



TAIWAN COMMUNIQUÉ

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Taiwan elections show democracy gaining

On Saturday, 3 December 1994, the electorate in Taiwan went to the polls for the first-ever elections for the positions of governor and mayors of Taipei and Kaohsiung. Until now these positions were appointive posts, which were traditionally given to Kuomintang members. The fact that these are now elective positions is a gain for democracy on the island.

The DPP gained one of the three positions when the young and dynamic DPP-legislator **Chen Shui-bian** won in the capital city Taipei — a significant feat since the capital is generally considered the KMT's major stronghold.

The Kuomintang was able to hold on to the governorship when KMT incumbent **James Soong** outbid DPP-legislator **Chen Ting-nan**, while in Kaohsiung KMT-incumbent **Wu Deh-yih** won out over his DPP-opponent, legislator **Chang Chun-hsiung**.

While the outcome in Taipei and Kaohsiung are generally considered a fair representation of the



Newly-elected Taipei mayor Chen Shui-bian and his wheelchair-bound wife Wu Shu-chen

popularity of the respective candidates, the result at the provincial level was less due to the quality of the two candidates than to the fact that the Kuomintang poured hundreds of millions of dollars into the publicity campaign for Soong. The cash-strapped DPP still had insufficient resources and manpower to counter the established KMT party machine in the spread-out rural districts of central and southern Taiwan. Combined with the fact that the KMT still controls the electronic media (see below), this gave Soong the edge.

The "Change-versus-Stability" debate

The election race was seen by some observers as a test of the Kuomintang's pro-unification stance and the DPP's advocacy of Taiwan independence. In a sense it was, and it wasn't: it was an election for local positions, and the majority of the voters simply voted for candidates who could be expected to bring them better roads, street lighting, an end to traffic jams, public safety, etc., in short, a better living conditions.

In Taipei city, DPP candidate Chen Shiu-bian defeated KMT incumbent Huang Ta-chou because voters were eager to see changes, and hoped that Mr. Chen could bring them a better quality of life. Mr. Huang's incompetence and mismanagement during his tenure had turned Taipei into a city of chaos, pollution and perpetual traffic jams. Mr. Chen brought with him an impeccable record as a legislator and former member of the Taipei City Council. He was voted the most able and effective legislator for five consecutive years by news reporters covering the Legislative Yuan.



Money, KMT-factions and special interests carrying incumbent governor James Soong to victory

However, the issue of *"independence versus unification"* also played a role because the KMT, and even more so the New Party (see below), did use the emotional *"China will attack if Taiwan declares independence"* scare tactic to its fullest. This certainly had some effect on the less-well informed electorate in the rural areas. However, in

Taipei it certainly didn't work. It is thus not correct to interpret the results as an outcome for or against independence.

The results can certainly not be interpreted as being for "status quo" or against "change": the people of Taiwan are certainly in favor of stability. In the longer term this can only be achieved if Taiwan gains a full and equal place in the international community. This does mean independence as a sovereign state and membership in the United Nations. *Concepts such as "Greater China" are about as non-viable in present-day Asia as "Greater France" was in Napoleonic times and "Greater Germany" under Hitler: sure prescriptions for major instability in the region.*

A more fair and open debate on the issue of independence vs. unification is needed before far-reaching conclusions on what the people of Taiwan want can be drawn. If they want independence, this needs to be respected by China and recognized by the international community. It would be in the interest of stability in the region and even in the own interest of China to move towards such peaceful coexistence.

Still no level playing field

The elections results do show, that the DPP's support on the island remains steady around 40 %, while the KMT can presently only hold on to its majority of just 50% due to the fact that there is still an uneven playing field:

- 1. Access to the media.** The three major TV-stations, which are respectively owned or controlled by the Kuomintang Party, the Provincial Government, and the military are still very much slanted in their coverage of the elections, giving the Kuomintang full coverage while either not covering the opposition candidates or always portraying them in a negative light.

As reported in our previous *Taiwan Communiqué*, the democratic opposition has attempted to get around this control of the media by the authorities by setting up pirate radio stations and even cable TV networks, however, the Government Information Office is increasingly cracking down on those, confiscating their equipment.

This political imbalance in the electronic media in Taiwan needs to be corrected before the election campaigns can be considered fully fair.

- 2. Vote buying.** Although the Kuomintang has officially come out against vote buying, it is still rampant among Kuomintang candidates in central and Southern Taiwan. The “going price” has now increased to some NT\$ 1,200 to 2,000 per vote (US\$ 48 to 80). Often candidates use intermediaries. Another tactic is “chain betting”: intermediaries for a candidate distribute NT\$ 1,000 bills to local officials or contact points, who are promised another NT\$ 30,000 if the particular candidate wins. Voting for that candidate will thus result in monetary gain.



