



TAIWAN COMMUNIQUÉ

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Let the Chinese end their Civil War

Accept peaceful coexistence

With the visit of China's President Jiang Zemin to Washington coming up, there will undoubtedly be another public debate about Taiwan and its status. Some commentators have argued that this matter should have a low profile, lest it "provokes" the Chinese, and aggravates the "sensitive" ties between the United States and China.

We argue that this matter is equally — if not more — sensitive to the people of Taiwan, whose voice was never heard in the debates about the future of the island. At Shimonoseki (1895), Cairo (1943), San Francisco (1952), and Shanghai (1972), other powers made pronouncements and decisions about the status of Taiwan without consulting the people of Taiwan. This time around, it is essential that the people of Taiwan have a free choice on their future.

The "One China" policy is now outdated. The notion that "Taiwan is part of China" is an anachronistic fiction and should therefore be discarded immediately. The native Taiwanese (85% of the population of the island) had nothing to do with the Civil War in China, but from the 1940s on became unwilling victims when the Kuomintang moved to the island and established its repressive regime. We don't want the future of our homeland to become a hostage to that Civil War.



Give the Taiwanese a free choice

The US and other democratic nations around the world owe it to the people of Taiwan and to their own conscience that the principles of freedom, democracy, and self-determination are upheld, and that Taiwan is accepted in the international community as a free, democratic and independent nation.

A free and democratic nation

The historic boundaries of China do not include Taiwan: before the 1600s, Malay-Polynesian aborigines inhabited the island, and when the Dutch landed in Anping (present-day Tainan) they went there because the Chinese Imperial authorities considered this “outside the boundaries of Chinese territory.” Earlier the Dutch had attempted to establish trading settlements near Macao.

The Dutch found no trace of administration by any mainland authority. Only after they developed plantations there, did Chinese laborers from the coastal provinces start to migrate to the island — not “on behalf of the Chinese Empire”, but to flee the harsh life in China. They intermingled with the aborigines, and a new identity was born, the Taiwanese.

Only in 1887, did the Chinese Emperor briefly attempt to incorporate Taiwan as a province of China, but this exercise was short-lived: at the 1895 Treaty of Shimonoseki, China formally ceded sovereignty over Taiwan to Japan, in perpetuity. Taiwan remained an integral part of Japan until 1945, and most older Taiwanese speak only Japanese and Hok-lo (Taiwanese), not the Chinese Mandarin dialect brought over by Chiang Kai-shek from China.

The large majority of the people in Taiwan consider themselves Taiwanese, not Chinese — in the same way the people in the United States consider themselves Americans and not a subject of Great Britain anymore, in spite of the fact that they speak English.

The Taiwanese have made it clear over the past years that they want to be accepted in the international community as a free and democratic nation. They emphasize that they wish to live side by side with China as friendly neighbors, but will defend themselves if necessary to preserve their freedom and independence — or in Western words: ***“life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.”*** Taiwan doesn’t want to be on a collision course with China, but it is China which should stop its threats and aggression.

Perpetuating the “creative ambiguity” of the “One China” policy condones China’s aggression and fans the flames of Chinese nationalism, endangering peace and stability in East Asia.

Let the Taiwanese decide

As was stated in a **Washington Post** editorial (“*Is Taiwan next ?*”, 1 July 1997): “Whatever Taiwan’s future — whether peaceful reunification, federation, independence or some other option — the people of Taiwan must be allowed to decide.”

We may add: the people of Taiwan must be allowed to decide without interference by China. In fact, an opinion poll in Taiwan, conducted just after Hong Kong’s absorption by Beijing, showed that the percentage of the Taiwanese population in favor of formal independence is rising fast. In a public opinion survey conducted by the **United Daily News** on 1-2 July 1997 among 949 respondents in Taiwan, a record 43 percent said they would opt for independence. In a poll conducted in January of this year, only 34 percent said they favored independence.

