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Say “Yes” to Taiwan

At the time of Hong Kong’s transition to China it is important to emphasize to the world that Taiwan does not want to go down the same road. We wish the people of Hong Kong well, and hope that their human rights, civil liberties, and democratic aspirations will be respected. Wherever we can, we will help defend those rights, liberties, and aspirations.

But the people of Taiwan have let it be known clearly and unequivocally that “One Country, Two Systems” is not for them, and that we want our country to be accepted by the international community as a free and democratic nation.

At the 50th anniversary of the Marshall Plan at the end of May in the Netherlands, President Clinton said that no democratic nation in Europe would be left out of the trans-Atlantic community. On June 5th 1997, in her Harvard commencement address, Secretary of State Madeleine Albright reiterated those words, and added:

“I say that no nation in the world need be left out of the global system we are constructing. And every nation that seeks to participate, and is willing to do all it can to help itself, will have America’s help in finding the right path.”

We urge the United States to stand by those promises, and help Taiwan become a full and equal member of the world community. Taiwan is a democratic nation, and it seeks to participate. The time is now to say “Yes” to Taiwan.



Madeline Albright: *“no nation need be left out”*

The Hong Kong Transition: strangling civil liberties

As the date of Hong Kong's handover to China gets closer, there are increasing signs that China has no intention of maintaining Hong Kong's "...high degree of autonomy, way of life, and freedoms..." A number of tell-tale signs:

- * In mid-May 1997, China-appointed future governor Tung Chee-hua announced that he would go ahead with plans to tighten regulation of political parties and restrict protests after the July 1st handover (see our earlier report in *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 75, pp. 19-20). Mr. Tung made it clear that in particular rallies advocating Taiwan or Tibetan independence would be banned.
- * Chinese authorities are continuing plans to install the so-called "provisional legislature", a hand-picked body of pro-China yes-men. The Chinese are even considering to have the swearing-in of this provisional legislature take place right after the stroke of midnight, in the presence of a captive audience of international dignitaries. British Prime Minister Tony Blair has already indicated he does not want to be in the audience if the ceremonies include the swearing in of the provisional legislature ("*China has plans to swear in Hong Kong body July 1*", **Washington Post**, 7 July 1997).
- * When on 4 June 1997 some 55,000 people gathered for a candlelight vigil in Victoria Park to commemorate the Tiananmen Square Massacre, the China-appointed future governor Tung Chee-hua stated that Hong Kong should "...*put aside the baggage of June 4th...*" and hinted that next year the commemoration would not be allowed.
- * In an interview with **Newsweek**, published on 8 June 1997, the highly-regarded chief of Hong Kong's civil service, Mrs. Anson Chan, warned of Chinese intervention in Hong Kong, and said she would quit if its freedoms and the political neutrality of the civil service were seriously undermined ("*Hong Kong faces handover pains*", **Associated Press**, 6 June 1997).
- * At the end of April 1997, the Chinese state-run newspaper, **China Daily**, stated that Hong Kong must revise its history books and "...bring them in line with the views of the Chinese government" ("*China: Hong Kong must revise history*", **Associated Press**, 29 April 1997). Yet another clear attempt at twisting historical facts and imposition of the distorted views of the Chinese communist authorities.

Press reports are also indicating that for months, the Chinese authorities have been carrying out a major propaganda campaign about Hong Kong, whipping up nationalistic feeling and offering a version of history that is highly biased.

Taiwan says “No” to China

On 28 June 1997, a major rally will be held in Taipei, when tens of thousands of people will gather to “Say No to China.” The rally is intended to emphasize that Taiwan is a free and democratic nation, to tell China that its claims are wrong, and to show that the “One Country, two Systems” approach is in no way applicable to Taiwan.

Over the past few years, China has bullied and threatened Taiwan, and has prevented the island from gaining its rightful place among the family of nations. Taiwan is populated by 21 million people, most of whom consider themselves Taiwanese, not Chinese. They had nothing to do with the Chinese Civil War, and don’t want their future to be held hostage to that Civil War.



The Taiwanese are asking the United States and other nations around the world to have the courage to stand up for the principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations. These principles give the people of Taiwan the right to self-determination and the right to determine their own future, without any outside interference by other countries such as China.

The people of Taiwan simply ask China to respect the right of the Taiwanese to choose “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness” as a free and independent country, which lives in peaceful coexistence next to its big neighbor. Is that too much to ask? Is it provocative to have freedom and democracy?

The rally is sponsored by a coalition of social organizations and political parties in Taiwan, including the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) and the Taiwan Independence Party (TAIP). Former DPP presidential candidate Professor Peng Ming-min is Honorary Chair of the preparatory committee, and Legislator Trong Chai its chairman.