The KMT's "vote-buying catcher" set his trap, while the "vote-buying hares" have a field day.

Another method of buying votes which is particularly prevalent in Taiwan is the “running water banquet”:

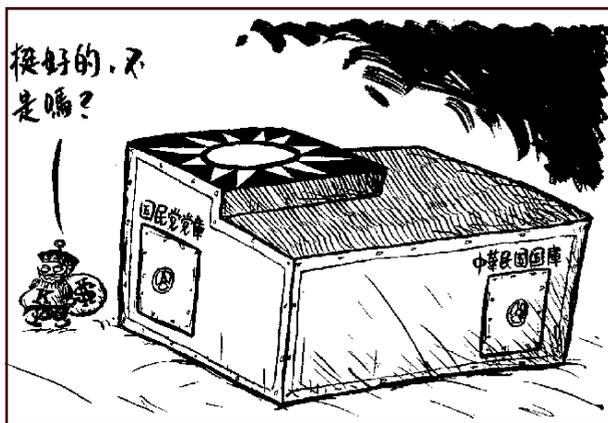
according to a Reuter report of 1 December 1994, “...streams of people attend sumptuous free meals in halls festooned with Nationalist flag and banners.” In the last few days before the elections, KMT governor James Soong attended several dozen of such banquets, each attended by anywhere from 4,000 to 10,000 people.

- 3. Use of government machinery.** The Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization (UNPO), based in The Hague, the Netherlands, sent a delegation to Taiwan to observe the elections. It noted that the Kuomintang is using many government services, civil servants, and government institutions for its political campaign. The UNPO delegation concluded that this gives the KMT an unfair and unacceptable political advantage over other parties.
- 4. Improper ties with business.** Over the years, a cozy relationship has developed between the ruling Kuomintang and big business on the island: the authorities granted favorable conditions to the enterprises — usually at the expense of labor and environment. In return, businessmen show their “gratitude” to the authorities by donating large sums of money, in particular during election campaigns, which in turn allows the KMT to pay for publicity campaigns and the sumptuous dinners described above.

In addition, the Kuomintang itself has a majority ownership in more than forty industrial enterprises, in addition to a newspaper, a television station, a radio station, and a bank. The total worth of these assets is estimated at anywhere from NT\$ 250 to 500 billion (US\$ 9.6 to 19 billion). Profits from these enterprises are channeled into the Kuomintang's coffers, and used in the elections campaigns.

This mingling of political and business interests was earlier highlighted in **TIME Magazine** ("Backlash against Money", 23 August 1993) and in the **Far Eastern Economic Review** ("The Money Machine", 11 August 1994). It constitutes yet another built-in bias in the system in Taiwan. A clear separation between business and the political structure is an

essential pre-condition for the further development of democracy on the island.



The interconnection between the government's Treasury and the KMT's campaign coffers: "Isn't this a nice arrangement?"

New threats to Taiwan's young democracy

Two other aspects were very destructive factors in the campaign. We briefly mention them here, and will discuss them in a future issue.

1. The attempts by the neo-conservative **New Party to play on the fears of the Taiwanese ("China will attack") and on those of the Chinese mainlanders on the island.** The New Party's tactics are creating a garrison mentality among the mainlanders, who are seeing much of their old clout in the political system disappear as native Taiwanese are gaining influence in the new Kuomintang of President Lee Teng-hui. The New Party's approach is thus sowing a major amount of discord between Taiwanese and mainlanders on the island.

2. The increasing influence of **gangsters in politics**. During the past decade a number of local Kuomintang leaders cultivated contacts with gang leaders, who provided funds and protection in exchange for political favors. Now a number of these gang leaders have themselves run for office in an attempt to “come clean” and gain respectability, while hardly mending their old ways.

Statistical Overview

Below we present a statistical overview of the results of the 3 December 1994 elections. We first present the results for the positions of governor and mayors of Taipei and Kaohsiung, and then for the Taiwan Provincial Assembly and the respective City Councils.

	Governor	Taipei Mayor	Kaohsiung Mayor	Overall Total
Total no. of votes	8,405,930	1,408,554	735,886	10,550,370
DPP	38.7%	43.7%	39.3%	39.4%
KMT	56.2%	25.9%	54.5%	52.0%
New Party	4.3%	30.2%	3.5%	7.7%
Independents	0.7%	0.3%	2.8%	0.8%

Provincial Assembly

	percent of vote	Seats won	No. of seats held previously	% gain / loss
DPP	32.5%	23	16	8.3%
KMT	51.0%	48	55	-10.7%
New Party	3.7%	2	0	2.5%
Independents	12.7%	6	6	-0.2%
Total	100.0%	79	77	
	= 8,277,794 votes			

The results in the Provincial Assembly thus show a significant increase for the DPP and a decrease for the KMT, although the Kuomintang retains its majority.

