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## The Chinese missile crisis

Between 21 and 26 July 1995, the Chinese military fired a total of six missiles at an area only 80 miles to the North of Taiwan. Four of these were M-9 missiles with a range of 375 miles, while two were DF-21 missiles, with a range of more than 1,100 miles. On August 15th, the Beijing authorities started a second series of military exercises in the same area, and fired missiles with live ammunition.

On August 18th, the Chinese further increased the tension by detonating a nuclear device at their Lop Nor test site. The latest nuclear test was strongly protested by nations in the area, in particular Japan, Australia, and New Zealand. The United States and the European Nordic countries also expressed their deep concern.

These aggressive moves are clearly designed to intimidate the people and government of Taiwan, and to prevent them from moving further on the road towards a fully democratic and independent Taiwan, and gaining international diplomatic recognition for the island.

The tension and instability caused by China's aggressive behavior prompted a broad discussion on how to deal with this issue. Some observers, and a number of governments, attempt to appease China. Others argue for the need to contain China, and say that in order to prevent much larger problems in the future, it is essential to take stronger measures which would convincingly make it clear to China that it should start to behave like a responsible member of the world community.



**Father and son protesting Chinese missiles**

## *Protest against missile tests*

The menacing Chinese moves were accompanied by a barrage of slandering invectives by the Chinese government-controlled media such as the Xinhua News Agency against President Lee Teng-hui and against the island's movement towards international recognition. The Chinese bluff and bluster prompted a variety of responses from the Taiwanese side: in the article "Taiwan under pressure" (pp. 15), we present these in greater detail.

The Chinese missile tests also prompted widespread demonstrations by the Taiwanese communities in the United States and Canada: from July 26th through 28th and again on August 18th, hundreds of people demonstrated in front of the Chinese consulates in Los Angeles, Toronto, and Vancouver, and in front of the Chinese embassy in Washington DC.

The demonstrations carried placards against the Chinese missile tests, "hands off Taiwan", "Taiwan is Taiwan, China is China", "Boycott made in China" and many more. They also carried home-built replicas of "Taiwan Patriot" defense missiles. In the US Congress, suggestions have been made that, if the Chinese threat continues, the US should make the Patriot missile or its successor available to Taiwan.

On 10 August 1995, the **Taiwan Democratic Progressive Party** mission in the U.S. issued a strong statement in protest against the missile tests. The full text follows below:

**Chinese artillery and missile tests threaten Asian security  
DPP urges the US to respond according to the Taiwan Relations Act**

The Chinese People's Liberation Army announced today plans to hold a series of military exercises and missile tests near the Taiwan coast from August 15 to 25. Coming after artillery and ballistic missile tests in the same region late July, the exercise is China's second exhibition of its military strength and assertion of territorial claims over Taiwan.

Taiwan has been an independent country for nearly fifty years. Despite its pretentious claims, the People's Republic of China has never had jurisdiction over Taiwan. China's continuing provocation against the Taiwanese drive for freedom and independence are a grave threat to the security and stability of East Asia and a violation of the United Nations Charter.

Self-determination and peace were the founding principles of the United Nations. According to the UN Charter (Article 2, section 4): “All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.” China’s behavior towards the peaceful and democratic country of Taiwan is clearly an infringement of these principles, and it is in the interest of the world community, especially the United States, to uphold these principles by joining the Taiwanese people in condemning Chinese aggression in the Asia-Pacific region.

In his Congressional testimony last week, Director of the DPP Mission to the US Parris Chang urged the US to heed the lessons of appeasement toward Nazi Germany and Iraq and “cease coddling the Chinese dictatorship or bowing to its hegemonism and policy of intimidation.”

Beyond a matter of principle, it is also the legal obligation of the US to take necessary measures to ensure the security of Taiwan - unless the US does not consider Chinese firing ballistic missiles 85 miles off the coast of New York City, as it has done off the coast of Metropolitan Taipei, a cause of panic. The Taiwan Relations Act, which constitutes the legal basis of US relations with Taiwan, stipulates in Section 2 (b)(2);

“It is the policy of the United States to declare that peace and stability in the area are in the political, security, and economic interests of the United States, and are matters of International concern.”

Furthermore, “The President is directed to inform the Congress promptly of any threat to the security or the social or economic system of the people in Taiwan.... The President and the Congress shall determine, in accordance with constitutional processes, appropriate action by the United States in response to any such danger. [Section 3(c)]”

The Democratic Progressive Party is committed to non-violence, peace, and self-determination. The DPP seeks peaceful co-existence and cooperation with the Chinese people, but it is also ready to defend Taiwan against unreasonable threats and intimidation. The DPP also urges the United States and the international community, in principle and in obligation, to take immediate action to support a secure, free, and prosperous Taiwan.

## *Chinese bull in an Asian china shop*

It was not only the firing of missiles against Taiwan, which demonstrated China's unruly behavior. Also on a host of other issues, the Chinese authorities are flagrantly disregarding international standards of responsible behavior:

1. During the past months, China tried to claim sovereignty over the Spratleys, a group of islands in the South China Sea, where several South East Asian nations have territorial rights. China totally disregarded these rights and the respective international agreements, and has occupied one of the reefs (see "*Dispute over islands and China's gunboats roiling Asian waters*", **Washington Post**, 5 June 1995).