It was the first time since 1989, when opinion polls on this issue started in Taiwan, that the percentage favoring independence outstripped the pro-unification sentiment, which is still the formal policy of the Kuomintang authorities.

When given the additional choice of “maintaining the status quo”, 43 percent said they wanted to see things stay unchanged. The report remarked, though, that many people on the island maintain that the status quo is de facto independence.



Rediscovering the Taiwanese identity

The poll also showed that when asked about their personal identity, more than half said they regarded themselves as Taiwanese, while only 30 percent identified themselves as Chinese — a major set-back for the Nationalists of the Kuomintang, who have been emphasizing that the people on Taiwan are “Chinese.”

Who is “demonizing” whom ?

In the debate about China policy in the U.S., the proponents of “engagement” argue that the US needs to “*cooperate with China*” (Henry Kissinger, **Washington Post**, July 6th, 1997) and that we shouldn’t “demonize” China (former President Jimmy Carter: “*It’s wrong to demonize China*”, **New York Times**, August 10th, 1997).

While we appreciate Mr. Carter’s attempt to contribute to the discussion on US relations with China, he starts out on the wrong foot: nobody is trying to “demonize” China: China has only itself to blame for its negative international image.

If China had not clamped down on its people at Tienanmen, if it had allowed the Tibetans to make a free choice on their future, if it had not threatened to invade Taiwan and hadn’t fired missiles, then the international perception of China would have been more positive. It is thus incongruous of Mr. Carter to lay the blame on “ill-informed commentators.” It is the Chinese government which needs to shape up or ship out.

With regard to Taiwan, Mr. Carter only mentions the Chinese resentment against US sales of F-16s and other weaponry. He might also have mentioned our resentment against being ostracized by the international community in spite of the fact that we have achieved a democratic system, and that we now are a free and independent nation.

We Taiwanese-Americans are in favor of improvement of relations with China, but this should not take place at the expense of the 21 million people of Taiwan or their future as a free, democratic and independent country. Taiwan’s international position is unclear because of:

1. the shortsighted policies of Taiwan’s Kuomintang authorities themselves, who for far too long claimed to be the legitimate rulers of China; and
2. the “creative ambiguity” of the “One China” policy as laid down in the three Sino-American Communiqués of 1972, 1978 and 1982, which were arrived at without any democratic representation of, or consultation with, the Taiwanese people. Our voice was never heard.

A tale of two presidents

In September and October 1997, two presidents are visiting the United States: in the beginning of September, Mr. Lee Teng-hui, Taiwan’s President, is stopping over in

Hawaii on his way to Panama. At the end of October, Mr. Jiang Zemin, China's president, is being invited to come to Washington. It is interesting to examine the differences:

Mr. Jiang Zemin is the President of what is generally considered a repressive nation, with a lack of basic human rights, civil liberties and political freedom. China continues to deny the Tibetan people the right to decide their own future, it smuggles nuclear technology and missiles to Iran, and perpetuates its military threats against Taiwan.

Still Mr. Clinton intends to receive Mr. Jiang in Washington for a "high-level" meeting, and no doubt will fete him to a number of receptions and dinners.

In contrast, Mr. Lee Teng-hui is the President of a democratic nation, which made a remarkable transition from being a repressive nation only a decade ago. Thanks to its peace-loving people and democratic opposition, Taiwan is a showcase for freedom and democracy in Asia.

Still, the Clinton Administration imposed tight restrictions on Mr. Lee's visit: according to a State Department official "...he will not be allowed to hold news conferences, give any speeches or hold political rallies" (*"Taiwan Again an issue in U.S. China relations"*, **Washington Post**, 27 July 1997).

It seems the U.S. is ignoring a democracy to expedite relations with a dictatorship. This message was also contained in a statement by a number of members of the U.S. House of Representatives, which was issued on 3 September 1997. In the statement, titled *"Red carpet for a dictator and back door for a democrat"*, the members of Congress extended an invitation to Mr. Lee to come to the United States.