Taipei City Council

	percent of vote	Seats won	No. of seats held previously	% gain / loss
DPP	30.4%	18	14	7.2%
KMT	39.5%	20	37	-34.1%
New Party	20.8%	11	0	21.2%
Independents	9.3%	3	0	5.8%
Total	100.0%	52	51	
	= 1,379,679 votes			

The results in the Taipei City Council were rather disastrous for the Kuomintang: a loss of one-third of their seats. Most of these went to the New Party, while both DPP and independents also gained significantly. The most important fact is that the KMT has lost its majority in the Council, and has to enter into tactical alliances with either DPP or New Party.

Kaohsiung City Council

	Percent of vote	Seats won	No. of seats held previously	% gain / loss
DPP	24.9%	11	8	6.0%
KMT	46.3%	23	29	-16.8%
New Party	4.8%	2	0	4.5%
Independents	24.1%	8	5	6.3%
Total	100.0%	44	42	
	= 729,668 votes			

The results in the Kaohsiung City Council also show a significant loss for the Kuomintang, with the benefits going almost equally to the DPP, Independents and the New Party.

Press Freedom Again Endangered in Taiwan

Crackdown on Talk-show Radio Stations

During the past month the Taipei authorities have stepped up their crackdown on talk-show radio stations associated with opposition groups. The first signal came already this past summer (see “*Press freedom Under Pressure*” in *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 63, pp. 10-12). At that time we predicted that these talk-show stations would play a significant role in the December 3 elections. They did: particularly in Taipei, they helped DPP candidate win the election for mayor of the capital city.

Not unexpectedly, after the elections the Government Information Office (GIO) intensified the pressure on the opposition stations. As a convenient excuse they used a major incident on December 21st and 22nd (see below). The authorities blandly charged that the radio stations had “incited the taxi drivers to violence”. As can be concluded from the following eyewitness account, this was pertinently incorrect.

In the early hours of Christmas morning, some 1,000 police and masked GIO officials descended upon the **Voice of Taiwan Nation** radio station, and confiscated its equipment. A few days later, on 3 January 1995, several hundred police converged on another important opposition radio station, **TNT Voice of New Formosa**, and confiscated its equipment. The station’s managers apparently knew the raid was coming, and had left a note with their equipment, saying: “police, you are working too hard.”

On 11 January 1995, some 200 policemen and GIO officials raided the **TNT Voice of New Formosa** station once again (for the third time since the raids began last summer), and also sent a contingent to the **New Concept** station, which is associated with the New Party. Several prominent DPP legislators, Mrs. Yeh Chu-lan and Mr. Pang Pai-shien, were informed of the TNT raid and arrived at the station a short time later. They expressed their deep concern about the raids and strongly urged the authorities to respect freedom of the press and freedom of speech.

The biggest crackdown yet came on 16 January 1995, when police using helicopters converged on a Buddhist temple in the mountains north of Taipei, and confiscated equipment belonging to the **Voice of Taiwan Nation** radio station, which had also

been raided on 25 December 1994. Buddhists at the temple mockingly suggested to the police that they pray before performing their duties. Reuter reported that the “invitation went unheeded.”

Three other stations were raided during the early morning hours of 16 January, one in Changhwa in Central Taiwan and two in the southern port city of Kaohsiung. One of the Kaohsiung stations was the **Voice of Sweet Potato**, a sister station of the Hsinchu station which was raided on 31 August 1994 (see *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 63, p. 10). “Sweet Potato”, the shape of the island Taiwan, is the name the Taiwanese use to refer to themselves as opposed to the Chinese mainlander refugees who came over to the island with Chiang Kai-shek.

The December 21st Taxi Driver Incident

As noted before, both the pirate radio stations with their free-for-all call-in talk shows and the taxi drivers are ardent supporters of the democratic opposition of the DPP, and particularly of Taipei City Mayor candidate Chen Shui-bian.

This was not appreciated very much by the Kuomintang authorities, who saw their candidate end up in a dismal third place, but also not by the extremist pro-unification New Party of Mr. Jaw Shau-kang, who stated during the election campaign that if elected he would imprison all members of the “All Citizens’ Taxi Association.”

As the report below shows, the New Party apparently established close ties with the **Bamboo Union Gang**, an old triad organization now primarily consisting of second-generation mainlanders. The Bamboo Union is known in the United States for its role in the murder of Chinese-American writer Henry Liu in October 1984.

The December 21st 1994 Taxi Driver Incident

by Joanna Chien

I was there during the whole event. I would say that not a lot of people in Taiwan are aware of what really happened, but thanks to the reporters and photographers from TNT (a private radio station not controlled by the KMT authorities — Ed), I was able to observe and witness the whole event with my very own eyes.