2. During the past months, there have been persistent US intelligence reports that China has exported M-11 missile technology to Pakistan and nuclear technology to Iran, both in flagrant violation of international agreements.



3. In May 1995, and again on 18 August 1995, the Chinese detonated a nuclear device at their test site at Lop Nor in the western region of Xinjiang. The irony of the matter is that three days before the May test, they had signed the UN agreement to give indefinite extension to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NNPT), which prohibits such tests.

### **Taiwanese in Washington protest Chinese missile tests, and urge boycott of Chinese products.**

4. In mid-July, the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA) issued a report stating that China is conducting work on biological and toxic weapons, which violate the 1972 international Biological and Toxic Weapons Convention (**Washington Post**, 14 July 1995).

5. The sad record of China's repression in Tibet is well-documented by human rights groups such as **Amnesty International** and **Asia Watch**. The people of Tibet have been tortured, murdered, deprived of their religious rights and political freedom.

6. On Hong Kong, it is becoming increasingly clear that the Chinese authorities are tightening the noose in preparation for the 1 July 1997 hand-over: on August 12th, the *Washington Post* carried an article reporting that senior Chinese officials are indicating that the authorities will abolish the Legislative Council, for which elections are being held in September 1995 (“*China vows to abolish Hong Kong Council*”, **Washington Post**, 12 August 1995).
7. Last but not least, the sad record of human rights in China itself, and the fact that the Chinese authorities are continuing to hold Chinese-American citizen **Harry Wu** in prison, because he had the courage to expose what is going on in the dark dungeons of China’s Gulag Archipelago.

**Taiwan Communiqué comment:** *This all adds up to a bleak picture. The Chinese authorities are developing, testing, and exporting weapons of mass destruction, trying to expand their territory at the expense of smaller neighbors, blatantly disregarding human rights, political rights, freedom of expression, and — in the case of Taiwan — the freedom to chart the future of Taiwan as a democratic and independent nation.*

*What the West and the Asian nations surrounding China should do is firmly stand up to China. Failing to do this at this initial stage will invite more unruly behavior, eventually leading to a real catastrophe in East Asia.*

## ***Appeasement .....***

The hardening of relations between China and its East Asian neighbors and the Western world prompted a broad discussion on how to deal with this issue. Some observers, and a number of governments, favor a policy of appeasing China, saying: don’t “rock the boat,” as this might provoke China.

Prominent among these is former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, who has become the Beijing regime’s most ardent apologist. In an article titled “*Heading for Collision in Asia*” (**Washington Post**, 26 July 1995) Mr. Kissinger seemed to condone the Chinese aggressive behavior, and downplayed or totally neglected the issues on which China was acting irresponsibly.

Another person favoring appeasement with the Chinese is Mr. Walter Russell Mead (“*The danger of bigger trouble with the Chinese*”, **New York Times**, 15 August 1995). In his article, Mr. Russell Mead makes it appear as if the problems are primarily

due to “American hostility towards the Chinese.” He thus overlooks that the US has actually bent over backwards to accommodate the Chinese, and that it is China that is threatening, bullying, and overreacting.

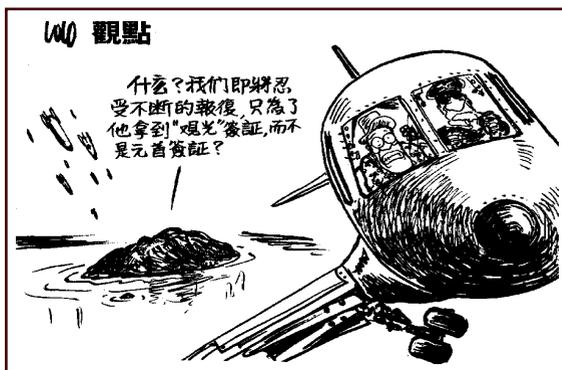
### ...versus *Containment*

Other observers favor taking a more forceful line, and say that in order to prevent much larger problems in the future, it is essential to take a strong position against China, which would convincingly make it clear to China that it should start to behave like a responsible member of the world community.

This school argues in favor of drawing clear and distinct positions, and making it clear to China that if it crosses a particular line on any of the issues involved, there will be consequences. Most prominent among these is Mr. **James Lilley**, former US ambassador to China. Mr. Lilley argues that the downswing in relations started long before Mr. Lee’s visit, and is being aggravated by both the power struggle in Beijing and by mishandling of

the situation by the US Department of State: for far too long it cast its feet in concrete by saying that President Lee would not be issued a visa. Even three days before the approval by president Clinton, the Department still issued a statement that the answer was negative.

Another influential person arguing for a tougher line is Mr. **Gerald Segal** of the London-based International Institute for Strategic Studies. In an article, titled “*We can shape China as a Congenial Superpower*” (**Los Angeles Times**, 7 August 1995) Mr. Segal says that a serious debate is necessary on how to handle the rise of China. He states: “Tying China into the international system has elements of both “containment” and “engagement,” and it is not worth feigning that we cannot use either term in our debates.”



