



Taiwan Communiqué

Published by:

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

International edition, April / May 2013
Published 5 times a year
ISSN number: 1027-3999

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Congressmen visit President Chen in jail

On 2 May 2013, two prominent U.S. Congressmen, Mr. Steve Chabot (R-OH) and Mr. Eni Valeomavaega (D-Samoa) visited former President Chen in his cell in Pei-teh prison hospital Taichung, in central Taiwan. Chabot serves as the Chairman of the Subcommittee Asia & Pacific in the House Foreign Affairs Committee, while Valeomavaega is the Ranking Member.

The visit came on the heels of Chen's sudden transfer from the Veteran's General Hospital in Taipei to the prison in Taichung on 19 April 2013 (see below). After the visit to Taichung, the Congressmen expressed concern about Chen's health condition, and urged that Chen's human rights should be respected. Chabot stated: "*we think there is a humanitarian way to resolve the situation, and we would like to see that happen.*"

Photo: Liberty Times

The visit came after several tumultuous weeks, which saw a groundswell of expressions of support for medical parole for Chen, both in Taiwan itself and overseas. This was supplemented by medical reports from the team treating him at Taipei Veterans General Hospital (TVGH), indicating that the best solution would be home care or treatment in a hospital near his home in Kaohsiung, which would have a specialized psychiatry department.



Congressmen Chabot and Faleomavaega after their visit to Chen Shui-bian in Pei-teh Prison Hospital

This led to the general expectation that the Ministry of Justice of the Ma government would grant a medical parole in the near future. However, without any advance notice to the family or medical staff, the Ministry of Justice transferred the former president to a prison hospital in Taichung on 19 April 2013. Below, we present a summary of developments and an overview of the expressions of concern.

Sudden move from hospital to prison

On 19 April 2013, before dawn on that day, former President Chen was awakened and transported to Pei-teh Prison Hospital in Taichung, where the authorities had prepared an area for him, where he would continue his detention.

Photo: Taipei Times

The former President had been under treatment at the Taipei Veterans General Hospital (TVGH) since mid-September 2012, when he was hospitalized for a series of serious medical ailments, including a severe depression. The deterioration of his health had been brought about by the detention conditions in the Taipei Prison, where he was held until that time.



**Former President Chen Shui-bian
being moved**

The transfer to the Taichung prison prompted immediate protests, especially because of the way it was implemented by the Ministry of Justice: it was done before dawn without any prior notification to the family or consultation with the doctors treating former President Chen at the TVGH. According to one of the doctors, Dr. Ko Wen-tze, the former President was not even given an opportunity to bring his medical prescriptions, and the prison authorities later had to return to TCGH to pick up the missing prescriptions.

Another one of the doctors, Dr. Chou Yuan-hua, a psychiatrist and the attending physician at TVGH later stated to the press that he had not received any prior notification on the move, and strongly disagreed with the way it was implemented.

According to people visiting the former President right after the transfer, the new location is certainly roomier than the old location, but it lacks adequate medical facilities: it is a

poorly equipped prison clinic, and certainly does not have adequate facilities or staff to treat the former President. It reportedly does not have a permanent medical staff of its own, but doctors from nearby hospitals rotate in to take care of medical cases.

The DPP Caucus in the Legislative Yuan also got into action right away: After the legislators learned of the sudden move by the Justice Ministry, They occupied the rostrum of the Legislature – which had scheduled a debate on the nuclear power issue – and prevented the proceedings, demanding that the justice minister come to the legislature to explain his actions.

In the meantime, a group of about eight DPP legislators went to the Ministry of Justice, demanding to see the minister. When he did not appear, they walked up to his office and banged and kicked on the door. Later reports indicated he was hiding inside. Here is a commentary on the matter from the OpEd pages of the Taipei Times.

Widespread calls for medical parole

As stated earlier, since the beginning of March 2013, there had been an increasing chorus of voices calling for the release of Chen Shui-bian on medical parole as well as efforts by members of the US Congress to push for medical parole for the former President.

In Taiwan, this was led by DPP Chairman Su Tseng-chang and former DPP Chair Dr. Tsai Ing-wen, but also included the KMT Mayor of Taipei, Mr. Hau Lung-pin and resolutions adopted by 17 of the 23 city and country councils in Taiwan.

In the United States, Congressman Robert Andrews (D-NJ) wrote a letter on 1 March 2013 to newly appointed Secretary of State John Kerry, strongly urging the State Department to take a stance on the treatment of the former president. Mr. Andrews pointed to the deplorable conditions under which president Chen had been held previously, and stated “*there is reason to believe that Mr. Chen is receiving more severe treatment than the other prisoners.*” He said: “*As the first elected leader from outside the Kuomintang, Mr. Chen and his Democratic Progressive Party broke the 50 year power stronghold and served as a major obstacle to the KMT’s unification efforts.*”



**Congressman Robert
Andrews (D-NJ)**

Mr. Andrews concluded that *“I believe it is the duty of the State Department, on behalf of the United States, to address Mr. Chen’s plight.”* However, on 14 March 2013 Mr. Andrews received a rather non-committal response from the State Department, only reiterating some basic information on Chen’s detention, and saying that that the American Institute in Taiwan would *“continue to follow Mr. Chen’s medical treatment and his prison conditions upon his release from the hospital.”*