On December 21st, around 2:00 am, taxi driver A parked outside the night club of the Ton-ee (All President) hotel. He returned around 3:00 am and found his car

sandwiched by two other cars. He tried to get out but bumped into the car behind him. One of the valet clerks ran out with 5 or 6 others shouting, "*We are the Bamboo gang, we belong to the New Party, all of you in the 'ALL CITIZEN TAXI ASSOCIATION' deserve to die.*" Then they tried to pull driver A out of his car, but fortunately driver A was able to run away only sustaining a minor head injury.

Some by passers who saw the beating called the All Citizen radio station for help. The host of the station thought it was a minor quarrel about a car accident and only asked drivers who were in the region to go investigate.

Two drivers soon arrived to help out with the situation. When driver B and C arrived, roughly twenty people ran out of the night club waving New Party flags and dragged both of them out of their cars. At this time, driver A was running towards the Chungshan police station for help. Driver B was beaten with iron and wooden clubs. Later, driver B ended up in intensive care of a hospital. After being dragged into the night club, driver C's stomach was cut open with a knife, and he was stabbed several times in his heart. All his inner organs spilled out. His lifeless body was later thrown in the middle of the street. Driver C, Mr. Tai Cheng-chan, was 31 years old when he died.

While Driver C was murdered, driver A ran to the Chungshan police station seeking help. The police on duty told him, "If your friends were injured, then you can sue those people." He refused to send any help. By the time driver A got back to help his friend, driver C had already been killed. During the entire incident of the beating of driver B and murder of driver C, two uniformed policemen were there witnessing the events. Drivers who arrived later saw them letting the murderers go. Later that day, Legislative Yuan member Mrs. Chen Wan-cheng went to the police station with the badge numbers of the two policemen and questioned the head of the police. She got the reply "that's not possible." The two policemen were protected and never found, even though Mrs. Chen Wan-cheng had their badge numbers.



Riot police with nightsticks wantonly smashing taxi cab windows

Around 10 a.m. in the same morning, a tent was set up with a cascade of flowers, banners, and a photo of the victim. Traffic was stopped in the street, but some of the volunteer All Citizen taxi drivers were smoothly directing the traffic and explained to everyone that an accident happened that morning. Everything was really peaceful. I was there at 10 am. Hundreds of people were gathered to commemorate the drivers. People were donating money and talking about the tragedy. Traditional Taiwanese burning of paper money and other typical funeral rites were being performed.

At 12 midnight, riot police showed up, and started to violently suppress the funeral gathering. Molotov cocktails, water cannons, and billy clubs seemed to be everywhere. International press reports showed police, apparently unprovoked, smashing windscreens with their riot shields. A total of thirty-one taxi's were severely damaged, without provocation. Three drivers were arrested, and many people were beaten. The front entrance of the Ton-ee hotel was also on fire.

Afterwards, the head of the All-Citizen Taxi Association was interviewed. He said that none of his people knew where the Molotov cocktails came from. None of the weapons the police found belongs to any of his members. It was obvious that some group or organization (the same Bamboo Union ?) was trying to frame them.

The reason they set up the tent was to follow the old Taiwanese funeral tradition to honor the deceased. The purpose to set it up at the accident site was to express their anger at the hotel's willingness to rent the night club to gangsters. None of their members were prepared for a riot.

One of the TNT reporters stated that he saw people in the hotel itself set the hotel on fire and then quickly put out the fire. All these methods of deception are typical KMT tactics used to manipulate the media coverage to portray their opposition as violent.

Four days later, the murderers were arrested. They were shown smiling and not handcuffed on TV and given interviews by three television stations, claiming it had been an "accident" and "self-defense". The three taxi drivers who were arrested were in jail and not given any permission to see anyone, not even see their lawyers. The autopsy provided evidence that the killing was very professional and clean. How could an it be an "accident" or "self defense" like the murderer claimed?

This whole incident was a political murder. The New Party leader Jaw Shau-kong's brother Jaw Shau-hwa is one of the leaders in the Bamboo Union gang. The gang is a

known supporter of the New Party. Mr. Jaw Shau-hwa is also one of the owners of the night club where the incident took place. Jaw Shau-hwa also owns a taxi company.

During the election campaign for the December 3 elections, the All Citizen Taxi Association were supporters of DPP-leader Chen Shui-bian, who was elected as Taipei City mayor. Jaw Shau-kong from the New Party truly hates this organization. During the election, Jaw Shau-kong said “All Citizen drivers are violent, once I am elected, I am going to lock them all up.” The New Party did everything possible to blacken the image of All Citizen Taxi Association as an “evil” organization.