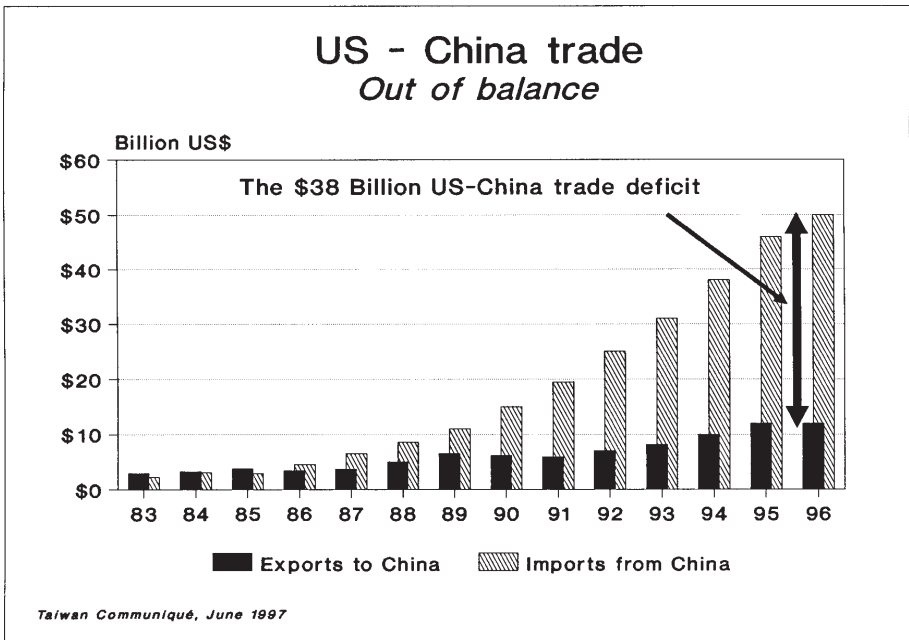
Trading with China

The American MFN debate

When Mr. Clinton became President he made the (right) decision to link adherence to human rights by China and the annual extension of MFN-status. However, in 1994, and again in subsequent years, he caved in to pressure from major corporations wanting to do business with China and decided to delink the two issues again.

The Administration's main arguments in favor of extension are that MFN-status is "normal" trading status, and that extending it will accelerate economic reform and a free market system, which will nudge the PRC towards democracy.

To any observer, it is clear that economic relations with China are **not** "normal", but as **out of balance** as can be. One glance at the trade balance between the United States and China confirms this (see figure below).



Another essential piece of information seems to be escaping the policy makers in Washington: China is far more dependent on trade with the U.S. than the U.S. is on trade with China. About 40 percent of China's exports go to the United States, while less than 2 percent of U.S. exports go to China. The U.S. exports more to countries like the Netherlands and Belgium than to China.

The Administration's argument that trade is helping human rights and democratization in China sounds as hollow as ever with the continuing crackdown on democracy activists in China itself, increasing repression in Tibet and East Turkestan, and the slow strangling of civil liberties in Hong Kong.

It seems the American population is having its doubts too: a Wall Street Journal/NBC poll published in the beginning of May 1997 showed that 67 % of Americans want an improvement of human rights in China, while only 27% are in favor of maintaining good trade relations.

House Democratic leader opposes MFN for China

In an excellent speech before the Detroit Economic Club on 27 May 1997, House Democratic Leader Richard A. Gephardt voiced his strong opposition to extending MFN-status to China. Mr. Gephardt stated that the United States must use MFN-status as a tool to effect change. He emphasized that MFN is a privilege that has to be earned, and stated that Beijing has forfeited that privilege. Mr. Gephardt stated:

“Basic human rights are universal aspirations, not a cultural preference. The totalitarians who rule China ... openly express their contempt for the ideals of freedom. In a speech before the UN General Assembly, last October, China's President denounced it as a ploy to undermine China's independence.”

We must not join that chorus, or offer assent by silence or appeasement. For brave men and women in China, freedom is more than fine words and easy rhetoric.; for it, they have sacrificed their personal liberty — and too often, even their lives. Don't tell them that their human rights are a Western idea, a European idea, and that no Asian need apply. Don't excuse tyranny by insulting its victims.”

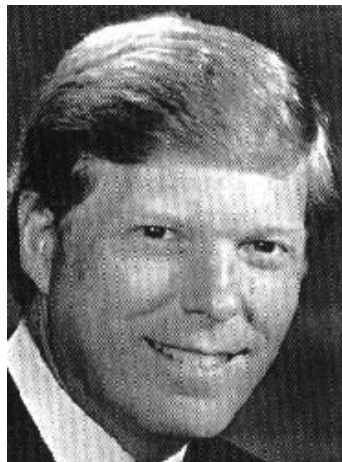
Further in his speech Mr. Gephardt stated:

“Human rights is, at the heart, about the rule of law. A government that can arbitrarily violate the liberty of its people cannot be trusted to abide by the rules

of contract or the rights of companies. We now hear the same arguments for constructive engagement with China that we heard about South Africa. But nothing fundamental changed in South Africa until sanctions came.....”

“The United States has no business playing “business-as-usual” with a Chinese tyranny that persecutes Christians, Muslim leaders and leaders from many other faiths ... sells the most lethal weapons to the most dangerous of nations, profits off slave labor, and engages in ... forced abortion.”

“... what have we gained by trafficking with a tyranny that debases the dignity of one-fifth of the human race. What is gained by a policy that sees all the evils and looks the other way? What is gained by constructive engagement with slave labor? Our trade policy with China has failed not only on moral grounds, but economically as well.”