This prompted Congressman Andrews to fire off a second letter complaining about the *“rather stand-offish wait-and-see attitude on behalf of the US institutions representing our country.”* In the 19 April 2013 letter to Secretary John Kerry he stated *“That a former head of state is treated in such a manner is clearly in violation of the values of democracy and human rights that we as a nation hold high.”* He added that *“...we must clearly express ourselves in favor of a medical parole on humanitarian grounds..”*

Congressman Andrews also urged the AIT and State Department *“...to take a closer look at the legal case against the former president, and determine whether the procedures followed by the prosecution were above board, and whether the trial and judgment can be considered fair, objective and politically neutral.”*

At around the same time, Congressman Steve Chabot (R-OH), the chairman of the Asia & Pacific subcommittee in the House Foreign Affairs Committee, also queried Secretary John Kerry on the matter: in a hearing in the full Committee on 18 April 2013, Mr. Chabot brought the issue of former President Chen’s incarceration, and stated that *“To me, this smacks of the criminalization of politics.”* Secretary responded that he would follow up on the issue, and see what he could do about it.



Congressman Steve Chabot (R-OH)

A week later, at a 25 April 2013 Subcommittee hearing chaired by himself, Mr. Chabot announced that he would travel to Taiwan and hoped to visit Mr. Chen in jail. He said Mr. Chen had been incarcerated long enough, and stated: *“The humanitarian thing to do would be to let Chen go home Keeping him in prison for a day longer is unnecessary, wrongheaded and inhumane.”*

Then, on 2nd and 3rd of May 2013, Mr. Chabot visited Taiwan and travelled to Taichung to meet Mr. Chen in his new jail environment.

Whither Taiwan's China policy?

When the issue of Taiwan comes up in international forums, one can safely assume that the island's relations with China are one of the major topics of discussion. At these events, comparisons are made between the policies of former Presidents Lee Teng-hui and Chen Shui-bian, who both emphasized Taiwan's separate identity and right to international space, and the policies of the current administration of President Ma Ying-jeou, who has followed a more China-friendly approach.

Copyright: Taipei Times

The major issue dividing the two approaches is what ultimate goal is envisioned for Taiwan's future: Presidents Lee and Chen envisioned a free and democratic Taiwan, while President Ma's long-term vision goes into the direction of ultimate unification of Taiwan with, he hopes, a democratic China.



Political talks: "See? All above board -- no under-the-table deals here at all..."

But China is showing no signs of democratization: there has been economic liberalization leading to strong economic growth and China's rise as an international player, but this has not been accompanied by political liberalization or any basic shift in the direction of democracy.

In the meantime, the PRC authorities are pushing for "political talks" with Taiwan to try to pressure it further in the direction of unification on its terms. As they see it, they want to consolidate their gains before President Ma leaves office in 2016. Until now, President Ma – seeing that such talks are unpopular in Taiwan and could be detrimental to the chances of his successor – has held off, but the pressure from Beijing is bound to increase as 2016 gets closer.

Against this background we present three essays: Ambassador Bellocchi discusses opinion polls on what the Taiwanese really want for their future; your editor discusses

President Ma's present policies and suggest he moves towards a "Taiwan Consensus"; and thirdly we summarize some excellent ideas recently made by the Taipei-based **Taiwan Democracy Watch**.

Taiwanese must be free to choose their own future

By Ambassador Nat Bellocchi, former chairman of the American Institute in Taiwan. This article first appeared in the Taipei Times on 2 May 2013. Reprinted with permission.

What do Taiwanese want for their future? This is a simple question that is being discussed increasingly in Taiwan itself, and it is also the topic of many a seminar in Washington and elsewhere.

The question is generally framed as a choice between maintaining the present "status quo," going in the direction of a free and independent Taiwan or unification with China.

As I wrote in December last year ("The 'status quo' is not good enough," Dec. 7, 2012, page 8), while the present "status quo" represents a measure of stability at the current time, it is unsatisfactory for two reasons: it continues to relegate Taiwan to a state of diplomatic isolation, while at the same time China is changing the dynamics of the region — and thereby the "status quo" — by its aggressive military expansion.

So, aside from the non-answer that they favor a nondescript "status quo," what do Taiwanese really want for their future?

An interesting insight was recently presented by Emerson Niou, a professor at Duke University, who analyzed data collected by the Election Study Center of National Chengchi University in October last year.

At a panel discussion on US-Taiwan-China relations organized by the Center for Strategic and International Studies and the Brookings Institution in Washington, Niou confirmed earlier polls indicating that during the past few years, support for independence has actually gained popularity in Taiwan and support for unification with China has fallen.



Former Ambassador Nat Bellocchi

The data showed that, provided there was no gun pointed at the head of Taiwanese, support for independence grew from 65.5 percent in 2008 to 70.3 percent last year. If a move toward independence might lead to an attack by China, then the appetite for independence dropped to a lower, but still significant level of 28.7 percent.