On their own underground radio stations they continue to broadcast negative statements attacking the taxi drivers. As a result of these verbal attacks, 148 physical assaults have recently happened to All Citizen Taxi drivers. None of the drivers ever attacked anyone. The head of the All Citizen Taxi Association was quoted saying, “if you ever run into a rude driver, write down their badge number, and I will personally bring them to you and have them apologize.” Since then, no one ever contacted him.

The US and China’s military expansion

In the previous issue of *Taiwan Communiqué* we discussed the question whether China could try to invade Taiwan (issue no. 63, pp. 6 - 9), as it has threatened to do if Taiwan would formalize its de facto independence into a de jure independent status.

We first wish to emphasize that China’s threats are nothing new: since their rise to power in China in the late 1940’s, the Communists have claimed sovereignty over Taiwan, and have tried to realize these claims first with military power (Quemoy and Matsu in the 1950’s), and later with political bluff and bluster.

These threats were thus there long before there was any broad discussion about Taiwan independence, which only came about in the late 1980’s, when the DPP gained political influence in Taiwan. The major problem during the past few years is that the Kuomintang — in an attempt to protect their own position and legitimacy as a ruling party — started echoing the Communist Chinese threats as a scare tactic against the Taiwanese people.

Against the background of these distorted realities and half-truths, both the Taiwanese people and Western policy makers now have to attempt to assess China's real intentions and capabilities. Below we present one report and two recent cases which may give a glimpse.

The McNamara Report

In November 1994, a committee headed by former US Defense Secretary **Robert S. McNamara** issued a report titled "*Sino-American Military Relations: Mutual responsibilities in the post-Cold War Era.*" The report summarized the findings of a high-level delegation which had visited both China and Taiwan in May-June 1994.

Below we first present the major conclusions and then comment on the report.

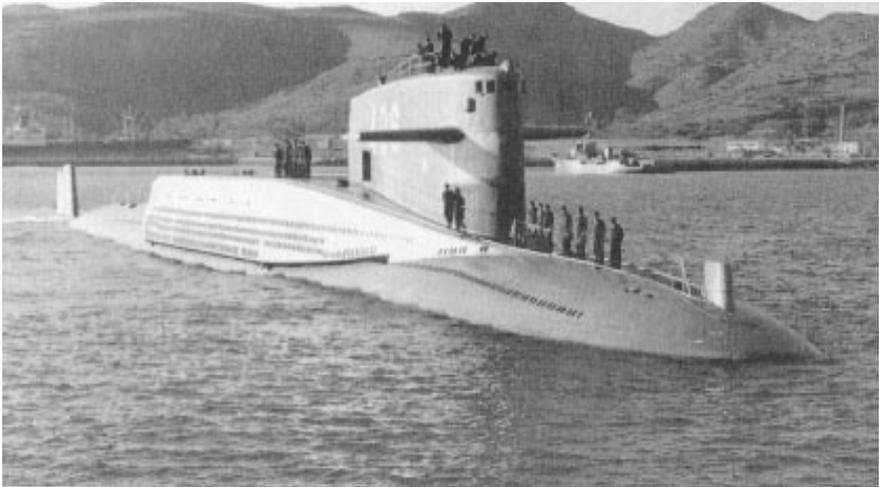
1. The report identifies two sources of possible serious instabilities in the East Asia region: Firstly on the Korean Peninsula, where a conflict with North Korea could escalate. According to the report, in that case China has used its influence on the North Korean to lower the tension. The second possible source of instability is China itself: its neighbors are concerned that China's military modernization program is increasing its capability to project its power, particularly in the South China Sea.

The report suggests three avenues which the United States should travel simultaneously to deal with this situation:

- a. maintain the significant, forward US military presence in the region, and maintain the longstanding US-Japan alliance and security arrangements. "The US is seen as a stabilizing element in the region by most nations there."
- b. encourage as much transparency as possible about China's military expenditures, doctrine, procurement, deployment.
- c. continue support for both regional economic and security dialogues (APEC and ASEAN Regional Forum) and other confidence building measures. The report also proposes support for security-related discussions between China and Taiwan, and considers it desirable that Taiwan be included in regional security dialogues.

2. The report notes the selective unit modernization of China's military forces, and the acquisition of capacity to project military power at significant distances from China's borders, but concludes that this is still "well into the future" because of financial constraints and the increasing priority of economic modernization.