Reforms in Taiwan

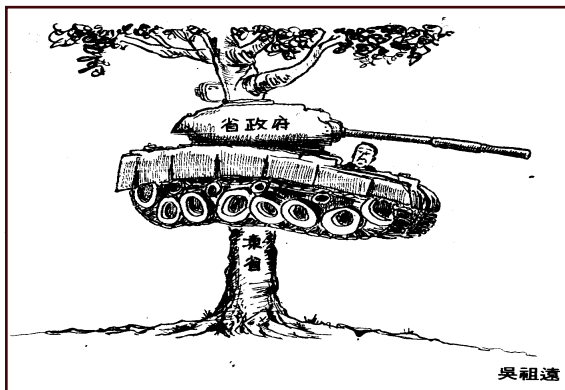
Discarding the "Province of China"

On Friday, 19 July 1997, Taiwan's National Assembly voted by an overwhelming majority of 261-8 votes to virtually eliminate the provincial government and freeze any further elections for the position of Governor and the 79-member Provincial Assembly.

The Provincial government was a left-over from the 1940s, when Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalists still ruled China. After the 1945 defeat of Japan by the Allied Forces, Chiang occupied Taiwan, severely repressing the Taiwanese, and designating the island "a province" of China without any democratic consultations with the population.

The new move will boost Taiwan's de facto independent status, and dismantles one of the remaining links with the repressive past. The development is part of a new consensus between the ruling Kuomintang of President Lee Teng-hui and the pro-independence Democratic Progressive Party. The DPP hailed the step as "...opening a chapter for a new Taiwanese history."

The National Assembly's decision was part of a series of amendments to the Constitution, which included a controversial expansion of presidential powers. The President gained the power to appoint a Prime Minister without the need for approval by the Legislative Yuan. This was a bone of contention, because the appointment of the previous Prime Minister, Lien Chan, was never ratified by the Legislative Yuan.



Governor James Soong: *"Where are we going?"*

The Legislative Yuan did gain the right to take a vote of no-confidence in the premier. If the vote of no-confidence is passed, the president can subsequently dissolve the legislature and calls for a new election. The Legislative Yuan was also given the power of impeachment, and is being enlarged from the present 164 seats to 225 seats in the upcoming elections of December 1998.

The National Assembly itself is expected to gradually fade away, as it is also a relatively useless relic of the past. The legislative function is being performed by the increasingly influential Legislative Yuan.

The phase-out of the provincial government was strongly opposed by Provincial Governor James Soong, who rode President Lee's coattails a couple of years ago, and

became the first elected governor. However, he is a mainlander who is increasingly associated with the pro-unification extremist New Party, and his political career seems to have come to an end.

The New Party boycotted the vote, and — according to a South China Morning Post report — even held up banners saying “Taiwanese uprising, Jiang Zemin, Help!” Because of such extremist views, the New Party is increasingly marginalized in Taiwan.

“Getting to know Taiwan”

New geography and history for Taiwan’s students

On 14 August 1997, the **Far Eastern Economic Review** published an excellent article, titled “*Schools of Thought*” by its Taiwan reporter Julian Baum about the issue of textbooks in Taiwan secondary schools. The report focused on the fact that under the Kuomintang government, Taiwan’s students have had to memorize quaint facts about China’s geography and history, while they learned very little about Taiwan itself.

Finally, the Ministry of Education in Taipei decided to correct the situation, and had a series of textbooks written, titled “Getting to Know Taiwan”, which is being introduced in Taiwan’s junior highschool classrooms in September 1997.