On the other hand, support for unification with China dropped from 11.5 percent in 2008 to 9.1 percent last year. These figures reflect the views of those who favor unification, even if political, economic and social conditions are significantly different on each side of the Taiwan Strait.

The main conclusion from this presentation was that a sizable majority of Taiwanese prefer independence over unification and that this sentiment is growing, in spite of the more China-friendly policies of President Ma Ying-jeou.

However, the matter becomes even more interesting in a follow-up question presented by Niou. In the survey, respondents were also asked whether they expected that Taiwan and China would move toward unification or independence.

The surprising answer was that 52.7 percent expected unification, while 31.6 percent expected independence. This discrepancy between preference (“what we want”) and expectation (“what we expect is going to happen”) is an issue that requires more in-depth analysis.

Do Taiwanese see a rising China that will eventually overwhelm the nation and absorb it into its fold? Do they feel they can do little about it because China is so big and important, and Taiwan is so small and insignificant, and the US is far away and does not care enough?

The answers to these questions are important, as they go to the heart of US policy toward Taiwan, which has always emphasized that a decision on Taiwan’s future needs to be made peacefully and in accordance with the democratic wishes of Taiwanese.

The US needs to make it clear to Taiwanese that they can make a decision on their future freely and in a democratic fashion, without a Chinese gun pointed at their heads.

President Ma should seek a clear “Taiwan Consensus”

By Gerrit van der Wees, editor of Taiwan Communiqué. This article was first published in the Taipei Times on 5 May 2013. Reprinted with permission.

In a videoconference with Stanford University’s Center on Democracy, Development and the Rule of Law (CDDRL) on April 16th, President Ma Ying-jeou made several statements on how under his leadership Taiwan was steering through a sea of change.

Regrettably, all evidence points toward Taiwan ending up shipwrecked on the rocks under Ma's leadership.

Ma said that he is achieving peace and stability across the Taiwan Strait and enhancing Taiwan's position in the world through a "tripartite national security framework," which consists of three elements: institutionalizing of rapprochement with China, making Taiwan a model world citizen and strengthening the nation's defense capability. However, Ma falls short on all three points.

Copyright: Taipei Times

On the first point, there seems to be stability on the surface, but Ma's rapprochement does not have a firm foundation: It is built on the loose sand of the so-called "1992 consensus." Ma highlighted this "consensus" in his speech, and even called it "a critical anchoring point for Taiwan and China to find common ground on the otherwise intractable issue of "one China."



According to Ma, the essence of the "consensus" is that in 1992 negotiators on the two

President Ma: "Once we are in the belly of the ("One China") beast, it can't bite us!"

sides agreed to talk in Hong Kong under the moniker of "one China, different interpretations." This idea is hotly disputed in Taiwan, with then-president Lee Teng-hui having emphatically denied that there was ever such a consensus.

Moreover, in spite of this consensus China has continued its buildup of missiles across the Strait and has yet to renounce the use of force against Taiwan.

However, even more telling is that China has used the lull and quiet across the Taiwan Strait to move aggressively in other areas of conflict in the region, such as the South China Sea, and the conflict over the Diaoyutai Islands with Japan. It has also devoted resources to the repression of people in Tibet and East Turkestan. *Is that the kind of China that Taiwan would want to have rapprochement with?*

The second point of making Taiwan a model world citizen is closely related to enhancing the nation's international presence. There has been little progress on this front since Ma

took office in 2008. Ma's crown jewel in this area is the nation's participation in the WHO, but that consists mainly of the token presence of Taiwan's health minister in the annual World Health Assembly, and not by any substantive participation of Taiwanese medical specialists in the WHO's day-to-day affairs.

There have also been some feeble attempts to join the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), but those have run headlong into opposition from China. When Ma traveled to Rome to attend the inauguration of Pope Francis in March 2013, the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs protested vigorously, and told the Vatican to break its ties with Taiwan. All these are clear indications that China is not willing to allow Taiwan to have any international presence.

Ma's third point was strengthening the nation's defensive capabilities. Even on this issue Ma is lagging behind: Under his presidency, defense spending has dropped to below 2.2 percent of GDP, prompting US observers to question whether the Ma government is doing enough to bolster its own defense.

Instead of Ma's fuzzy navigation through his nebulous sea of change, Taiwan needs a change of course toward a clear "Taiwan consensus," which would emphasize its presence as a free and democratic nation, and its right to be accepted by the international community on an equal footing.

Taiwan Democracy Watch: put human rights first

On 22 April 2013, a group of pro-democracy academics led by Mr. Hsu Wei-chun, a law professor at Chung Yuan Christian University and Mr. Wu Jieh-min, a research fellow in sociology at the Academia Sinica, presented a "Manifesto of the Free" in Taipei, urging a new approach to relations across the Taiwan Strait.

The group, **Taiwan Democracy Watch**, stated that the present approach focuses on "easy" economic and trade issues, and criticized the fact that human rights issues are sidelined. They argue that this approach provides no incentive to China to improve its human rights or move towards democracy, and gives Taiwan no way to guarantee the rights of its citizens travelling or working in China.