**President Lee:** *"All these missiles just because I got a tourist visa to Cornell? What would have happened if I had gone as head of state?"*

A third voice in favor of a stronger position by the US and Western Europe is **The Economist** of London. In an editorial in its 29 July 1995 issue, the British publication states "...as China tests missiles off the coast of Taiwan and speaks of a possible invasion, it is becoming harder to pretend that it is not, potentially, a source of huge instability. .... It is right to try to engage China, but it is also right to make it much plainer that China has no license to threaten its neighbors .... Economic engagement and strategic containment should be part of a coherent whole."

On the issue of Taiwan, *The Economist* states: "...the best way to minimize (the possibility of a Chinese invasion) is not to appease China by cutting Taiwan off from the international society. That would be to concede China's basic contention that whatever happens between China and Taiwan is an internal Chinese affair, and thus to concede its justification for an invasion of its island neighbor .... The best policy is gradually to expand ties with Taiwan, as America is already doing. China should be left in no doubt that an invasion of Taiwan — the United States's sixth largest trading partner — would comprehensively wreck relations with capitalist Asia and the West, far more than the killings of the pro-democracy demonstrations in Beijing in 1989 ever did."

Also an advocate of a tougher line is Mr. **Jim Hoagland**, who wrote: "China adroitly manipulated a straw man argument to bully the United States into ..studied silence. By accusing Washington of trying to "contain China," Beijing tries to paint even moderate criticism of or differences with China as warlike acts which must be avoided" ("*Why does America bash Japan and coddle China ?*", **International Herald Tribune**, 10 August 1995). Mr. Hoagland also argues in favor of de-linking the Taiwan debate from China: "Just as Russia must not be given a veto over America's relations with the new democracies of Eastern Europe and the Ukraine, Beijing cannot be given power to determine how Washington conducts itself vis-à-vis Taiwan. U.S.-Taiwan relations cannot be held hostage to the paranoid, lurid fantasies of the gerontocracy that rules in Beijing."

Last, but not least, we refer to the article which ruffled most feathers in Beijing: **Charles Krauthammer's** "*Why we must contain China*" (**TIME Magazine**, 31 July 1995). Mr. Krauthammer titillates Messrs. Winston Lord and Newt Gingrich for their diplomatic fibbing, and states that "...any rational policy towards a rising, threatening China would have exactly these two components: 1) containing China as it tries relentlessly to expand its reach, and 2) undermining its pseudo-Marxist but still ruthless dictatorship.

## US - China relations on the downslope

### *Power struggle in Beijing the real reason*

The downturn in US - China relations is certainly a fact. There are however, different analyses possible on what caused it, and what can be done to avoid further problems.

It has become conventional wisdom to say that the June 1995 visit by Taiwan President Lee Teng-hui to Cornell was the reason for the “free fall”, as some observers called it. The Beijing authorities certainly used Mr. Lee’s visit, as well as the growing trend towards independence on the island, as an excuse to kick up a verbal storm and to start flexing its military muscles.

However, several prominent analysts have noted that the Chinese belligerence reflects the ongoing power struggle in Beijing, in anticipation of the demise of Deng Xiaoping. They argue that the Chinese authorities are only too eager to divert attention from what is going on inside the Chinese backrooms, by kicking up a storm of invectives and political mud in the direction of the United States and President Lee Teng-hui.

This point was made by veteran China analyst **Orville Shell** (“*Bluster from Beijing*”, **Washington Post** 13 August 1995) and by Georgetown law professor **James Feinerman** in his testimony before the US Congress (3 August 1995, House subcommittee on Asian Pacific Affairs). According to their analysis, the slide in US — China relations are thus primarily caused by the tension within China itself, as several factions maneuver for power in the post-Deng Xiaoping period. If the visit of President Lee had not happened, China would have found another convenient scape-goat issue.

It is also essential to emphasize that it was not a one-sided Republican Congress which forced Mr. Clinton’s hand in giving approval to Mr. Lee’s to visit the US. Both in the House and the Senate, the respective Resolutions were passed with the largest possible majorities, 396 - 0 in the House, and 97 to 1 in the Senate. Support for Taiwan in the US Congress is as bipartisan as it can be.

### *Gingrich and Kissinger: from gaffe to blunder*

In the beginning of July 1995, House Speaker Newt Gingrich looked like the person who would bring a breath of fresh air into the discussion on Taiwan. In a **CBS “Face the Nation”** TV interview on 9 July 1995, in the context of a discussion on what the

US could do to free Harry Wu, Mr. Gingrich stated that the United States should formally recognize Taiwan “as a free country.” He added: “the US should tell the Chinese they would have to live with the reality that the people of Taiwan are a free people.”

However, a few days later the **New York Times** (“*The schooling of Gingrich, the foreign policy novice*”, NYT, 18 July 1995) reported that Mr. Gingrich said that he “...didn’t really mean it” and that he had just said it to “rattle the cage, to get China’s attention.”

**Taiwan Communiqué comment:** *Mr. Gingrich was right in expressing his support for recognizing Taiwan as a free and independent nation. This is reality, and trying to pretend otherwise amounts to an ostrich policy. However, Mr. Gingrich made his mistake in trying to use Taiwan to pressure China. As argued in more detail elsewhere in this Taiwan Communiqué, it would be wise for the US and other nations to de-link their consideration of ties with Taiwan from those with China.*

The reason for Mr. Gingrich’s remarkable flip-flop was none less than “Mr. China” himself, Henry Kissinger. Concerned that his opening to China made 25 years ago would go down the drain, Mr. Kissinger had sternly lectured his erstwhile protégé, and told him to retract his statement.