The new texts cover many sensitive and once-forbidden topics, such as an account of early aboriginal settlement of the island, the killing of tens of thousands of Taiwanese by Chiang Kai-shek’s troops in 1947, the “white terror” — the Kuomintang’s repressive intimidation campaign in the 1950s and ’60s, and the “Kaohsiung Incident” of 1979, a turning point in Taiwan’s modern history. The text also refers to the people on the island as “*Taiwan ren*” or “Taiwanese” rather than “*Zhongguo ren*” or “Chinese” — a major step forward.

Several examples of some of the useless facts about China which Taiwanese students were required to know, and some of the basic facts about Taiwan, which they didn’t know:

- * Students taking high school entrance exams must know ancient capitals of imperial China, but not the capitals of Taiwan’s counties.

- * They have to learn the reign titles of the emperors of old Chinese dynasties, but are not taught the names of Taiwan’s aboriginal tribes.
- * Geography tests require students to identify China’s rivers and major mountain ranges, but not those of Taiwan. Maps on the school walls show an anachronistic “Republic of China” which — among other anomalies — embraces all of Mongolia, a chunk of modern-day Burma, Tibet, and numerous Chinese provinces which no longer exist.



- * History lessons cover extensively the atrocities committed by Japan during World War II in China, but give scant attention to the massacre by mainland Chinese of 20,000-28,000 Taiwanese in 1947, and totally ignore the political repression that followed.
- * Students must study quaint intellectual movements preceding the Nationalist overthrow of the Chinese imperial dynasty in 1911, but not the Taiwanese self-rule movement under the Japanese colonial period (1895-1945).

China’s military threat continues

While on the surface all seems quiet on the Taiwan Straits front, there are a number of disconcerting developments, all pointing to a continued effort by China to build up its military capabilities.

While the Chinese exercises and missile firings of March 1996 caused a major crisis in East Asia, a more recent and even larger 10-day exercise by the Chinese navy went virtually unnoticed in the Western press. According to an **Associated Press** report of 21 July 1997, the maneuvers in an area north of Taiwan were the largest held by the Chinese navy since 1964, and involved “testing missiles and other advanced weaponry.”

A number of other reports also point to a systematic buildup by China in order to threaten and intimidate Taiwan. Below we present an overview:

Report by a US military delegation

From the 5th through the 12th of July 1997, a mission of military experts consisting of a number of former US generals and admirals visited Taiwan at the invitation of the Taiwan Institute of Political, Economic and Strategic Studies (TIPESS).

The delegation was led by US Army general John W. Foss, and consisted of former generals and admirals from the Air Force, Navy and Marine Corps. The mission made an assessment of Taiwan’s national security and defense requirements, and concluded that China’s aggressive modernization constituted a significant threat to Taiwan, and a destabilizing factor in East Asia as a whole.

The delegation described the traditional analysis — that China is simply trying to modernize its armed forces in a “normal” way — as badly out of date. The mission concluded that China is aggressively seeking a power projection role in its attempt to have the balance of power in East Asia shift in its favor.

The delegation stated that contemporary developments show that China is extending the range and lethality of its naval forces, upgrading its nuclear weapons and missile programs (both ballistic and cruise missiles), acquiring modern attack submarines from Russia, importing advanced technology from the East and West, and conducting military exercises intended to intimidate neighboring countries.

The delegation stated that the end of the Cold War and the downsizing of both Russian and American forces is creating a power vacuum, which China is trying to fill with its power projection capabilities. This has a negative impact on all of China's neighbors in East and Southeast Asia, but in particular on Taiwan, which is in any case the main target of the PRC’s political and military aggressive moves.

The delegation concluded that Taiwan would need to maintain a deterrent military capability that “...insures a high threshold of pain in the event of a PRC military operation before the need arises for military support from the United States or other potential allies.” In particular, the delegation mentioned that Taiwan needed additional submarines, in view of the Chinese buildup with Russian K-class submarines. The delegation stated that if no other nations were willing to sell Taiwan additional submarines, it should establish an indigenous submarine industry.

The delegation also concluded that “...considerably more help from the United States in the form of arms cooperation” would be needed to take account of the military developments in the PRC.