The group proposes a new two-stage approach in which there is an "early harvest human rights list" (with a wink to the Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement, signed by the Kuomintang government in 2010, which had an "early harvest" list), consisting of four areas:

1. Human rights protection and legal assistance for detainees on both sides of the Strait,
2. The inclusion of a human rights clause in current agreements,
3. The signing of agreements on personal safety, and
4. Protection of freedom of the press.

Copyright: Taipei Times

The group proposes the signing of a Human Rights Charter as a long-term goal. They argue that this charter should be the basis for interaction between the two sides, instead of the empty concepts of the present approach, such as the “1992 consensus” and “one China” concept.



The KMT's cross-Strait policy gets a guiding hand from China

Taiwan Democracy Watch said that such a Human Rights Charter should come before any further negotiations on economic, political or confidence building issues. The organization argues that *“People on both sides of the Strait can discuss their future relationship only when they are free from military threats and when their rights, freedom and democracy are protected.”*

The Nuclear Power debate heats up *Hundred thousand rally in Taipei*

On 09 March 2013, some hundred thousand people took to the streets in Taipei in the largest demonstration yet against the continuation of the construction of Nuclear Four, the fourth nuclear power plant in Taiwan which is being completed in Kungliao, 40 km to the Northeast of Taipei.

Similar protests took place in Taichung, Kaohsiung, and Taitung, with people urging the government to stop construction of Nuclear Four, and gradually phasing out the other three nuclear plants by 2025. Many of the participants also promoted renewable energies such as wind and solar.

The rallies were organized by a coalition of some 150 civic organizations, which have banded together to push for a nuclear-free Taiwan. The groups have gained energy and organizational strength during the past few years, and especially after the Fukushima disaster in Taiwan of March 2011, when a major earthquake hit Japan, prompting a tsunami, which in turn knocked out the cooling systems of the nuclear plants, leading to a virtual meltdown of the plant's reactors.

Photo: Taipei Times

The concerns of many of the participants in the demonstrations is heightened by the fact that the existing nuclear power plants in Taiwan are very similar in design to the Fukushima plants, while the Taiwan plants are also on a seismic fault line, and located right next to the coast in order to be able to use sea water for cooling.



March 9th anti-nuclear rally in Taipei

In addition, anti-nuclear advocates argue that Taiwan is faced with two problems which most other nations using nuclear power do not have to the same extent: little space and a high population density. Countries like the US and France can locate nuclear plants and nuclear waste facilities far away from the major metropolitan areas, but in Taiwan three of the four nuclear plants (if one includes Nuclear Four) are located within a 40 km radius of Taipei, a major metropolitan area with almost 7 million inhabitants.

And for Taiwan, nuclear waste is an even more intractable problem than in other countries. While in the United States even the plans to centrally store nuclear waste at Yucca Mountain in the Nevada desert had to be shelved in 2010, Taiwan has no locations far away from population centers where it can safely store its nuclear waste. Since the 1970s, the government used Lanyu (Orchid Island) off the Southeast coast, but this decision was made over the heads of the local Yami tribe, and is increasingly being questioned.

Proposed referendum deceptive move

In order to counter the growing popular concern about the nuclear power issue, the government of President Ma decided in early March 2013, that it would propose a referendum on the completion of Nuclear Four, and on whether it should go into operation or not.

While a referendum itself is laudable, certainly in a young democracy such as Taiwan, the fact that the Kuomintang is proposing it should raise some eyebrows: in the past it has vociferously objected to *any* referendum on any issue, so why would it make a sudden 180 degree turn and propose a referendum on an issue as sensitive as nuclear power?

Copyright: Taipei Times



Ma government: "Get ready to vote, folks!"

"Do you agree that the construction of the Fourth Nuclear Power Plant should be halted, and that it not become operational?"

The following OpEd from the Taipei Times presents more insights on the nuclear power debate and particularly the referendum issue.

Taiwan at nuclear power crossroads

By Mei-chin Chen, a commentator based in Washington. This article was first published in the Taipei Times on 04 April 2013. Reprinted with permission.

Taiwan is at the crossroads on the nuclear power issue: Should it go full speed ahead, finish the Fourth Nuclear Power Plant in New Taipei City's Kungliao District and continue to rely on nuclear power, as President Ma Ying-jeou's government and Taiwan Power Co are advocating?

Or should the nation gradually phase out nuclear power and rely increasingly on renewable energy sources, including wind and solar power, as many in the democratic opposition and academic community are arguing?

The Fukushima Dai-ichi nuclear power plant disaster in Japan two years ago has raised awareness of the dangers associated with nuclear power, as the reactors in Japan were

similar to those used in Taiwan. This has led to a mushrooming of civic groups in Taiwan that are concerned about the safety of nuclear energy. These groups have become more vocal, calling on the Ma government to stop construction of the power plant in Gongliao.

These anti-nuclear civic groups were able to mobilize more than 100,000 people to participate in an anti-nuclear protest in downtown Taipei on March 9. The total number of protesters was more than 200,000 nationwide, if the protests held in Greater Kaohsiung, Greater Taichung, Greater Tainan and Taitung on the same day are included.

