reasons, my colleagues in Congress and I will be watching the conduct of these elections very closely. We wish to assure that Taiwan remains that vital beacon of democracy shining as a bright light across the Taiwan Strait to the imprisoned people of China.*"

*"Our other allies in Asia know full well that our commitment to democracy in the Pacific is most tested by the degree of our commitment to democracy in Taiwan. Thus, we in Washington must remain vigilant to uncover any signs of the continued attempts by Beijing to bully Taiwan or to again interfere with its electoral process,"* she said.

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## Book Review

### ***Why Taiwan Matters: Small Island, Global Powerhouse***

*By Shelley Rigger, Reviewed by Nicholas Jackson*

This book starts out on the right premise: it wants to explain that Taiwan, albeit small, is an import actor on the world stage, and can contribute significantly to the community of nations. But somewhere along the line, it veers off in the wrong direction, arguing that the present status quo is an acceptable interim, and that eventually there would be a convergence with China, and a "mutually acceptable integration."

By accepting—and promoting—this premise, Rigger shows her political preferences and undermines the objectivity of her analysis. In Chapter 2, Building Taiwan, she does present an adequate overview of the island's exceptionally rich and complicated history. But she is in error when she portrays the migration of early settlers from China as a spontaneous move: they were brought in by the Dutch as seasonal laborers, and eventually intermarried with the aborigines.

In her review of the Japanese occupation of Taiwan (1895-1945) she does mention that — As Japan and China were preparing to sign the Treaty of Shimonoseki — local

Taiwanese leaders tried to fend off Japanese colonial rule by setting up a “Republic of Formosa”—a Taiwanese state independent of both China and Japan.” Rigger proceeds to describe how the Taiwanese people did enjoy some participation in elections and governance during the colonial rule. This is useful in ultimately explaining how in the later decades of the twentieth century the Taiwanese were able to run a robust democracy.

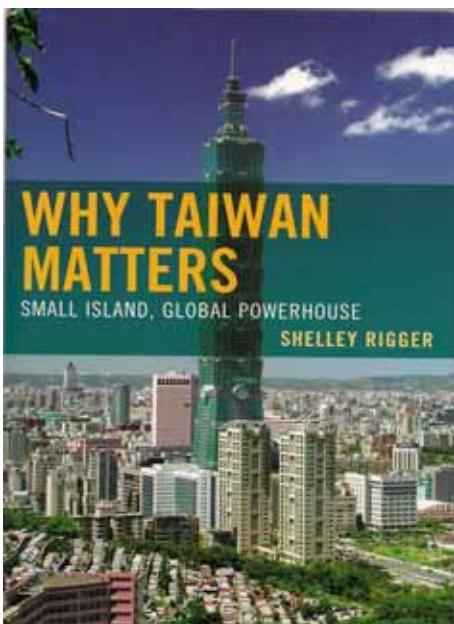
The author also shows how the industrialization and economic diversification orchestrated by the Japanese in the first half of the twentieth century provided something of a foundation for the productivity and prosperity of Taiwan in the second half of it.

Her third chapter, “From Farmers to Manufacturers,” provides an account of how Taiwan arrived at the impressive achievement of its current companies’ supplying the world with 98 percent of its computer motherboards and 90 percent of its notebook computers.

In chapter 6, Rigger extends the story of Taiwan’s economic success into the twenty-first century. However, the economy of the island is becoming more deeply intertwined with that of the PRC, a hot political issue, as many in Taiwan fear that this dependency is rendering the island susceptible to political pressure imposed by Beijing.

Rigger also offers a narrative of the political transformation from the authoritarian, mainland-monopolized regime of Chiang Kai-shek to the more democratic and Taiwanese-representative system of his son, Chiang Ching-kuo (CCK). Rigger does extensively narrate the Kaohsiung Incident of 1979 in charting the rise of opposition parties, and most importantly, the establishment of the DPP, formed in 1986.

In July 1987, in response to strong grassroots pressure and from the US Congress, then-President Chiang Ching-kuo finally ended martial law and lifted restrictions on civil and political rights. He also paved the way for the succession of a non-mainlander, Lee Teng-hui. As president, Lee was able to push Taiwan further down the road to full democracy.



President Lee effected changes that would even open the door for the DPP to take the highest office in the land, which it did with Chen Shui-bian (“A-bian”) in 2000. Only four years later Taiwan’s democracy passed the test of constitutional crisis when A-bian’s opponent, the KMT-PFP’s (“Pan-Blue’s”) Lien Chan contested the vote count.

While Taiwan’s democracy averted breakdown, the DPP’s reign could not survive A-bian’s personal difficulties: with the mainlander (Hong Kong-born) Ma Ying-jeou the KMT was able to return to power in 2008. By the end of chapter 4 one can certainly feel that Rigger is more sympathetic to Ma than A-bian. She does not explore the merits of the complaints that the latter has been hounded not for crimes but politics. It is telling that she records a debt to Ma for being “generous with [his] time and encouragement” but there is no such personal mention of A-bian.

In the last few chapters Rigger deals with the question of Taiwan’s status. As democratization advanced in the 1990s, debate over its identity became a central issue in politics. She argues that a turning point occurred when the PRC staged something of a Taiwan-invasion rehearsal: “Before 1996, independence was a largely domestic matter: do we Taiwanese want to be independent, or do we aspire to unify with the mainland? The obstacle to independence was the KMT, the China inside; removing that obstacle would free Taiwan’s people to make their own decision.

After 1996, it was clear that to achieve formal independence, Taiwanese would have to defeat not only the KMT but also the Chinese Communist Party—and the People’s Liberation Army. Rigger sets up the two poles as unification and independence. That effectively paints advocates of either side as “extremists.” Unsurprisingly, she appears to take a place in the middle: maintenance of the status quo. However, that status quo entails denying Taiwan even observer status in the UN and leaves it dangling in isolation.

The author asserts that: “To measure a person’s commitment to Taiwan by her eagerness to reject the mainland makes little sense.” But in view of the PRC’s almost two thousand ballistic and cruise missiles pointed across the Strait and recent aggressive displays in the South China Sea, coupled with Beijing’s bullying insistence (e.g. Anti-Secession Law) that Taiwan is merely her rebellious province, it makes much more sense than Rigger allows. To answer her question a little more briefly than she does: Taiwan matters because it is a free and democratic country, and because it is still independent of the PRC.

The full title of the book is: **Why Taiwan Matters: Small Island, Global Powerhouse**, by Shelley Rigger. Published by Rowman and Littlefield, Lanham MD, 2011.

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