New solid-fuel missiles target East Asia

In the beginning of July 1997, the **Washington Times** reported that China is deploying a new type of intermediate-range ballistic missiles, the solid-fuel CSS-5 Mod 1 (“*New Chinese missiles target all of East Asia*”, by Bill Gertz, 10 July 1997).

The report quoted a classified Pentagon study by the National Air Intelligence Center, and gave details of the new missile, which has a range of about 1,333 miles and can be launched from mobile launch complexes. The CSS-5 can target Russia, India, most of the Philippines, Japan and Taiwan and are designed to provide strategic dominance of East Asia.

The CSS-5 is gradually replacing the older liquid-fuel CSS-2, and is being deployed at three general launch locations: at Tonghua, near North Korea, at Lianxiwang, opposite Taiwan, and at Jianshui, near the Vietnam border. According to the report, the Chinese also have an upgrade of the CSS-5 under development.

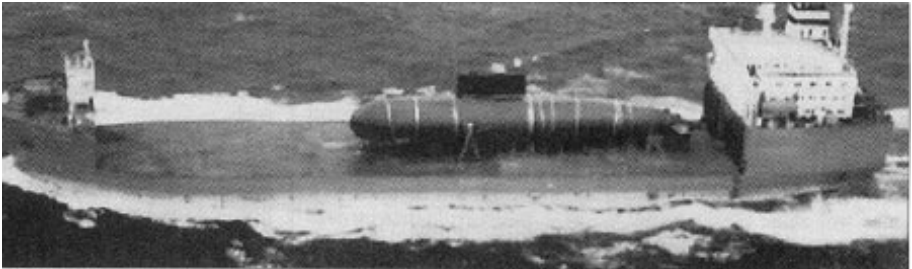
FEER: China’s “revolution in military affairs”

In an excellent article by its Washington correspondent Nigel Holloway, the **Far Eastern Economic Review** recently published an overview of China attempts to modernize its armed forces straight into the information age (“*Revolutionary defense*”, FEER, 24 July 1997).

The article states that the conventional wisdom in the West that perceives the PLA as a slow dinosaur just might be wrong. A new assessment is being made by US analysts,

which concludes that China is attempting to leapfrog its way to parity with the US, thereby skipping the evolutionary stage.

Much of the new assessment is based on some 40 essays and speeches on future warfare by senior Chinese military officers and strategists. These were translated and recently published in a book titled *“Chinese Views of Future Warfare”*, edited by Michael Pillsbury, senior fellow at the Atlantic Council.



Kilo-class submarine purchased from Russia

The writings reflect a widespread new thinking in the PLA, which “...is positively digital-era.” According to the article, the writings have shaken up some Western notions about the backwardness of Chinese strategic planning.

Apparently, the new ideas are not just in the concept stage. The article reports that according to a Pentagon assessment made to Congress earlier this year, China is building “small high-tech forces for flexible use in regional contingencies.” These would rely on satellite imaging systems, airborne early-warning sensors, global positioning systems for guiding missiles, and modern command-and-control networks.

China is reportedly also attempting to lure Western technology for its defense development: on 13 July 1997, China announced that it was opening its defense industry to foreign investors and that it was inviting foreign industry to display its wares at next year’s International Defense Electronics Exhibition.

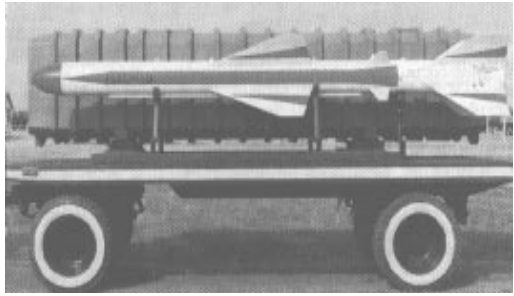
CIA: China’s weapon sales to Iran and Pakistan

In a report issued at the beginning of July 1997, the US Central Intelligence Agency stated that China was still deeply involved in exporting weapons of mass destruction to hot spots around the world, especially Iran and Pakistan. These weapons included ballistic missiles, poison gas weapons, and a capability to make nuclear arms.