Mr. Richard Gephardt

The full text of Mr. Gephardt’s speech can be obtained on the Internet at URL
<http://www.house.gov/democrats/speeches/dec-trade.html>

Mr. Gephardt’s strong and forthright position stands in stark contrast to the waffling of the Clinton Administration: a few days after Mr. Gephardt’s speech, Mr. Clinton’s National Security Advisor Sandy Berger tried to defend extending MFN to China in a speech before the Council of Foreign Relations in New York. Mr. Berger attempted to imply that American security interests would suffer if Congress voted to deny China’s MFN-status.

Link MFN-Status to responsible behavior

Taiwan Communiqué comment: *Mr. Gephardt is right and Mr. Berger is wrong: the U.S. and other nations around the world will only benefit if China learns to play by the rules and respects universal human rights.*

It is self-deception to think that more trade with China will automatically lead to economic and political reform. The developments over the past three years only

indicate that China is becoming a more powerful, hostile, and belligerent bully, which is less likely to be restrained by the niceties of human and political rights, and more apt to break agreements on anything from non-proliferation to trade.

*Congress has until September 1997 to decide on the MFN-renewal issue. **We strongly suggest that Congress rejects it:** during the past year, China has not shown itself to be a responsible member of the international community, it has violated non-proliferation and trade agreements, trampled the rights of the Tibetan people, and threatened Taiwan with missiles and military maneuvers.*

The U.S. should make it crystal clear to China that MFN-status can only be extended if China abides fully by non-proliferation and trade agreements, fully respects human rights in Tibet and Hong Kong, and recognizes Taiwan's right to exist as a free and independent nation. The U.S. has the leverage, it should use it to stand up for the basic principles on which this nation was founded.

Cheers for Denmark, Shame on Chirac

The linkage between human rights and trade with China also came to a head in Europe in April and May 1997, when French President Jacques Chirac broke European solidarity on the issue of introducing the annual human rights resolution on China in the UN Commission on Human Rights. It was only the courage of small nations like Denmark and the Netherlands which allowed the resolution to be introduced, and continue pressure on China to respect internationally-accepted human rights.

China threatened that Denmark's and the Netherlands' initiative would "...severely damage relations in political, economic and trade areas." It even likened Denmark to a little bird whose head would be smashed by a rock. As the International Herald Tribune rightly concluded, while the Clinton administration was "de-linking" trade and human rights, China was doing just the opposite ("*Caving in to China*", **International Herald Tribune**, 14 April 1997).

The French, in the meantime, lamely referred to the so-called "joint declaration for global partnership" concluded during Mr. Chirac's May 1997 visit to Beijing, in an attempt to show that France did get China to talk about human rights.

Taiwan Communiqué comment: the Sino-French declaration fall far short of universality of human rights, by stating that it needs to take “...fully account of particularities on all sides” — a sure way for China to avoid abiding by international human rights standards, and a carte blanche for them to continue to repress Tibetans and Uighurs, and threaten neighboring countries such as the Philippines and Taiwan.

As was rightly stated in an excellent editorial in the Washington Post (“*France reaps its reward*”, **Washington Post**, 19 May 1997) France traded profit for principle, and allowed itself to be manipulated by China into dropping its support for the UN human rights resolution in exchange for a \$ 1.5 billion Airbus purchase.

In the editorial, the Washington Post contrasted Mr. Chirac, who during his visit to China said that China “...will be one of the top nations of the world”, with imprisoned Chinese dissident Wei Jingsheng, who — when he was briefly permitted to express his views — stated that China would never be a truly great country — a “top nation” — until it became democratic. The Washington Post concluded that Mr. Wei was nearer the truth than Mr. Chirac.

Apparently the French voters didn’t like Mr. Chirac’s hypocrisy either, and in elections for the National Assembly on 25 May and 1 June 1997 gave him a big vote of no-confidence.

China’s military buildup

During the past few months both the United States Department of Defense and a number of prominent defense publications have presented details on China’s military buildup. On the following pages we summarize this information.

Selected Military Capabilities of the PRC

The Department of Defense report was released on 8 April 1997, and was titled “**Selected Military Capabilities of the PRC.**” It stated that China has “a large, well-established infrastructure for the development and production of ballistic missiles” and will have the industrial capacity to “produce as many as a thousand new [ballistic] missiles within the next decade.” The report said China is developing additional land-attack cruise missiles as a “high priority” for “theater warfighting and strategic attack.”