The report also notes the concern of smaller countries on China's borders and in the region about even small changes in China's capabilities — "such changes are large to them." According to a recent article in the **International Herald Tribune** ("*Beijing builds military to enforce territorial claims*", 3 January 1995) some examples are:



Chinese nuclear missile submarine of the Xia class

- a. The upgraded capability to fight a sustained sea battle with its fleet of surface warships, support vessels and submarines forces. The build-up of China's nuclear submarine capability is described in a recent book by John W. Lewis and Xue Litai titled "*China's Strategic Seapower*" (which we will review in a future issue -- Ed.),
- b. China's purchase of up to 72 Sukhoi-27 advanced fighter-bombers from Russia, which can provide close air support for naval operations at extended range (this purchase prompted the 1992 US and French decisions to sell fighter aircraft to Taiwan),

- c. The organization of a handful of marine units for amphibious assault and airborne forces for rapid deployment. The **International Herald Tribune** reported that one such force is based in Hainan Island for quick dispatch to the Spratlys and Paracels, two disputed island chains in the South China Sea.
- d. The development of a mobile, conventional-warhead missile system capable of terrorizing any foe within 1,000 miles.

According to the International Herald Tribune report, China would like to achieve a core force of 500,000 to one million across their services who are fairly modern.

3. The McNamara report suggests that the present situation provides the United States with a "...window of opportunity to build the kind of relationship with China and its military that can lay the foundation for more confidence, cooperation, and stability in the future."

The report suggest that the United States and China "...continue and hopefully accelerate military exchanges... of training materials, convening doctrinal discussions and possible holding joint exercises." The report emphasizes that neither the US nor China expect weapon sales to be part of this process for the foreseeable future.

4. The report states that trends under way in Taiwan will both lead to more requests to support Taiwan's admission to various international forums and to requests for weapon systems of an increasingly sophisticated nature. It also states that, given the electoral competition now occurring on the island, a move towards some form of de jure independence cannot be excluded as a possibility.

Taiwan Communiqué comment: *while we agree that "constructive engagement" and "transparency" are lofty goals that should be pursued in the interest of stability in the region, there are also significant dangers in the proposed American approach:*

The proposed military exchanges may give China a considerable amount of information about modern technology and warfare tactics and strategy, while the US may still be left with little insight into China's capabilities and intentions. In the past the Chinese have shown they can outmaneuver the West when it comes to deception and half-truths.

Certainly, China should not be provided with any Western technology which could be applied in the military area, even dual-use technology, such as supercomputers.

According to a report in *Defense News* (“US lays groundwork to soften China sanctions”, 19-25 December 1994) the US is now considering to make such technology available to China.

*This would be an ill-advised step. As was argued by Warren I. Cohen, professor of history at the University of Maryland in an article in the **Washington Post** (“Don’t send Arms to China”, 2 December 1994): “China is not a friendly country. It is irrational to assume that China will move towards democracy. It would be irresponsible to base policy on that assumption, to assist in the development of Chinese military power in the fond hope that China will evolve into a friendlier democratic country before it becomes a great power.”*

The US carrier and the Chinese submarine

In mid-December 1994, the **Los Angeles Times** published a report by its reporters Jim Mann and Art Pine that between 27 and 29 October 1994 an incident took place in the Yellow Sea, in which US aircraft carrier Kitty Hawk and a Chinese nuclear submarine squared off in international waters.

The submarine was detected shadowing the US naval group, and then tracked by S-3 anti-submarine aircraft dropping sonar boys to locate the submarine. In response the Chinese at one point sent three fighter aircraft, which flew within sight of the American plane. A Chinese official in Peking subsequently told his American counterpart that the next time such a situation arose, Chinese orders would be to shoot to kill.

The Israeli aircraft technology sale

At the end of December 1994, **Los Angeles Times** reporter Jim Mann came with another news primeur: he reported that Israel was assisting China in the development of a new fighter aircraft, based on Lavi-technology (“*Israeli sale of Arms technology to China Irks US*”, **International Herald Tribune**, 29 December 1994). The Lavi was a joint American — Israeli fighter aircraft development project which was stopped in 1987.

US sources stated that the aircraft under Chinese development was comparable to the US F-16 and incorporated “extensive technological innovations derived from the Lavi project. They say that a first prototype will fly about one year from now, and that the

plane would be in full operational service around 2004. The production line was reportedly being set up in Chengdu in Sichuan Province.

Subsequent to the Los Angeles Times report China denied that cooperation with Israel was taking place at all, while Israeli officials stated that the country "...did not transfer any American technology or American components to China," leaving open the possibility that they were transferring technology they considered "Israeli-developed."

US Defense Secretary William Perry stated in the beginning of January, just before a planned visit to Israel, that if the **Los Angeles Times** report proved accurate, "...we would consider it a serious problem."

***Taiwan Communiqué comment:** both above-described incidents show that China is still a hostile country, and that in many cases relating to military matters, it is not acting in good faith. It is thus essential that both the United States and Western European countries wishing to improve relations with China, military or otherwise, act with utmost care, and not let themselves be deluded by pretty tales about large markets and large industrial contracts. Chinese reality is not what it seems to be.*

On GATT and WTO

On 1 January 1995, the new **World Trade Organization** (WTO) came into existence as the successor of the old **General Agreement for Tariffs and Trade** (GATT). One of the sensitive questions the organization has to deal with is the accession of both China and Taiwan.