The report to Congress said that China had actually displaced Russia as the principal supplier of arms to Iran and was providing “a tremendous variety of assistance” to both Iran’s and Pakistan’s ballistic missile programs (“*China Top Trafficker in mass destruction weapons*”, **Aviation Week & Space Technology**, 4 August 1997).

China also was the primary source of nuclear-related equipment and technology to Pakistan and a key supplier to Iran of such equipment. The report also stated that China supplied Iran with equipment to make poison gas.

On a related issue: in our June 1997 issue we reported on the disclosure that China had sold C-802 ship-based cruise missiles to Iran, and that Iran was testing a land-based version (“*China’s arms trading*”, **Taiwan Communiqué** no. 76, p. 13). Subsequently, during a June trip to the Gulf region, US Secretary of Defense William Cohen stated that Iran had started testing an air-launched version of this type of missile in the beginning of June 1997.



Chinese missiles: up for sale

According to a recent article in **Defense News** (“*Missile Sales to Iran spur Agency debate on Sanctioning Beijing*”, 25-31 August 1997) the momentum is building in the Pentagon and the U.S. Congress to invoke sanctions prescribed in the 1992 Iran-Iraq Arms Non-proliferation Act sponsored by then Senator Al Gore and Arizona Senator John McCain.

Aviation Week: China buys supersonic missile from Russia

In a related development: according to a recent **Aviation Week & Space Technology** report (25 August 1997, page 17), China itself is purchasing an advanced missile from Russia, which could be launched from the Sukhoi Su-27 supersonic aircraft, which China is also purchasing from Russia. The X-31 Mach 3 missile was developed by Zvezda-Strela, and when fired from high altitude has a range of up to 125 miles. The missile comes in anti-ship, anti-radar, and anti-AWACS versions.

The Senate Hearings

John Huang and other stories

During July 1997, the first phase of the Senate Campaign Finance hearings got underway in Washington DC. Many of the details were reported in the press, and we therefore only focus on three aspects which in our view are most significant:

1. The Chairman of the Committee, Senator Fred D. Thompson (R-TN) stated at the outset that the Committee had found evidence of a Chinese plan “designed to pour illegal money into American political campaigns.” Mr. Thompson described the plan as the work of “high-level Chinese government officials” who committed “substantial sums of money” to achieve their goals. While two Democratic Senators on the Committee, John Glenn (OH) and Joseph Lieberman (CT) initially believed there was no sufficient evidence to come to that conclusion, they later concluded that the material submitted by the FBI gave credible evidence there was such a plan.
2. The hearings primarily focused on the Chinese attempts — through Mr. John Huang & Co. — to buy influence in the American political system. We believe the follow-on hearings should also pay attention to Mr. Huang’s attempts to influence policy in the Commerce Department itself. There is significant evidence that he briefed Chinese officials on US negotiating positions. He also used his position to block contacts with, and activities relating to, Taiwan (see below).
3. During the July Senate hearings, Mr. John Huang tried to assume the role of “a defenseless target for Asian bashers” (a quote from his lawyer). As Asian-Americans we believe that Mr. Huang should be made to tell all he knows about Chinese influence-buying, and if he broke the laws of this land, stand trial. It would be an outrage if he were granted any immunity.

The Kissinger connection

While he was at the Commerce Department, Mr. John Huang worked closely with **David J. Rothkopf**, then Acting Under Secretary of Commerce for International Trade responsible for trade promotion, assistance to American firms doing business abroad, enforcement of the laws against unfair foreign trade practices, and the development of trade policy generally.