On that day, this writer stood on a street corner near the Chiang Kai-shek Memorial MRT station for nearly two hours and witnessed the colorful procession of protesters streaming by — the overwhelming majority of whom were young people and families with small children. The protesters wore ingenious costumes, and danced to music and drums in a festive atmosphere.

The tide against the continued construction of the Fourth Nuclear Power Plant is also reflected in recent opinion polls showing that more than 73 percent and 70 percent of residents in New Taipei City and Taipei respectively are against continued construction. There is also dissent in the Chinese Nationalist Party (KMT) camp: Taipei Mayor Hau Lung-bin and many KMT legislators support halting the construction of the plant.

In its efforts to stem the tide against nuclear power, the Ma administration has pulled out all the stops in its public relations campaign to win support for completing construction of the plant and making it operational.

However, the most tricky move was the recent decision by the Ma government to hold a referendum by the end of this year on the nuclear power issue. Coming from a government that has always fought any referendum tooth and nail, this sudden turnabout is highly surprising.

The move is less surprising if one looks at the way the question is phrased: The voters will be asked to vote as follows: *“Do you agree that the construction of the Fourth Nuclear Power Plant should be halted, and that it not become operational?”*

Even if 70 percent or 80 percent of the respondents vote that they are in favor of discontinuing construction, the referendum is likely to fail, because under the nation’s highly restrictive referendum law, passage requires that more than 50 percent of the registered voters express themselves favorably on the issue.

This is unlikely to happen, and the Ma government can then say that the referendum failed and proceed with completing the plant's construction. A fairer way to go about it would be to drop the 50 percent of the registered voters requirement, or phrase the question as such: "*Are you in favor of continuing the construction of the Fourth Nuclear Power Plant?*"

Photo: Taipei Times



Aside from all the antics and rhetoric, we need to realize three basic facts: First, like Japan, Taiwan is located on a major seismic fault and no design will be safe enough to withstand a major shock, as we saw in Fukushima.

Yami aborigines demonstrating against nuclear power in Taipei

Second, Taiwan is a small and densely populated place: The Taipei metropolitan area (with about 7 million people) is only 40km from Kungliao, while the city of Keelung is only 20km to the northwest of the nuclear plant. In case of a catastrophic event, it will be impossible to evacuate that many people in a short time.

Third, because of its size, Taiwan has inadequate facilities to store nuclear waste. At present, much of the nation's nuclear waste is stored on Lanyu — also known as Orchid Island — off the southeast coast of Taiwan, literally in the backyard of the Yami people.

Unless Ma and the Taiwan Power Company bosses agree to store the nuclear waste in their own backyard, nuclear power should be phased out sooner rather than later.

Report from Washington

Taiwan Policy Act marked up

On 25 April 2013, the Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific of the United States House of Representatives unanimously passed HR419, the Taiwan Policy Act (TPA).

The TPA was introduced on 25 January, 2013 by Rep. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen (R-FL) and co-chairs of the Congressional Taiwan Caucus Reps. Mario Diaz-Balart (R-FL), Gerald

Connolly (D-VA), John Carter (R-TX) and Albio Sires (D-NJ) “to strengthen and clarify the commercial, cultural, and other relations between the people of the United States and the people of Taiwan.”

It is a comprehensive bill that addresses over a dozen different aspects of the U.S.-Taiwan relationship, and updates the 1979 Taiwan Relations Act (TRA) to reflect the new realities in this relationship in the 21st Century. The TPA builds on the TRA (which has functioned effectively as the cornerstone of US-Taiwan relations over the past three decades). It does not amend or supersede the TRA.

The TPA had been introduced during the previous 112th Congress, was passed by the House Foreign Affairs Committee but did not make it to the floor by the time Congress adjourned for the year in the Fall of 2012.

During the April 25 markup hearing, Chairman Chabot stated: “*This bill strengthens the relations of our two nations. And I want to emphasize “Two Nations” for Taiwan is a democracy, an old friend and ally, and it deserves to be treated as such by the U.S. government.*” He also said that the legislation would address the issue of high-level meetings between Taiwan and Washington.

Under present regulations high-ranking officials are not allowed to visit Washington. Chabot said: “*It is just nonsense that these people cannot come to Washington*”, and added that the bill would allow regular exchanges in which Taiwanese officials come to Washington and meet with US officials.



Congresswoman Ros-Lehtinen (R-FL)

Rep. Rohrabacher emphasized that Taiwan is a free and independent country, and also criticized the Ma administration for doing Beijing’s bidding on the issue of TV broadcasts by the Falun Gong. Two years ago Taiwan threatened to withdraw permission for broadcasts into China by the spiritual movement; a move that was interpreted widely as the result of pressure from Beijing. The Taipei government eventually granted a license, but only for two years.