At the end of July, Mr. Kissinger came with his own prescription for salvaging his US — China axis: in testimony before the US Congress and in exactly similar Op-Ed articles in the Los Angeles Times, International Herald Tribune, and the Washington Post, he stated that 1) the Clinton Administration should restart a political dialogue with China, by reaffirming the provisions of existing agreements, 2) Beijing should end its hard line and take seriously issues about which Americans feel deeply — such as nuclear proliferation and the fate of Harry Wu, 3) The US Congress should stop ad hoc measures and work for a joint course with the administration, and 4) Taiwan should think again before pressing America on a course which, in the end, could isolate Taiwan.

**Taiwan Communiqué comment:** *In his analysis Mr. Kissinger totally overlooks the fact that virtually all of the problems were due to China’s unruly behavior. As former US ambassador Harvey Feldman rightly states (“China, What Kissinger leaves out”, **Washington Post**, 1 August 1995), Mr. Kissinger said absolutely nothing of China’s massive rearmament, including the purchase of advanced fighters and submarines from Russia. Similarly, in scolding Congress, Mr. Kissinger is totally silent on the issues that forced Congress to become involved: threatening moves in the South China Sea, Prison labor, export of nuclear and missile technology, and of course human rights.*

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*On the issue of Taiwan, Mr. Kissinger seems to have totally missed the political evolution on the island towards a free, democratic political system. He treats it as an irritant in the relations with China. In fact, Taiwan is a vibrant, dynamic country with 21 million people whose international political status has been hanging in limbo, to a large part due to the shortsighted policies of the Kuomintang leadership itself, and in part due to the fact that the international community still has to fulfill its obligations to the island stemming from the 1952 San Francisco Peace Treaty (see article below).*

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## Towards a new Taiwan policy

### *A brief look into history*

A closer look at the island's history shows that Taiwan was only very briefly a part of Imperial China (from 1887 until 1895). Before that time, it was a loose-lying area, not ruled by anyone. In fact, when the Dutch East India Company established a settlement in the southern part of the island in the 1620s, they found *no* signs of any Chinese administrative structure.

In 1895, the island became Japanese territory, having been ceded "*in perpetuity*" to Japan by the Chinese Manchu rulers under the Treaty of Shimonoseki in 1895. For the following 50 years, it was an integral part of the Japanese Empire.

In 1945, it was "temporarily occupied" by the Chiang Kai-shek's troops on behalf of the Allied Forces. When Chiang lost his Civil War in 1949, he moved the remainder of his troops and government to Taiwan, and ruled with an iron fist. In the "February 28" incident of 1947, his troops massacred between 10,000 and 20,000 Taiwanese elite. The Taiwanese people, who comprise 85% of the population, were thus oppressed, and became unwilling pawns in a bigger chess-game between the two Chinese adversaries.

In 1951-52, the United Nations San Francisco Peace Conference which formally concluded World War II, decided that Japan would give up its sovereignty over the island, and that the future status of the island would be decided "*...in accord with the purposes and principles of the United Nations charter: self-determination.*"

## *The KMT's shortsighted policies*

From the second half of the 1940s until the late 1980s, the Kuomintang authorities ruled the island under a pervasive system of Martial Law. At the same time, they attempted to maintain the fantasy that they ruled all of China, and would some day “recover” the mainland.

The KMT's dreamworld started to fall apart in 1971-72, when Messrs. Nixon and Kissinger made their opening to Beijing, and the PRC replaced the Kuomintang authorities as China's representative in the United Nations. The situation further deteriorated for them in December 1978, when the United States switched its diplomatic recognition from the Kuomintang regime to the Beijing regime.



**President Lee:** *"How come people don't understand my position on independence versus unification? ... well, actually I am rather confused myself."*

This switch in recognition gave the impetus to the growth and evolution of a democratic opposition movement in the late 1970s and early 1980s, which started to question the KMT's continuing claim to represent China, and began to work towards ending the Martial Law and the accompanying restrictions on freedom of the press and of expression. In September 1986, it began its growth to a full-fledged opposition party, when the Democratic Progressive Party was formed.

The Martial Law was dropped in 1987, but replaced by a less stringent National Security Law. However, it wasn't until 1991 that the claim to rule China was dropped, and that aging legislators — elected on the mainland in 1947 — were sent into retirement. Since then, the island has made major further strides in the direction of a fully democratic political system, but the KMT authorities continue to cling to the outdated claim that “Taiwan is part of China.”

## *Towards a new Taiwan nation*

Taiwan fulfills all requirements of a nation-state: a defined territory (the same size as the Netherlands), a population of 21 million (greater than that of 3/4 of the member states of the United Nations), and a government which exercises effective control. It is a de-facto independent nation-state, and deserves to be recognized as such by other nations.

All signals on the island point to the fact that they certainly do not want to be “unified” with China, although this unification has been standard propaganda fare by both the Communist authorities in Peking and the Nationalist authorities in Taipei. This propaganda from both sides of the Taiwan Straits also allows the international media to unwittingly repeat canards such as “Both Taiwan and China say they want reunification, but on different terms” over and over again.