In an internal Commerce Department memo dated January 27th 1995, Mr. Huang wrote to Mr. Rothkopf: *“We are quite sensitive to the current events going on with China now. Anything we need to delay program with Taiwan (sic) we should do it (to protect what we have accomplished so far in China). Regardless, we need to take low key approach with Taiwan, at least before Spring is over. We have so much planned with China during this period of time.”*

Interestingly, in January 1996, Mr. Rothkopf left the Commerce Department and was appointed Managing Director and Member of the Board of Kissinger Associates. The firm is an international consultancy founded and chaired by former U.S. Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger.

Mr. Kissinger is of course well-known for his blind pursuit of relations with China at any cost (see “Kissinger, Haig & Co.: profitable links to China”, *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 75, pp. 10-11). Most recently, Mr. Kissinger wrote an article titled “*Let’s cooperate with China*”, which was published in the **Washington Post**, 6 July 1997.

The article reminded us of Pinocchio, whose nose grew when he was telling a lie: Mr. Kissinger’s must have grown at least an inch when he stated that his views are not for sale. Throughout the article it is obvious that he is trading principle for profit in his defense of the Chinese regime.

Instead of spending so many apologist words in defense of China, Mr. Kissinger should focus on convincing his friends in Beijing to free political prisoners like Wei Jingsheng, to allow Tibet to form a free nation, to refrain from selling nuclear materials and weapon systems to Iran and Pakistan, and to accept Taiwan as a free, democratic and independent neighbor.

Asian Values ?

During the months of July and August 1997, an interesting debate evolved over the issue of human rights in Asia. It came up at the ASEAN meeting in Malaysia, where Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad tried to argue that Asian values are somehow different from universal values, and that a review of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 was needed.

Mr. Tung Chee-hwa of Hong Kong has been making similar arguments, stating that individual rights are somehow less important than consensus, economic growth and stability.

In her response to Mr. Mahathir, US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright rightly emphasized the universality of human rights, and stated that the US would be strongly opposed to any review of the 1948 Declaration.

The arguments by Mahathir and Tung are of course not new. They have been trumpeted for several decades by Mr. Lee Kuan-yew of Singapore, who used them to defend the authoritarian state of affairs in his mini-state.

Human rights are universal

The counter-argument — that human rights are universal and the true democracy benefits economic growth and stability — was made in a series of excellent editorials and articles. Just a brief sample and some highlights:

“When we think of Asian values, we don’t think of Singapore’s government banning publications it doesn’t like and suing opposition politicians. We tend to think, rather, of the multitudes of Philippino’s who rose up in 1986 to sweep away the Marcos dictatorship and install a “people-power” democracy led by Corazon Aquino....” (*“Asian Values”*, **Washington Post**, 1 August 1997).

Ian Buruma, a long-time Asia specialist wrote in similar vein for **New World Magazine**: “[Western businessmen] are wrong to have too much confidence in economism. In the end they have more to gain from the democrats than from the tycoons and dictators acting in the name of “Asian values.” If the Chinese government feels that its business interests are threatened by those of a foreign business, they will crush it. Since there is not established rule of law, they can do this with ease....

The way to check dictatorial excesses, including corruption, is to have freedom of speech, a free press, and the rule of law. Hong Kong had these things, because the colonial regime represented a democracy. It may not have them in the future.

After too many years of developmental authoritarianism, Filipinos, Taiwanese, and Koreans understood something too many Western businessmen don’t — that democracy not only lends dignity to human beings, but it is good for business too (*“Asian Values”*, by Ian Buruma, **New World**, the Siemens Magazine, 3/97).

The **International Herald Tribune** of 4 August 1997 published another excellent article titled “*Expect Asia’s values to turn out much like everyone else’s*” by Professor Garry Rodan of the University of Warwick in Coventry. He wrote: “Tung Chee-hwa, the Beijing-appointed chief executive of Hong Kong, has cast serious doubt on whether the civil society established under British rule will survive the handover to China. Embracing the concept of “Asian values” to justify political convergence with the mainland, he asserts that Chinese have a preference for consultation over confrontation.”