Rep. Perry stated his support for the bill by saying: “*I believe we should break through the barrier of conventional wisdom in our relations with Taiwan and work towards the normalization of relations.*”

Rep. Ros-Lehtinen expressed her appreciation for the broad support received for the bill in the subcommittee, and concluded: *“Taiwan continues to be such an essential ally to the United States. This bill reiterates our support, and tells the Taiwanese people just how deeply we value that friendship.”*

House members urge resumption of diplomatic ties

On 10 April 2013 U.S. Representatives Michael McCaul (R-TX) and Robert Andrews (D-NJ) introduced House Concurrent Resolution HCR-29, calling upon the United States government to resume diplomatic relations with Taiwan and to end the anachronistic One China Policy.

In the resolution, the Congressmen emphasized that of the five countries in the world that the United States government currently does have diplomatic relations with (Iran, North Korea, Cuba, Bhutan and Taiwan), Taiwan is the only democracy. The resolution underscores that Taiwan *“has been a steadfast ally of the United States and a responsible and compassionate member of the world community.”*

Similar resolutions were introduced in previous Congresses by former Reps. Tom Tancredo (R-CO), John Linder (R-GA), and by Rep. McCaul himself – all staunch Taiwan supporters in the U.S. House of Representatives.

The operative part of the McCaul/Andrews resolution urges that:

- 1) the President should abandon the fundamentally flawed ‘One China Policy’ in favor of a more realistic ‘One China, One Taiwan Policy’ that recognizes Taiwan as a sovereign and independent country, separate from the Communist regime in Beijing;
- 2) the President should begin the process of resuming normal diplomatic relations with Taiwan; and
- 3) the President, the Permanent Representative of the United States to the United Nations, and other relevant United States officials should aggressively support Taiwan’s full participation in the United Nations and any other international organization of which the United States is a member, and for which statehood is a requirement for membership.



**Congressman Michael
McCaul (R-TX)**

In Memoriam Two Lions in Winter

Dan Beeby, Missionary under Taiwan's Martial Law

On 18 March 2013, Rev. Daniel Beeby passed away at his home in Selly Oak, near Birmingham, England. He was 92 years old. Rev. Beeby was a British missionary, who came to Taiwan in 1950 at the age of 30 and spent 22 years, the prime of his adult life, in Taiwan until he was expelled by the KMT authorities in 1972.

He was remembered for his dedication to the teaching of theology at Tainan Theological College and his love and devotion to Taiwan and its people. He spoke fluent Taiwanese, and applied for Taiwan citizenship in November 1971, the first missionary to do so. After his application was rejected, a friend recounted that he was deeply saddened and disappointed. He was sympathetic to the suffering of Taiwanese people and the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan (PCT), and spoke out against the political oppression of the KMT authorities under martial law.

His involvement in helping the Presbyterian Church in drafting the “Statement on Our National Fate”, which was published on 29 December 1971 and called for the establishment of a free and independent Taiwan, resulted in his becoming persona non grata and expulsion from Taiwan in 1972. The PCT has always been active and vocal in social and political issues in Taiwan, taking a stand based on the Christian faith. At a time of national distress after the country was expelled from the United Nations in September 1971, the Church felt that as Christians they had a responsibility to speak out on issues that concern the future of Taiwan.

Rev. Beeby came to Taiwan by way of Hong Kong and Amoy. In 1946, he was sent by the British Presbyterian Church to Hong Kong, and later to Amoy in the Fukien province of China. In 1949, he was expelled from Amoy by the Chinese Communists, and came to Taiwan to teach at Chang Jung Senior High School. In 1950, he got to know Rev. Shoki Coe, then the president of Tainan Theological College, who invited him to teach at the College.



Rev. Dan Beeby (1920-2013)

He taught courses on the Old Testament, and was very popular with the students because he was a lively and innovative teacher. When Rev. Boris Anderson returned to England in 1963 (see below), Rev. Beeby took over as vice-principal. His wife, Joyce, also taught in the seminary, setting up a modern program for teaching English. She was a trained nurse and collaborated with David and Jean Landsborough on designing a new building for Changhua Christian Hospital and nursing training programs.

But Rev. Beeby's influence was not limited to theological training. He was always concerned about the political developments and future direction of Taiwan and the PCT. After Taiwan was expelled from the United Nations in 1971, he played an instrumental role in the PCT decision to publish a "Statement on Our National Fate."

His expulsion by the KMT authorities deeply saddened him, because after 22 years, he and his wife had grown deep roots in Taiwan and were prepared to spend the rest of their lives there. On 4 March 1972, when the Beebys boarded the train at Tainan train station for Taipei, well-wishers crammed the platform to bid him farewell, despite the dangers.

Many in the crowd had to hold back tears as they sang hymns and the mood was somber and heavy, but they kept on singing even long after the train left the station.

After their return to England, Rev. Beeby became Professor of Old Testament in the Selly Oak Colleges, in Birmingham. His publications include *Canon and Mission* (1999). His wife, Joyce, died in 1992



Reverend Dan Beeby welcomed in Taipei on his return to Taiwan in 1992

and he married his second wife Susan in 1994. When he retired from Selly Oak Colleges, he continued to work closely with Bishop Lesslie Newbigin on *The Gospel and our Culture*.