China's bullying tactics

For China two issues are playing a role: 1) its own accession, and 2) it wishes to be a founding member before Taiwan enters.

On the first point, there is general agreement among the Western community that at the present time China is by far not ready or qualified to become a member yet: its market is still substantially closed, copyrights and intellectual property rights are not protected, and a host of other issues.

The authorities in Peking apparently believed that they could push their way into the WTO on the basis of their political might and weight. However, in particular the United States worked hard to convince the Chinese — and others — that substantial changes in China’s policies and practices would be required before agreement could be reached on China’s accession.

When China still did not budge, the US announced at the end of December 1994 that it would impose sanctions on some US\$ 1 billion worth of Chinese exports to the United States in retaliation for massive Chinese piracy of US patents and copyrights.

Let Taiwan enter on its own merits

On the second issue, Taiwan’s accession, China has attempted to pull all possible levers to prevent Taiwan from becoming a member before it does.

Taiwan Communiqué comment: *We believe that China’s demands are unjustified and unfair. Over the past few years, Taiwan has worked hard to qualify as a member of GATT / WTO, and now meets the large majority of the criteria for membership.*

The international community should disregard China’s objections and allow Taiwan to join on its own merits. We predict that if this is done, the Chinese in Peking will suddenly move with lightning speed to meet the GATT / WTO criteria !!

Report from Washington

How will the new Congress deal with the Taiwan issue ?

The American Congressional elections of 8 November 1994 brought the Republicans to the majority position in both the US House of Representatives and the Senate for the first time in forty years. What effect will this have on America’s Taiwan policy ?

First it must be remembered that support for “Taiwan” in a broader sense has always received bipartisan support in both houses of Congress. In the early 1980s it was

Republican **Jim Leach** (Iowa) who — together with Democrat **Stephen Solarz** — took a leading role in the House in speaking out for human rights and democracy in Taiwan. In the Senate it was the Democrats **Edward Kennedy** and **Claiborne Pell** who pioneered support for human rights and democracy in Taiwan, but in the second half of the 1980s they were joined by such notable Republicans as **Frank Murkowski** (R-Alaska).

During the past two years, both Republicans and Democrats in House and Senate have lauded democratic progress on the island, and the campaign for Taiwan's entry into the United Nations has received broad support. In doing so, the Democrats have leaned more towards the DPP position, while the Republicans have tended to be influenced by the Kuomintang's approach. Still, there was wide consensus and convergence between the positions.

What will now change ? With regard to Taiwan itself, the Congress will be more outspoken in its criticism of the Clinton Administration's piecemeal approach to Taiwan (see “*US upgrades Taiwan relations — by an inch*” in **Taiwan Communiqué** no. 62, and “*Hearing on Taiwan Policy Review*” in issue no. 63). Certainly, more support for an increasing Taiwan's profile in its relations with the United States is “in the wings.”

In addition, there will be pressure in Congress for the United States to take a stronger stance against China's bullying tactics in Taiwan's direction, and — in general — be less placating towards China than the Clinton Administration has been during the past two years.

Thus, in general, in the 104th Congress, legislation in support for Taiwan's membership in international organizations and in particular for UN membership for Taiwan, safety and security of Taiwan will be more easily put on the agenda.

Taiwan Communiqué comment: *There is one issue where Congress needs to look critically at the information coming from the Kuomintang authorities: their position on Taiwan independence. For their own selfish reasons the KMT authorities have in the past strongly argued against this option: it would reduce their legitimacy as government of the so-called “Republic of China.”*

However, in espousing the argument that Taiwan independence would “invite an invasion from the mainland”, they are putting themselves in a position of mouth-

piece for the Communist authorities. By disagreeing with the independence option they are also cutting themselves off from a viable position as a free and separate nation, which lives in peaceful coexistence with China.

While the present-day leaders in Peking emphasize that they are not enamored by Taiwan independence, one must remember that Peking has for the past forty years threatened to invade Taiwan. This hostility was based on the fact that most Chinese leaders personally



Unification Chinese style: Chinese driver to President Lee Teng-hui (in shiny Taiwanese car): "How about merging these two vehicles?!"

experienced the Chinese Civil War with the Kuomintang. In the (hopefully near) future there will be a new leadership that may come to an accommodation with a new Taiwan as an independent neighbor.

In the meantime it is essential for both the Taiwan authorities and Western participants in the debate to attempt to reduce the tension by not playing up the "China will invade if Taiwan declares independence" line, but to use all means of communication / persuasion possible to convince China it is in its own interest to coexists peacefully with Taiwan.