These platitudes have become outdated. Over the past decade a political transformation has occurred in Taiwan, which makes it a different country altogether. The Taiwanese have their own identity, language, and culture, and have worked very hard during the past decade to achieve their democratic political system. The transition towards this democratic system is a political miracle, which outshines the island’s economic miracle.

Will the other nations, and particularly the United States and Western Europe, deny Taiwan its rightful place in the international community of nations just because a repressive, belligerent, bullying China is making a lot of noise? Some appear to be saying that we should pay more attention to China than to Taiwan, because it is big and noisy. If the United Nations, and particularly the West would do this, it would be in flagrant violation of its own principles of freedom and democracy.

When we read the charter of the United Nations, then we see that it attaches great importance to the principle of self-determination. In accordance with that principle, the Taiwanese people have the right to be a free, democratic and independent country. We realize that these days the principles of the United Nations don’t mean much anymore, but we certainly hope that other democratic nations, and particularly the United States and Europe, support Taiwan’s aspirations. These aspirations are the same which lead the US to its independence from Britain 200 years ago, and independence of the Netherlands from Spain 400 years ago.

## *What is a “One China” policy ?*

During the debate about what to do about the relations with both Taiwan and China, frequent reference is made to the “One China” policy. This has become a confusing concept. It has become so confusing in fact, that State Department and White House spokesmen regularly stumble on the formulation, leaving the newsmedia and regular earthlings in utter — well — confusion. For example, on 13 July 1995, White House spokesman Mike McCurry stated that the US had “accepted” the Chinese position (that Taiwan is part of China). After strong protests from the Taiwanese community, he retracted his statement.

The confusion is created both by the shortsighted policy of the Kuomintang authorities described above, and by the “creative ambiguity” of the formulation chosen by the United States and most other nations in 1971/72. In the 1972 Shanghai Communiqué, the US and China listed a number of issues on which they **disagreed**. One of these was Taiwan. The US thus simply stated that it “**acknowledged**” the Chinese position, that there is but one China, and that Taiwan is part of China.

However, the Shanghai Communiqué of 1972 becomes debatable if one learns how it came about. In a 1985 Rand Corporation report written for US intelligence agencies, Mr. Kissinger is reported to have agreed to the text of the document “late at night after a banquet of Peking duck and powerful ‘mao tai’ liquor.” Mr. Kissinger is quoted as telling his hosts: “After a dinner of mao tai and Peking duck, I’ll sign anything” (*“Manipulation of the Presidents, scripted by Beijing”*, by Jim Mann, **International Herald Tribune**, 14 June 1994).

*“After a dinner of mao tai and Peking duck, I’ll sign anything”*

**Henry Kissinger on the occasion  
of the Shanghai Communiqué, 1972**

Does the wording of the Shanghai Communiqué mean that the US, and most other nations which used similar wording, recognized or accepted that Taiwan is part of China? The answer is unequivocally **no**. These nations simply took note of the Chinese position, but did not give their own position on the matter itself.

The only international treaty which does apply to the status of Taiwan is the San Francisco Peace Treaty of 1952, in which Japan formally renounced sovereignty over Taiwan. As indicated earlier, at San Francisco the signatories decided not to allocate sovereignty over Taiwan to any one government, but agreed that the status of the island

would be decided at some future date, "... in accord with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations."

In any case, for the people of Taiwan any communiqué's between other countries such as the United States and China are not binding and of little relevance, because they were made without any involvement or representation of the people of Taiwan.

Of course a new Western "*One China, One Taiwan*" policy would not alter international recognition of the government in Beijing as the rightful rulers of mainland China, but it should specifically state that according to the basic principles agreed upon in the context of the United Nations, it is up to the Taiwanese people themselves to determine their own future. It is up to the international community to guarantee that this is done freely, without any coercion by China.

## *De-linking Taiwan from China relations*

How can this all come about? The first step is for the authorities on Taiwan to take: they should drop the anachronistic links with their Chinese history and stop claiming to be China. The present title "Republic of China on Taiwan" (still the official title of the country according to the Kuomintang authorities) would be similar to calling the USA "The United States of Britain in America."

A second step is for the United States and other nations to look at relations with Taiwan on its own merit. The country has a defined territory, over which China never ruled, even for one day. It has a population of over 21 million and an increasingly open and democratic political system — all necessary prerequisites for recognition as an independent nation.

The United States, the rest of the world, and particularly China, should thus acknowledge, respect, accept, and recognize that the present-day Taiwan is totally different from the old "Republic of China" of the repressive Chiang Kai-shek regime.

The Taiwanese people had nothing to do with the Chinese civil war, and do not want their future as a free, democratic and independent nation to be a hostage to that civil war. It is therefore time for the international community to discard the old "One China" policy and move progressively towards a new "*One China, One Taiwan*" policy.

At present China is still opposed to Taiwan independence, but in time, the leaders in Peking will come to see that it is in the interest of peace and stability in the region, and

certainly in their own interest to live peacefully side-by-side with their smaller neighbors. Taiwan wants to be a free, democratic, and independent nation, which lives in peace with all its neighbors, including China.