His final visit to Taiwan was in May 2000, when he was 80 years old. He gave a talk in the Tainan Theological College. He had been invited by Mr. Lin Yi-hsiung, then chairman of DPP, and a former political prisoner, to come back and to participate in the inauguration of president Chen Shui-bian when the DPP won the presidential election.

He also visited Yi-kuan church and was briefed on the 1980 murder of the mother and twin daughters of Mr. Lin. The Yi-kuang church used to be the residence of Mr. Lin and family, and the murder took place there on 28 February 1980, while Mr. Lin was imprisoned following the 1979 Kaohsiung Incident.

Rev. Beeby remained active until his late eighties. He is survived by his wife Susan, son Christopher and daughter Allison, and five grandchildren and five great-grandchildren.

Boris Anderson, Key Role in Presbyterian Church

On 15 April 2013, another missionary who played a prominent role in the post-World War II period in Taiwan passed away: Rev. Boris Anderson died at his home in Aysgarth in North Yorkshire, Great Britain. He was 94 years old.

Reverend Anderson was a missionary from England who came to Taiwan in 1948 and contributed extensively to theological education at Tainan Theological College in its early years. He and his wife Clare lived and worked in Taiwan from 1948 until 1963, and their two children, Jane and Robin were born there.

The Andersons were sent to China by the Foreign Mission of the Presbyterian Church of England in 1946. They first lived and worked in Amoy in Fukien province, but in 1948 they moved to Taiwan at the invitation of the legendary Rev. Shoki Coe, the first president of Tainan seminary after World War II, who asked his assistance in rebuilding the seminary.



Rev. Boris Anderson (1918-2013)

Anderson and Shoki Coe had befriended each other when they attended Westminster College in Cambridge in the late 1930s. Rev. Coe was a pioneer of theological education

in Taiwan, and he later served as director of Theological Education Fund of the World Council of Churches. After his retirement became a leader in the movement of Taiwanese Christians for self-determination.

At Tainan Seminary, Boris Anderson taught the New Testament and Hebrew, but also designed the college chapel which still stands at the Seminary. He was also the vice-Principal of the seminary, and served as acting Principal when Rev. Shoki Coe was away. Mrs. Anderson also taught at the Seminary: Greek and Latin and English literature, and later she also taught classics at Tainan Engineering college, now National Cheng Kung University.

After their return to England in 1963, Anderson fulfilled a number of functions in the Presbyterian Church there, including Overseas Secretary, and served as Director of Church World Mission after the amalgamation of the Presbyterian Church and Congregational Church. He was also chairman of the Asia Committee of Christian Aid, an overseas aide charity.

In the subsequent years they closely followed developments in Taiwan, and stayed in touch with the Presbyterian Church there. These contacts turned out to be invaluable when after the Kaohsiung Incident of 1979, the Kuomintang government under then President Chiang Ching-kuo cracked down on the democratic opposition, and even arrested Presbyterian Church general-secretary Kao Chun-ming.

Rev. Anderson and his wife Clare were instrumental in disseminating information about the developments in Taiwan to the media and international human rights organizations such as Amnesty International. They gave interviews to the BBC, the Times of London, The Guardian and other news media to counter the vicious disinformation campaign of the KMT authorities.

A few months after the Kaohsiung Incident, they obtained a tape recording of the speeches made during the gathering on 10 December 1979, and with the help of Rev. Lo Chun-gi, who was studying at Selly Oak Theological College at the time, they translated these into English and published a booklet, called **Taiwanese Voices**. These efforts helped to focus international attention on the Kaohsiung Incident.

In May 2008 Clare Anderson passed away, and Rev. Anderson continued to live independently at their home in Aysgarth in the countryside in North Yorkshire until the ripe old age of 94.

In January 2013, the history committee of the Presbyterian Church of Taiwan paid him a visit. The **Taiwan Church News** reported that the most memorable moment during the visit was when he said in Taiwanese that “The future of Taiwan should be decided by the Taiwanese themselves.”

Rev. Anderson is survived by his daughter Jane, her husband Philip, and two grandchildren, Rosa and Reuben.

The people of Taiwan, and particularly the Presbyterian Church of Taiwan, will remember Rev. Beeby and Rev. Anderson dearly. They gave us strength and inspiration.

Book Review

Taiwan Since Martial Law

Edited by David Blundell, reviewed by David Reid & Gerrit van der Wees

In this book, David Blundell, a noted anthropologist who did pioneering work on Taiwan’s aborigines, brought together a broad array of scholars to produce a most comprehensive work on the development of society in Taiwan after the end of martial law in 1987.

The project for this book originated with an invitation from the N. W. Lin Foundation for Culture and Education (sponsor of the Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines) to produce an academic volume on post-martial law Taiwan. Questions were asked: What are the recent societal, political, and economic events that have produced the contemporary status or views of the island and its people?

The book has chapters looking at the developments from many different angles: anthropology, sociology, political science, economics, linguistics, human rights, history, civil society and law. The editor took on a tremendous task of bringing together such a diverse set of disciplines, and at the same time maintain some sort of cohesion. He succeeded very well.