The report stated that China's long-term goal is "to become one of the world's great powers," and that Beijing "will probably build its military power to the point where it can engage and defeat any potential enemy within the region with its conventional forces and can deter any global strategic threat..." The report said China's efforts will include developments in seven areas of military capability. These are:

1. Development of *advanced intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance capabilities*, either through a dedicated development program, or by gaining access to commercial or third party systems with militarily significant capabilities.
2. Development of *highly accurate and low-observable ballistic and cruise missiles*, and the investment in infrastructure that would allow for production of such weapons in militarily significant quantities, particularly in numbers sufficient to conduct attacks capable of overwhelming projected defense capabilities in the region.
3. Development of *enhanced command and control networks*, particularly those capable of battle management that would include long-range precision strikes.
4. Development of *unmanned aerial vehicles*, particularly those with extended ranges or loitering times.
5. Exploitation of the *Global Positioning System* or other similar systems, including commercial land surveillance satellites, for significant military purposes, including particularly for increasing accuracy of weapons or the situational awareness of operating forces.
6. Development of *capabilities for denial of sea control*, such as advanced sea mines or improved submarine capabilities.
7. Continued development of follow-on forces, particularly those capable of *rapid air or amphibious assault*.

Together with recent reports that China is building a full-scale replica of Taiwan's largest air base and the report in the **Office of Naval Intelligence's** 1997 annual report on "Worldwide Submarine Challenges" that a new Chinese submarine-launched ballistic missile can target the US by 2007, this presents a strong indication that China is building up its military might to attempt to attack Taiwan and at least deter the United States from getting involved.

Aviation Week: China's military great leap forward

In a recent issue, the leading aerospace publication **Aviation Week & Space Technology** also published an extensive article about China's military modernization drive ("*China's military seeks great leap forward*", AW&ST, 12 May 1997).

Aviation Week detailed in particular the Chinese developments in the area of fighter aircraft, cruise missiles, and advanced ballistic missiles. It stated that the military modernization is being fueled by major arms technology transfers from Russia, and to a lesser degree from Israel and the West.

The article states that the Chinese military is putting high priority on the development of much more accurate ballistic missiles, such as the 600-mile range Dongfang-15 (M-9), the 300-mile range Dongfang-11 (M-11) and supersonic cruise missiles such as the Mach-2 SSN-22. It aims to produce enough of them to "...overwhelm any potential enemy in the region." The article quotes former CIA-director James Woolsey as saying that "...they are modernizing their military in such a way that could —particularly with ballistic and cruise missiles — be a threat to Taiwan..."



The Sukhoi-27

The article also describes China's long-range intercontinental ballistic missile capability: at present China has approximately half a dozen Dongfang-5's deployed, a missile with a range of 13,000 km and a yield of 4-5 mtons. However, according to the article, China is acquiring MIRV-capability from Russia, and intends to outfit its future Dongfang-41 (range 12,000 km) with this capability. From launch sites in Northern China, this missile could hit almost any target west of the Rocky Mountains.

The article details China efforts to developing a whole range of tactical fighter aircraft. It refers to the purchase of some 50 Sukhoi-27 fighters from Russia, 38 one-seaters and 12 two-seaters. It states that it is even more significant that China has acquired a license to build the Sukhoi-27SK in China. The first Chinese-built aircraft is expected to be completed by 2000, while by 2010, the Chinese expect to have in excess of 225 of these advanced fighters.

Aviation Week writes that Israel also has a significant role in providing China with advanced weapon technology: China's new F-10, single-seat, multi-role fighter (comparable to the F-16) is largely based on Israel's canceled Lavi program, while the Israeli's are also providing China with radar and unmanned aerial vehicle capability.

FEER: Sino-Russian military cooperation

The prominent Hong Kong-based publication **Far Eastern Economic Review** in a recent article also focused on Russia's sale of military equipment to China ("*Brothers in Arms*", Far Eastern Economic Review, 13 March 1997).

The Review gave a good overall perspective of China's arms purchases in Russia, and reported that in particular the purchase of two Sovremenny-class destroyers and its "Sunburn" anti-ship missiles are designed to make the American Navy in the Western Pacific feel more insecure (see "*Buying two destroyers from Russia*", **Communiqué** no. 74, pp. 13-14). The Chinese military planners reportedly are of the opinion that Beijing can credibly threaten Taiwan only if it can keep the 7th Fleet at bay.

The Review article also stated that the Chinese are putting in a major effort in attempting to gain access to defense electronics, airborne radar, undersea warfare and missile technology. They seem to have some success: a Russian defense reporter is quoted as saying that in the Sukhoi-27 licensing agreement to build more than 200 fighters in China, the Chinese were only interested in the plans for the basic mainframe. They weren't interested in additional equipment "*...because people in Moscow say they've already stolen the blueprints for these.*"

Defense News: Chinese covet high-technology arsenal

In a recent front-page article, Defense News reported on a new US government report, titled "**Chinese views on Future Warfare**" by the Pentagon Office on Net Assessment ("*Chinese covet high-technology arsenal*", **Defense News**, 19-25 May 1997). The publication is essentially a translation and compilation of writings by China's Peoples' Liberation Army (PLA).

According to Defense News, the writings reflect the doctrinal shift in the PLA from a low-technology, personnel-intensive "peoples' war" to high-technology regional warfare based on information deterrence and possible first strikes.

The reports contains a number of articles by COSTIND officials (China's Commission of Science, Technology, and Industry for National Defense), which emphasize technologies such as "enhanced information warfare" (classical psychological warfare with modern information technology) as well as a host of high-tech areas in which China should acquire capabilities. Some of these are:

- * High-performance micro-wave weapons to destroy the opponent's electronic equipment;
- * Robot sentries, engineers and infantrymen, and unmanned smart tanks;
- * Tactical laser weapons for anti-ship defense;
- * Submarine-launched air-defense weapons;
- * Laser, particle beams and microwave beams for precision strikes;
- * Plasma weaponry and electromagnetic pulse systems.