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## Taiwan under Pressure

### *A nervous self-confidence*

The Chinese missile crisis and Beijing verbal salvo's at Taiwan and President Lee Teng-hui were cause for nervousness on the island: both in the third week of July and the middle of August, the stock market in Taipei dropped sharply, and the New Taiwan dollar moved lower against the US dollar. In interviews with various international media, Taiwanese people expressed a deep concern over the Chinese saber rattling.

However, overall, there was a cautious confidence and determination to weather the storm. An opinion poll, published by the United Daily News on Saturday, 12 August 1995, showed that 79 percent of the 1,236 people interviewed said they would fight to protect Taiwan if China would attempt to invade the island.

### *Is Lee Teng-hui moving towards independence ?*

During the past weeks, the government-controlled Chinese newsmedia, the Xinhua News Agency and the People's Daily in Beijing, launched a stream of invectives and diatribes against Taiwan President Lee Teng-hui, accusing him of "splitting the motherland", and moving towards independence for the island.

The vocal Chinese attacks against Lee sound rather peculiar to the Taiwanese people, who feel that — if anything — Mr. Lee has been rather slow in dropping the anachronistic "One China" policy, and in his speeches and statements still clings to "eventual reunification."

According to a press report on 19 August 1995 ("*China said to seek to rein in Taiwan with war games*", **New York Times**), the Chinese are actually trying to cause the political downfall of President Lee. For the time being, their actions seem to have the opposite effect, and appear to have increased the cohesion on the island.

During this period, opinion polls in Taiwan showed that support for President Lee Teng-hui was only slightly diminishing, dropping from 79 percent at the time of the first series of Chinese missile tests, down to 73 percent in mid-August, just before the second series.

## *Redirecting investments, from West to South*

The Chinese missile tests are also bound to have a major impact on the investment strategy of Taiwanese businessmen: during the past few years they invested heavily in the Chinese coastal provinces, because of the proximity, similarity in language, and the availability of cheap labor. In total, some 25,000 Taiwan-funded enterprises reportedly have invested between US\$ 10 and 20 billion in the mainland.

However, through the missile crisis, they are now seeing the true face of the Chinese: according to newspaper reports in Taiwan, local officials in the coastal provinces have visited Taiwan businesses, and told them they would be subject to a greater number of restrictions. Taiwanese businesses have no legal protection in China.

The Taipei-based China Post reported on 11 August 1995 that business leaders in Taiwan were increasingly calling for a halt in investments in the coastal provinces of the mainland, and for redirecting Taiwan's economic ties to other nations in Southeast Asia, in particular the Philippines and Vietnam. Prominent people in the democratic opposition of the DPP are also calling for a "Southern strategy", aimed at eventual membership in ASEAN.

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## **Presidential primaries in full swing**

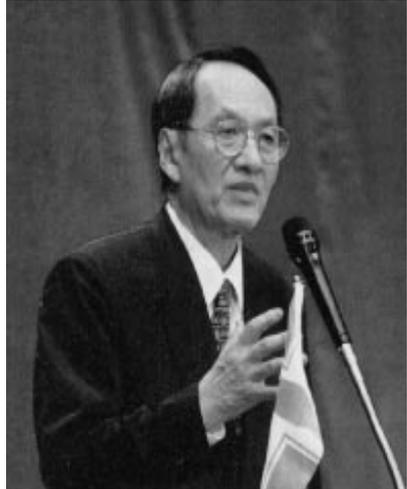
### *The DPP election marathon*

On 11 June 1995, the DPP held its first round in the two-stage primary campaign for the Presidential Elections of March 1996. It consisted of a vote by party officials and delegates, with the vote of some 140 elected party officials and some 40,000 party members weighing equally.

Out of the four candidates in the first round (see “*DPP Presidential hopefuls line up*”, in *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 66, pp. 9-12), two proceeded to the next round. These were Professor Peng Ming-min, a prominent scholar who lived in exile in the US from 1970 until the early 1990’s, and Mr. Hsu Hsin-liang, the former chairman of DPP, who also lived in exile in the US for more than a decade.

The second phase of the primary began in July and lasts three months. It features four televised debates and 50 public debates followed by direct popular voting by those present at the debates. By allowing all eligible voters regardless of party affiliation to vote in the primary, DPP hopes to select a candidate with the broadest base of electoral support. The three-month long primary could help DPP broaden its grass roots base.

When this issue of *Taiwan Communiqué* went to press, a total of 23 debates had taken place. The last one was on August 17 in Taipei City. Prof. Peng had accumulated more than 75,000 votes (63%) and was leading Mr. Hsu (37%) by nearly 30,000 votes.



**Professor Peng Ming-min**

## ***The KMT campaign: in hot waters***

While President Lee Teng-hui has not formally announced his candidacy as the ruling party’s choice for the presidential race, he is widely expected to be chosen at a Kuomintang Party Congress in the third week of August 1995.

Until mid-August he seemed to be in a comfortable position to win the presidency: his high popularity rating (see article on page 15) made him a virtual shoo-in. However, on 17 August 1995, Mr. Chen Li-an, the president of the Control Yuan and former defense minister, announced that he would run as an independent candidate. Mr. Chen is a second-generation mainlander, the son of former prime minister Chen Cheng, who also served as vice-president under Chiang Kai-shek.