Congressman Solomon introduces UN-Resolution

One example of how one should not proceed was set by Congressman **Gerald Solomon** (R-NY) in the beginning of January 1995: he introduced a Resolution supporting “...*the Republic of China (Taiwan)’s participation in the United Nations.*”

Taiwan Communiqué comment: While we wholeheartedly support Taiwan’s entry into the United Nations, we believe Mr. Solomon’s effort is not very constructive, because it has a number of major weaknesses, both procedural and in its content:

1. **Procedure.** The Resolution was introduced without any coordination with the major Taiwanese lobbying organization in DC, the Formosan Association for Public Affairs (FAPA). Apparently, Mr. Solomon did not learn very much from the effort during the past year when two separate, competing resolutions wound their way through Congress, only to end up in a useless stalemate.
2. **Content:** Mr. Solomon’s resolution continues to refer to Taiwan by the anachronistic name “Republic of China”. As long as this is the case, it will be impossible for the Taiwanese community in the United States to support the resolution. For them it is essential that Taiwan is referred to simply and straightforwardly as “Taiwan”, not more but also not less.

The Resolution also makes the mistake of talking about Taiwan as part of the “divided nation” China. In doing so Mr. Solomon gives the Communist authorities in Peking the excuse to continue to claim sovereignty over Taiwan. It is essential that this “divided nation” myth be laid to rest right away, and that Taiwan is presented as a new entity, which deserves a place under the international sun.

Furthermore, Mr. Solomon's resolution fails to refer to the most important argument in favor of Taiwan's membership of the United Nations: the principle of universality, as incorporated in the UN Charter.

We urge Mr. Solomon to fundamentally rewrite the resolution in cooperation with representatives of the Taiwanese community in the United States, not just with the Taipei Representative Office. Only then will it be possible to come up with a broad-based Resolution which will receive bipartisan support and smooth passage through the House.

Second Generation report: The Bridge Generation

By Shaun Su

Shaun is a young-professional in New York, where he is a member of the Society of Taiwanese Americans. Since finishing his undergraduate degree, he has been doing graduate work in epidemiology at New York University. In his free time he is active in several organizations, such as the Taiwanese American Citizens League, and the Taiwanese Association of America.

The landscape of the Taiwanese in America has evolved. Two or three decades ago, a surge of Taiwanese came to the United States for higher education, freedom of expression, and better opportunities. As our parents and their peers will tell us, these first generation Taiwanese went through extremely tough times establishing themselves in America. Fortunately, their children, the Second-Generation Taiwanese-Americans grew up in relative luxury after their parents' pioneering efforts.

During the past decade, I have observed the emergence of a new generation of Taiwanese in America: this is the Bridge Generation. They provide a link between the Taiwanese-speaking parents and the American-born, almost exclusively English-speaking children. In social situations, they can easily tailor themselves to individuals of both generations, switching between the two languages effortlessly.

One common characteristic of the individuals in the bridge generation is that they have spent a considerable amount of time in both Taiwan and the United States. To take my observations further, there are both a primary and a secondary bridge generation.

The primary bridge generation has spent his/her formative years in Taiwan and is more comfortable conversing in the Taiwanese language and associating with the first generation. My older sister has the profile of the primary bridge generation. She completed primary education in Taiwan and emigrated to the United States at age twelve. She is equally proficient in both languages. However, in professional and social situations, she is more comfortable in the Taiwanese language.

On the other hand, the secondary bridge generation is more comfortable with English. I have the profile of the secondary bridge generation. I learned both Taiwanese and Mandarin while in Taiwan, and emigrated to the United States after fourth grade. Since

I spent the vast majority of my living years in the American educational system, and was immersed in the American environment, I chose to associate with my English-speaking counterparts first and my Taiwanese counterparts second.

My purpose for writing this piece is not to describe my observations, but to address an issue facing the bridge generation. Like many Taiwanese-minded young people, I am an avid attendee of the many conferences and gatherings of the Taiwanese-American community. But the people of the bridge generation feel that they are in a rather unique but awkward situation. Many of us start their “conference career” in the second generation program, but feel a need to graduate to the first generation program.

Often the second-generation programs have been designed and tailored to individuals who were born and raised here. We feel that the bridge generation could be used in a better way in bridging the gap between the first and second generations. We are an asset, perhaps not fully realized by the community, and we could share personal insights and experiences with all three groups.

For the second generation: Taiwan is more than just a vacation destination, it is the place of our cultural heritage. We know what it is like to be between two generations, and we know about jumping from one culture to another. We can help you find your roots.

For the recent bridge generation: those who are going through the “new culture jitters.” The bridge generation has gone through similar experiences, and would be more than happy (most of the time) to share their insights.

For the first generation: we can help you “translate” the Taiwanese culture and heritage for the second generation in a way they can relate to.

We are a resource for the Taiwanese American Community. We can provide a link between past and future as we approach a new era of the Taiwanese in America.