Launching missiles from a merchant ship ?

Another prominent US defense publication, **Inside the Pentagon**, on 5 June 1997 published an article which indicated that China is considering outfitting merchant ships with ballistic and cruise missiles, and use the protection of surrounding merchant vessels in a possible attack against Taiwan ("*Busy Sealanes Could Provide Chinese Cover for Missile Attack on Taiwan*", Inside the Pentagon, 5 June 1997).

Speaking at a 22 May 1997 symposium on Chinese security issues at Fort Myers, Virginia, one expert postulated that China could use such an approach, and that such an attack "would be using technology that is currently available or speculated to be available to China in the next three years."

The expert said "it's a scenario that does not require China to have a blue water navy, amphibious landing ships, nor to land troops on Taiwanese soil." He said this so-called "defensive containment" strategy would be based on China's calculation that the U.S. government, fearful of military commitments that may result in large numbers of U.S. casualties, might not come to the aid of Taiwan should it fall under threat of Chinese attack.

China's expected acquisition of Sovremenny-class destroyers with SSN-22 "Sunburn" surface-to-surface cruise missiles, as well as its current inventory of C-801, C-201, C-802 missiles, "could give the Chinese the capability to contain surface action in the Taiwan Strait by placing a reasonable doubt of safe passage to ships attempting to enter the area," said the expert.

He estimated that a couple dozen of these cruise missiles, launched five nautical miles from the Chinese mainland, can hit a target 150 nautical miles away in less than two minutes. By shooting from the shallow waters close into the Chinese coastline, from amid the clutter of merchant vessels, China would be placing United States warships in the position of having to launch a counterattack on vessels located within Chinese territorial waters.

In addition, China could deploy hand-held Global Positioning Systems receivers on merchant ships to assist it in targeting Taiwan, and U.S. ships would be at a loss to pinpoint which Chinese ships were supporting the attack in this way. The Chinese battle group would be surrounded by dozens of merchant vessels, some engaged in commercial shipping, others assisting the battle in targeting, he said.

To defend against such a scenario, the article stated that the United States should make clear its commitment to the defense of Taiwan, undertake joint exercises and work out rules of engagement and command and control.

China's arms trading

Yet another unsavory note in the Chinese dirty laundry list of violations is the fact that China continues to export weapons to repressive and undemocratic regimes. The **Washington Post** reported recently that the famous Burma road constructed by the Allied Forces in World War II is now being used by China to export weapons to the military regime in Burma (*"Burma Road of WW-II fame now brings arms from China"*, Washington Post, 1 June 1997).

In a separate development, on 31 May 1997 the State Department confirmed earlier reports that China had sold cruise missiles to Iran. The report stated that the missiles were of the C-802 ship-based anti-ship type, roughly equivalent to the French EXOCET. The report also implied that China is supplying Iran with a land-based version of the C-802, which would be more difficult to detect (*"US confirms China missile sale to Iran"*, **Washington Post**, 31 May 1997).

According to the 1992 **Gore-McCain Act** the sale of these missiles require the Administration to impose sanctions on the Chinese government. However, the Clinton Administration has been hesitant to take this step. In Congress, there is pressure building to force the imposition of these sanctions: in the beginning of May 1997, a number of senators introduced Senate Resolution 82, which "...urges the Clinton

Administration to enforce the Iran-Iraq Arms Non-Proliferation Act of 1992 (50 U.S.C. 1701 note) with respect to the acquisition by Iran of C-802 model cruise missiles ...”

At a Senate hearing on 10 April 1997, Robert Einhorn, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Nonproliferation, did state that China fails to sufficiently control the sale of missiles and other sensitive items to countries like Iran and Pakistan and that China’s “problematic record” on such exports can be attributed largely to conscious decisions by Chinese leaders to pursue policies deemed to be in China’s national interest. He stated that exports of sensitive items are subject to strict centralized government approval procedures.

At the hearing, Gary Milhollin, Director of the **Wisconsin Project on Nuclear Arms Control**, testified that China’s exports today constitute “the most serious proliferation threat in the world, and China has held that title for the past decade and a half.”

Ambassador James Lilley, former US Ambassador to China and now Director of the Institute for Global Affairs at the University of Maryland, testified that Russia has been selling weapons of mass destruction to China to help keep production lines hot.

At the end of May 1997, the United States did imposed sanctions on two Chinese state companies for selling chemicals and chemical production equipment to Iran, which — according to the State Department — “substantially boosted Tehran’s effort to develop poison-gas weapons.”