His candidacy is expected to cut deeply into the Kuomintang’s mainlander constituency, the 15% of the population of the island which came over in the 1940s with Chiang

Kai-shek. This will split the Kuomintang vote, and suddenly makes a DPP victory in the elections a possibility.

The other Kuomintang member with presidential ambitions is Mr. Lin Yang-kang, who presently is an adviser to Mr. Lee, and serves as vice chairman of KMT. He previously served as president of Judicial Yuan, governor of Taiwan, mayor of Taipei, and country magistrate of Nantou. He is native Taiwanese, but has always been closely associated with the right-wing "Non-Mainstream" faction of the KMT, and thus a direct political rival of President Lee, who heads the "Mainstream" faction.



**President Lee: "One small step for me ... but a giant leap for my presidential election campaign."**

Mr. Lin is generally considered to be rather opportunistic, always eager to boost his own political ambitions at the expense of principles. The New China Party has indicated that Lin will be nominated as the party's candidate if he becomes a member. Mr. Lin himself has indicated that he intends to run as an independent. The affiliation with the New China Party would become a liability for him because the mainlander-dominated party has little support outside Taipei City.

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# Huairou, here we come ... maybe

## *The UN Women's Conference in Beijing*

In our previous issue we reported briefly on China's attempts to block accreditation of Tibetan and Taiwanese groups wanting to attend the UN Fourth Women's Conference in Beijing. These moves coincided with the shifting of the accompanying NGO-forum to Huairou, a rural outpost outside Beijing (*Taiwan Communiqué* no. 66, pp. 15-16).

The problems for women wanting to attend the conference worsened as the conference date was getting closer. In mid-August, major publications such as the New York Times and Washington Post described how China was manipulating the visa approval process in order to prevent Tibetan, Taiwanese and other critical groups from attending the conference (“*China blocks visas for participants in women’s forum*”, **Washington Post**, 18 August 1995).

At the same time, the issue of Mrs. Hillary Clinton’s attendance became a hot issue (“*Hard choice for White House on Hillary Clinton and China*”, **New York Times**, 17 August 1995). Virtually all editorials advised Mrs. Clinton not to go, because this would signify that the US is not serious in its objections to China’s violations of human rights (“*Mrs. Clinton to China ?*”, **Washington Post**, 18 August 1995).

The well-known columnist **Mary McGrory** spoke in similar vein: “Her absence would say that the United States finds Chinese behavior unacceptable. It is not just Harry Wu..., it is the way the government treats women... For once, the United States would be putting human rights first” (“*First Lady’s Dragon Dilemma*”, **Washington Post**, 17 August 1995).

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## Report from Washington

### *House holds hearing on Taiwan’s entry into the UN*

On 3 August 1995 the International Relations Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives held a hearing on UN membership for Taiwan. The following witnesses participated: Rep. Gerald Solomon (R-NY), Deputy Assistant Secretary for East Asian and the Pacific Kent Wiedemann of the State Department, Mr. John Bolton, Mr. Harvey Feldman, Mr. Shaw Yu-ming, and Professor Parris Chang, the DPP legislator who heads the DPP office in Washington DC.

The hearing was chaired by Benjamin Gilman (R-NY). It first heard testimony from Representative Gerald Solomon, who — together with Rep. Robert Torricelli (D-NJ) — introduced H.CON.RES.63 in the beginning of April stating that “It is the Sense of Congress that 1) Taiwan deserves full participation, including a seat, in the United Nations and its related agencies; and 2) the Government of the United States should

immediately encourage the United Nations to take action considering the unique situation of Taiwan in the international community and adopting a comprehensive solution to accommodate Taiwan in the United Nations and its related agencies.

Mr. Kent Wiedemann of the Department of State told the Committee that the U.S. will sell Patriots to Taiwan. He said that the recent Chinese missile tests were “unwelcome, disturbing and a dangerous development.”

Former Ambassador Harvey Feldman stressed that “Taiwan is a state”, and “Taiwan fulfills all conditions for statehood and consequently Taiwan fulfills all conditions for membership in the UN.” He said that he supported Resolution 63. He reminded the Committee that China only contributes 8 million dollars annually to the UN.

Former KMT Government Information Office spokesman Shaw Yu-ming told the Committee that “if Taiwan becomes a member of the UN, the US will not be solely responsible for Taiwan’s safety and security based on the Taiwan Relations Act, but that the international community would collectively be responsible in case of Chinese harassment.”

And finally, DPP Legislator Parris Chang reminded the Committee that Taiwan is a *de facto* independent country and that — as such — the 21 million people of Taiwan want to join the international community in general and the United Nations in particular.

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## **Environmental / Aborigine report**

### ***The Yami of Orchid Island***

**The following article was written by Yami Delegate Shiyman Feaien, and translated by Katharine Harwood.**

Orchid Island is a small island situated in the Western Pacific off the south-east coast of Taiwan. It is approximately 45 square kilometers in area and has abundant rainfall. Almost one hundred protected rare plant and animal species live in the island’s tropical forest. Of these one, Otus scops, is threatened with extinction.

The island not only has rich natural resources, but is also the area in which the Yami tribe lives. The Yami people's distinctive culture is an even more valuable example of one of the most well preserved oceanic cultures. The Yami population numbers about 3,100 people living scattered over the island's low land.