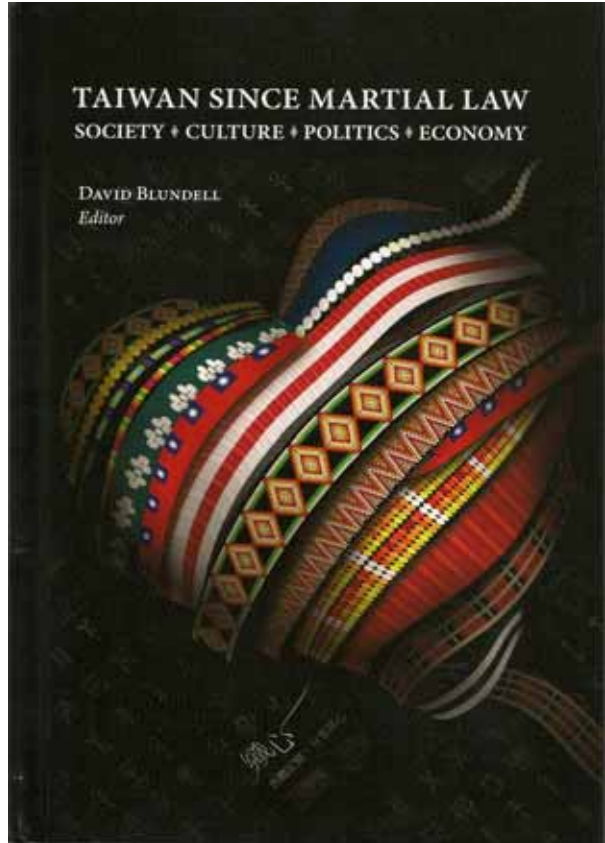
The first chapter is by Bo Tedards, a longtime resident of Taipei, who starts with a stunningly good analysis of Taiwan’s political transition, giving exquisite insights.

Particularly excellent is his section on the question of Taiwan's status, and his presentation on the threats to the country's hard-won democracy.

More than 25 years have passed since the end of martial law in Taiwan. In more human terms this period of time is a generation. Tedards notes that "*Young people in Taiwan today even have difficulty comprehending what their country was like 25 years ago.*"

However, Tedards goes on to write, "*the process [of democratization] has not been a linear one, and nor is it quite complete.*"

The process of democratization is further explored in chapters such as Jonathan Sullivan's on election campaigning and Gary and Ming-yeh Rawnsley's chapter on the media in democratic Taiwan. Daniel Bowman's chapter compares the human rights policies of Ma Ying-jeou and Chen Shui-bian. His analysis is based on three areas: (1) implementation of international human rights treaties, (2) the establishment of a human rights commission, and (3) abolition of the death penalty. These highlight the aspirations of Taiwanese civil society for human rights while highlighting some of the political



obstacles to their effective implementation. Janet Tan looks at the need for a civil rights protection system and considers how basic rights serve as an indicator of democracy.

The lifting of martial law not only created the political space for democracy to develop; it also brought about a cultural renaissance as peoples rediscovered their identities and relocated themselves in the environmental space of Taiwan. Ann Heylen’s chapter discusses the “greening” of Taiwan history – the emergence of new historical narratives based around *Pingpu* identity, and the 228 Massacre and White Terror. Ai Chung-chieh Wu looks at the emergence of a Hakka ethnic movement, while Constance Woods details the resurgence of local identity in her case study of the Beitou Hot Springs Museum.

Sociologist Frank Muiyard focuses on Taiwan’s evolution of a national identity—its origins, development, and impact on politics and society. This identity shift is the outcome of a variety of factors, including a new ‘community of life’ shared through the democratization of national institutions. Janet Tan examines the importance of civil rights protection in a democracy, and lack of recourse especially when ‘old institutions’ struggle with new rules.

The book also contains several chapters on Taiwan’s indigenous peoples. David Reid’s chapter looks at the Atayal community of Smangus and their involvement in a landmark indigenous rights case. Jackson Hu looks at how the Yami of Orchid Island have used memory of place to revitalize their cultural knowledge. Yayoi Mitsuda describes how the Thao people were the first new indigenous group to gain official recognition in 2001 ending the “nine tribes” classification that had dominated for almost a century.

We have not mentioned all the contributors and will leave it to those who read the book to discover more. This book will serve as a useful reference for any student of Taiwan Studies. It will also be of interest to anyone who wishes to gain a better understanding of some of the factors that have made Taiwan the diverse and vibrant society that it is today.

The book’s cover also requires special mention: The front shows a heart-shaped weave of colorful ribbons representing ethnicities and the national flag against a background of the ancient scripts. The back includes flowing ribbons depicting the Chinese ideograms for ‘tai’ and ‘wan’ in the shape of the island Taiwan.

The full title of the book is: **Taiwan Since Martial Law: Society, Culture, Politics, Economy**, edited by David Blundell, professor of anthropology at National Chengchi University in Taipei. Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines; University of California, Berkeley & National Taiwan University Press, Taipei and Berkeley, 2012.

FROM:

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

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

ISSN Number: 1027-3999

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April / May 2013

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

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Other Countries (airmail) US\$ 35.-