***Taiwan Communiqué comment:** While the latter sanctions are a positive step, they are only peanuts in comparison what would be required if Mr. Clinton would indeed live up to the provisions of the Gore-McCain Act. The present lackadaisical approach will not impress the Chinese or have any positive effect.*

The China-connection

John Huang role detailed

In Sept.-Oct. 1996, just before the US Presidential elections, former Commerce Department official John Huang became a household name in the US, because of his shady fundraising activities for the Democratic National Committee. In mid-February

1997, it became known that the FBI had discovered a plan by the Chinese authorities to buy influence in Washington. Mr. Huang and Indonesian/Chinese Lippo Bank group reportedly played a key role in this (see *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 75, pp. 8-10).

During the past two months, several major American newspapers published extensive exposés on the matter. Here we simply give a brief listing of the major articles:

“Documents: Huang kept Eye on donors”, by James Rowley, **AP**, 15 April 1997.

“Top Chinese linked to plan to buy favor”, by Bob Woodward, **Washington Post**, 25 April 1997.

“Huang had more access than thought”, by John Solomon, **AP**, 29 April 1997.

“Huang Linked to fund-raising at Commerce”, by Glenn F. Bunting and Alan C. Miller, **Los Angeles Times**, 25 May 1997.

“The Riadys’ persistent pursuit of influence”, by Sharon LaFraniere, John Pomfret and Lena Sun, **Washington Post**, 27 May 1997.

Taiwanese-Americans write Feinstein

Over the past years, California Senator Dianne Feinstein has been a major pro-China voice in the U.S. Senate. Through the business dealings of her husband she also benefited from trade and investment in China (See *Taiwan Communiqué*, April 1997).

Recently, representatives of the Taiwanese-American community in the Bay Area wrote her the following letter:

Dear Senator Feinstein:

We, Taiwanese-Americans and other citizens of California have traditionally supported the Democratic Party; we strongly supported you during the 1992 Senatorial race. As an important constituency, we believe that our voice must be heard. We disagree with your stance on two issues: your support of defense trade with China and your stance against the democratic sovereignty for Taiwan. Your position on the sovereignty of Taiwan and your stance on Chinese trade and human rights violation issues is damaging to the international pursuit of human rights.

The Chinese government has proven its aggressive nature, as exemplified by its threats to Asian peace and democratic transformation: China's brutal suppression of the democratic protesters in Tienanmen square in 1989 and heavyhanded use of missile tests to intimidate the Taiwanese as Taiwan attempted to hold free democratic elections in 1996. The Chinese government's cruel acts in Tibet and East Turkestan has provoked the outrage of the international community.

Furthermore, China's military weapon trade to the Third World is no longer a secret. Your support of U.S. military trade with China gives the Chinese state the tools to more efficiently violate the human rights of those who cannot defend themselves. We are outraged at your support of military trade with China. This is not merely an Asian issue, it is an international concern.

We find it repugnant that the United States government would ignore a democracy to expedite relations with a dictatorship.

The twenty-one million people of Taiwan currently have no voice in the United Nations. They strongly desire to be represented in this world organization. As a country, Taiwan has a defined territory, a peace loving population and a democratic government. The logical next step for such a country is international recognition. Your clinging to the "One China" policy hampers the democratic nation in-the-making. We find it repugnant that the United States government would ignore a democracy to expedite relations with a dictatorship. China's military build up of offensive weapons that intimidated Taiwan during Taiwan's first democratic elections in March 1996 clearly violates and blatantly hinders a fledgling nation in democratic transition.

As Californian citizens of the United States, we have elected you into Congress to defend our rights and to represent our views on both domestic and international issues. We feel that your apathy toward human right issues in China and opposition to the sovereignty of Taiwan are not representative of your constituents. During the next Senatorial election, we intend to mobilize the Taiwanese American community as a voting block by issuing slate cards. We strongly urge you to reconsider your position.

Murder most foul

Kidnaping, murder, and corruption

A series of high-profile murders has focused attention in Taiwan on the rising crime and corruption, and on the Kuomintang's inability to solve the murders. The matter has clouded the political horizon for President Lee Teng-hui, only one year after his overwhelming election as Taiwan's first democratically-elected President.

The latest episode, the April 1997 kidnaping and murder of Ms. Pai Hsiao-yen, the 17-year-old daughter of singer-actress Pai Ping-ping, followed earlier gangland-style murders of Taoyuan County magistrate Liu Pang-you and seven associates in November 1996, and of DPP Women's Division Director Mrs. Peng Wan-ru in December 1996 (see *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 74, pp. 22-23). All of these murders are still unresolved.

The public anger and frustration are focused on the Kuomintang, because the ruling party seems to be unable to effectively combat crime, and seems to condone association of many of its local members with various underworld gangs.

According to Taiwan's own Justice Minister, some one-third of the island's city and county councilmen either are gangsters themselves or have gangster connection. Justice Minister Liao Cheng-hao stated also that 10% of the members of the national legislative bodies, the Legislative Yuan and the National Assembly, have gangster ties, and one KMT member of the Legislative Yuan even openly prided himself on his underworld connections.

Ties between the Kuomintang and gangster organizations are not new: In the 1940's, the infamous Green Gang and Bamboo Union followed Chiang Kai-shek to the island (see the book *"Fires of the Dragon"*, by David E. Kaplan). The now well-known murder of Chinese-American writer Henry Liu in October 1984 brought to light that close links existed between gang organizations and the KMT's secret police. While the secret police was disbanded after the 1987 end of Martial Law, and lost much of its influence, many of the operatives continued their "work" and infiltrated the restaurant, nightclub, gambling and construction business. Many of them made fortunes through connections with their old KMT network.