Within the Yami society there are no clearly defined class distinctions. They are a peace-loving, optimistic and gentle people. Among all the original tribes of Taiwan they are the only one that did not practice head-hunting. Their social life is based on the observance of natural principles and is against the use of force. It also includes great respect for elders.

This system rests on the strict observance of working together for the mutual benefit of all. This spirit of working together for the mutual benefit of all is of great advantage to people. When a Yami person builds his own house, the whole tribe will co-operate in order to help him do this everybody works together in the fields to produce food and everybody co-operates in the catching of fish. The economic



### **The endangered beauty of Orchid Island**

life of the tribe is the result of joint discussion. The tribe's fate and general affairs are decided by mutual consultation. Yami culture is extremely rich and complex.

After the takeover of Orchid Island by the Taiwan Government in 1946, the island's natural resources and human culture have suffered serious changes. The first intrusion of the Taiwan Government occurred in 1958 when about 2,500 convicts were sent to Orchid Island to serve their sentences. They were guarded by retired servicemen of the Kuomintang. In order to build accommodation they took the land that the Yami used to produce their principal crop, taro. They were permitted to roam the island and took advantage of this to rape the Yami women and smash the people's possessions. They did not leave until 1979.

In 1960 the Taiwan Government completely cut down Orchid Island's tropical forest, destroying the habitat of many rare species of plants and animals. After this they

established schools in all the tribal areas to teach Han Chinese culture, history, language, etc. All of this was in order to influence Yami children, so that they would lose their mother tongue, and cause the transmission of the Yami cultural heritage to come to a halt. Yami culture was replaced by Han culture and traditional Yami buildings were torn down and replaced by ugly concrete block houses.

Within ten years the concrete buildings began to crumble. The beautiful, traditional housing thus disappeared. The traditional celebration of the completion of a new house was also lost in the process. The Yami's proud culture has thus been extensively wiped out by the intense efforts to impose Chinese culture.

In addition in 1977 the Taiwan Government carried out an even more malevolent plan by making Orchid Island into a nuclear waste dump to store nuclear waste from Taiwan's nuclear power plants. In the 13 years since 1982, the amount of nuclear waste stored exceeds 100,000 barrels. Due to the lack of care in storage more than 30,000 barrels have started to rust and leak.

The workers on the nuclear waste sites even permit the dumping of radioactive earth and water into nearby seas, seriously polluting the water in which the Yami tribes do their fishing. This has caused an increase in the number of cancer-related deaths and children with learning disabilities. Today there are over 50 children, who have been born with birth defects. It is very possible that the effects of nuclear waste are the cause of these cases.

The Taiwan Power (Taipower) Company's plan to increase the number of nuclear waste disposal trenches clearly shows the Taiwan Government's callous misconduct of affairs in Orchid Island. This could really spell the final extinction of the Yami people. The Taiwan Government's contemptuous misconduct and malicious behavior towards the Yami people seriously infringe human rights and should be condemned by the international community.

Because of this all the Yami people have risen up to defend their homeland. From 1988 until now, we have already carried out almost 10 protest marches in order to curb the Taiwan Government's inhumane policies and infringement of human rights. Because we are a weak ethnic minority people, the Taiwan Government's callous attitude has given us a sense of hopelessness and filled us with sorrow.

In June President Lee Teng-Hui of Taiwan visited America and gave a speech in which he raised the idea, "The wishes of the people are always in my heart." the Yami people hope very much that he can really carry out "the wishes of the people" by ridding Orchid

Island of nuclear waste in accordance with our demands. We hope and sincerely request that more international friends support our anti-nuclear waste movement to save Orchid Island. Moreover we earnestly request you to write letters to Lee Teng-Hui asking him to stop the genocidal policies toward Orchid Island's Yami people.

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## Notes

### *Human Rights: murders in the military*

The suspicious circumstances surrounding the drowning of a young enlisted seaman in the Navy in June has once again exposed the abuses of human rights in Taiwan's military. Mr. Huang Kuo-chang, a 19-year-old sailor on active duty, was reported missing near Kaohsiung port on June 9, but his body was found a week later near the Chinese coast. The cause of Huang's death was ruled a "suicide" by his Navy superiors, "...because Huang suffered from psychiatric problems."

However, Huang's mother said that her son did not have any psychiatric problems before he enlisted in the Navy. She accused the Navy of trying to cover up the cause of her son's death by tossing his body overboard. She suspected that her son died as a result of physical abuses by his superiors.

On 21 June 1995, a DPP legislator, Mr. Chu Hsin-yu, disclosed in an interpellation that there are 2,355 peacetime deaths in the military over the past five years. The army recorded the highest number of deaths 1174, followed by 426 recorded by the navy, and 326 by the air force. The leading cause, according to official records, was death on mission, then accidental death and suicide.

Mr. Chu demanded the military issue a full list of those killed and make public the results of investigation into the causes of these peacetime deaths.

On 10 August 1995, DPP legislator Mrs. Yeh Chu-lan and an aide to National Assembly member Chen Yung-hsing, presented further evidence of foul play, which they had discovered during a fact-finding mission to the coastal town in Fukien Province, where Mr. Huang's body was brought ashore by a mainland fisherman.

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