Demonstrations and legislative votes against the KMT

Public concern over the rising crime and public safety prompted two unprecedented large demonstrations in Taipei. On 4 May 1997, some 50,000 people gathered in front of the presidential building to express their anger, and to demand that Premier Lien Chan step down. The demonstration was organized by a coalition of some 150 citizens groups.

On 18 May 1997, 550 citizens groups organized yet another large-scale demonstration. According to the Hong Kong-based publication **Asiaweek** it drew close to 100,000 people. A statement from the gathering simply read: "We have a very humble request; we want a government that can safeguard the safety and welfare of women and children."



In front of the Presidential Palace

In the meantime, in the Legislative Yuan a coalition of the opposition Democratic Progressive Party and the New Party proposed several legislative motions to recall Vice President Lien Chan as premier, a position he held concurrently. After ten rounds of voting, the motion was defeated only narrowly by two votes.

After Interior Minister Lin Fong-cheng resigned to take responsibility for the government's inability to solve the murders, President Lee appointed KMT legislator Ms. Yeh Chin-fong as the new Interior minister.

Premier Lien Chan in an attempt to bolster his public image appeared on television talk shows and made the public announcement that he would resign in July 1997 after the constitutional reform was completed.

Taiwan Communiqué comment: *the Kuomintang would do well to speedily solve the murders, crack down on the gangsters, and make the streets of Taiwan safe again. There is strong incentive for the Taiwan authorities to move quickly: at the end of the year, elections will be held for twenty-five County Magistrate and City mayor positions.*

The Taiwan Factor

A bad day at the New York Times

Taiwanese and Taiwanese-Americans generally appreciate the objective reporting and the sound editorial opinions of the **New York Times**. They were therefore surprised, deeply hurt and shocked when the Times on 14 April 1997 published a totally biased and misinformed editorial, titled “The Taiwan Factor.”

In the editorial, the Times' editors attempted to link the then-evolving fund-raising scandal to “Taiwanese-Americans”, termed Taiwan as being “within the historic boundaries of China, and referred to “diplomatic adventurism” by Taiwan.

***Taiwan Communiqué comment:** if holding democratic elections and striving for international recognition are considered “diplomatic adventurism”, then certainly all Western nations ,including the United States are guilty of this offense. Does the New York Times have suggestions for righting the wrongs of Taiwan’s history by being less — shall we say — “diplomatic adventuristic”?*

The editorial prompted a flood of protest-letters of Taiwanese-Americans and Taiwanese-American organizations. However, until now the New York Times has failed to publish any of these letters.

We urge the New York Times editors to apologize for this incredibly bad piece of editorialism, and publish at least one or two of the letters written by Taiwanese-American organizations. Below, we print excerpts from a letter, which we wrote:

To the Editor of the New York Times

Chevy Chase, April 15th, 1997

Dear Sirs,

Your editorial titled “the Taiwan Factor” shows a distinct lack of understanding of the important nuances regarding Taiwan and US policy towards Taiwan. It totally fails to distinguish between the Chinese mainlanders, like John Huang, and the Taiwanese — and the Taiwanese-Americans — who are working hard for a free, democratic and independent Taiwan.

The attempts by Mr. Huang, and the likes of Johnny Chung and Charlie Trie, to buy influence in the United States are indeed an outrage and very troubling. However, they consider themselves Chinese-American and have nothing to do with the Taiwanese-American community.

As far as President Lee Teng-hui's visit is concerned: if a mere visit of Mr. Lee to his alma mater can already lead to "...a crisis in relations between the US and China" then we wonder if the United States will really have the courage to stand up for the principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations. These principles give the people of Taiwan the right to self-determination and the right to determine their own future, without any outside interference by other countries such as China.

The people of Taiwan simply ask China to respect the right of the Taiwanese to choose "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" as a free and independent country, which lives in peaceful coexistence next to its big neighbor.

The people of the United States chose to provoke a crisis 200 years ago by declaring themselves independent from the mightiest power on earth at that time, the British Empire. If you refer to our attempts to establish an independent nation as "diplomatic adventurism", then certainly you should be consistent, and condemn U.S. independence. Why would it be right for the US to be independent from Britain, and not right for Taiwan to be an independent nation ?

Your editorial also mistakenly states that the present US policy "...commits Washington to recognize only one government, Beijing's, within the historic boundaries of China, which includes Taiwan." The US in 1972 indeed started to switch its recognition from the government in Taipei to those in Beijing, as government of China.

However, the US did not recognize China's claim to Taiwan; the 1972 Shanghai Communiqué stated only that the US "acknowledged" (=took note of) China's position. Taiwan has never been part of the PRC and there is no reason that it should be.

Also, the historic boundaries of China do not include Taiwan: before the 1600s, only aborigines lived on the island, and when the Dutch landed in Anping (present-day Tainan) they found no trace of administration by any mainland authority. Only after the Dutch developed plantations there, did Chinese laborers from the coastal provinces start to migrate to the island. They intermingled with the aborigines, and a new identity was born, the Taiwanese.

Only in 1887, did the Chinese Emperor declare Taiwan a province of China, but this exercise was short-lived: at the 1895 Treaty of Shimonoseki, the Chinese emperor ceded sovereignty over Taiwan to Japan, in perpetuity. Taiwan remained an integral part of the Japanese empire until 1945, and most older Taiwanese speak only Japanese and Hok-lo (Taiwanese), no Chinese Mandarin.

The sensitive issues surrounding relations with Taiwan and China should be dealt with in a fair, informed and just manner. Your editorial was misinformed on a number of key facts, and thus did not treat these issues in a fair and objective manner.

Washington Report

Repr. Andrews: recognize Taiwan as equal participant

Over the past few months, the pressure in the US Congress to accept Taiwan as an equal member in the international community has been growing. At the end of April 1997, US Congressman Robert E. Andrews (NJ) made the following statement:

The United States has had a long and prosperous relationship with Taiwan. As a member of the House International Relations Committee, I believe the US must do more to stand by the 21.5 million Taiwanese in their struggle for sovereignty against the Peoples Republic of China (PRC).

America has refused to recognize Taiwan diplomatically, even though the U.S. is Taiwan's largest trading partner and a close military ally. Instead, U.S. policy defers to a communist regime, which claims to represent all of China, including Taiwan. Our appeasement of the Chinese government reached new lows two years ago when the State Department denied the duly elected leader of Taiwan, President Lee Teng-hui, a visa to visit the United States in a private capacity. We cannot justify such actions. On 2 May 1995 I voted with my colleagues in Congress, strongly asking the State Department to reconsider its decision. Our efforts led to the reversal of that decision....

We should reaffirm our relationship with Taiwan and show our commitment to the island's people by supporting Taiwan's entry in the United Nations. I have led support for a bill (H.Con.Res. 63) that states (1) Taiwan should be a full participant in the UN and its related agencies; and (2) the Clinton Administration should immediately encourage the UN to accept Taiwan as a member. This bill lays the foundation for a sustained relationship between the United States and Taiwan. In addition, I believe Taiwan should be allowed to join the new World Trade Organization that was created by the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

Taiwan is a model emerging democracy, with 21.5 million peaceful people eager to join the international community. As the leading nation in the world promoting democracy, the United States has both a duty and obligation to support the growing democracy in Taiwan through the Taiwan Relations Act. I fully support upholding this Act and sponsored legislation last year (H.Con.Res. 140) that called upon the President to review the defense needs of Taiwan and take appropriate action where needed. This crucial legislation declared that any attempt by the PRC to threaten the peace and security of Taiwan would be a threat to the peace of the pacific and a threat to the interests of the United States. China should no longer be allowed to threaten the safety of the people of Taiwan.

I am not suggesting that the United States should completely sever its relations with mainland China. Persuading the Chinese government to peacefully resolve the Taiwan issue is in the interest of all three countries. Right now, the best means to promote fairness is to pressure international bodies to recognize Taiwan as an equal participant.

Notes

A new Secretary-General for the Presbyterian Church

In April / May 1997, the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan elected Reverend William Lo to be its new Secretary-General, starting June 1998. He has served as the minister of one of Taipei's downtown churches, and has played an active role in both the social and political movement in Taiwan. He is also an outspoken proponent of Taiwan independence

The Presbyterian Church has maintained a strong sense of social concern for the people in Taiwan and the future of Taiwan. In the 1970's the Church made three public proclamations, which provided strong impetus for the movement for human rights and democracy on the island.

The Presbyterian Church also has strongly supported Taiwan independence. Already in 1977, it issued the "Declaration on Human Rights", which stated that "... the government should take effective measures whereby Taiwan may become a new and independent country."

In 1991 the Church issued the "Public Statement on Sovereignty of Taiwan", which emphasized that the authorities should discard the old "Republic of China" Constitution, and adopt a new constitution. It also stated that, while a mutually beneficial relationship should be built up between Taiwan and China, neither one has the right to claim sovereignty over the other.



Reverend William Lo

Taiwan DC Internet homepage expands

Over the past months, the Taiwan DC Internet homepage "Taiwan, Ilha Formosa" at **<http://www.taiwandc.org>** has expanded and received a new front page. Please come by for a visit. We have also added the subtitle "The Homepage for Taiwan's History, Present and Future" to reflect our determination that:

1. Taiwan needs to discover its own ***History and identity***, as opposed to the China-oriented history which has been forced on the Taiwanese by Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalists. Our History pages present the history of the island from a Taiwanese perspective.
2. ***Present developments*** which have an impact on Taiwan or its place or role in the international community need to be presented from the Taiwanese perspective. On our "News and Current Events" pages we give brief commentaries, as seen through Taiwanese eyes.
3. The ***Future of Taiwan*** is our all-encompassing concern. Through our pages we want to emphasize our pride to be Taiwanese, and our determination to have our nation recognized as a free, democratic and independent country.