Professor Rodan casts doubts on Mr. Tung’s assertions, and mentions the 1989 crushing of the Chinese democracy movement at Tienanmen and the 1949 Communist revolution in China itself as examples that “consultation” is rather alien to Chinese culture and heritage.

Professor Rodan states that “Asian values” will continue to constitute an attractive argument for authoritarian governments, but that in many nations — such as Thailand, the Philippines, South Korea and Taiwan — independent political organizations are flourishing and are laying the foundation for truly democratic Asian political systems.

China bullying small nations again

China has a habit of trying to bully small nations. Back in April 1997, it threatened Denmark and the Netherlands because these countries supported introducing the annual resolution on human rights in China in the UN Commission on Human Rights in Geneva. In August 1997 it was Panama and Sao Tome’s turn to be bullied:

Panama stands up

Panama came under Chinese fire because it invited Taiwan to a four-day conference on the future of the Panama Canal in the beginning of September 1997. Panamanian President Ernesto Perez Balladares invited Taiwan president Lee Teng-hui to attend the inaugural ceremony of the conference. President Lee’s travel via Honolulu is leading to awkward maneuvering by the Clinton Administration in Washington (see “*A Tale of two presidents*”, page 4).

President Balladares was unfazed by the Chinese threats, and said that Panama wouldn't sacrifice its relations with Taiwan to please China, even if China stopped using the waterway. He added: *"They can always go around Cape Horn."*

As expected, the United Nations gave in to Chinese pressure and decided not to send a delegation to the conference. On 20 August 1997, UN spokesman Juan-Carlos Brandt stated that the the reason for the UN non-presence was that Taiwan's presence there "...created a delicate situation."

***Taiwan Communiqué comment:** the "delicacy" of the situation escapes us a bit. The UN position is about as delicate as that of a Chinese steamroller in a field of tulips. Instead of letting itself be manipulated by the Chinese, the UN should rediscover its own principles as enshrined in the UN-Charter, namely that the people in any nation — including Taiwan — have the right to self-determination, and should be welcomed in the UN.*

Sao Tome under fire

Sao Tome and Principe are being bullied by China because in May 1997, this island-chain off the coast of Africa established relations with Taiwan. Beijing immediately expelled all five Sao Tome and Principe students who were doing graduate studies in Beijing, and told the Sao Tome authorities to repay within 90 days the full \$18 million in development grants which China had given the island-nation since its 1975 independence from Portugal.

Report from Washington

There are at present a number of resolutions in the United States Senate and House of Representatives which are related to Taiwan. Several of these support Taiwan's membership in international organizations, such as the United Nations, the WTO, the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund.

One Senate Bill (S.1083), titled the "US-PRC National Security and Freedom Protection Act of 1997" is an omnibus bill, which was introduced in July after the Senate agreed to the one-year MFN-status extension for China. It contains several

provisions important to Taiwan: a) conduct of a joint architecture study of the requirements for the establishment and operation of a theater ballistic missile defense for Taiwan, b) Taiwan's admission to WTO, and c) measures designed to get China to adhere to human rights.

The most important ones, however, are H. CON. RES. 100 - A concurrent resolution relating to the future status of Taiwan, introduced by Rep. Deutsch (D-FL), and a similar Senate resolution (S. CON. RES. 114) introduced by Senator Robert Torricelli (D-NJ). Also significant is H. CON. RES. 132 - A concurrent



resolution relating to Taiwan's participation in the United Nations, introduced by Congressmen Solomon (R-NY) and Tom Lantos (D-CA).

US Senate Resolution: Taiwan free and democratic country

On Friday, 1 August 1997, U.S. Senators Robert Torricelli (D-NJ) and Sam D. Brownback (R-KS) introduced a Resolution in the U.S. Senate in support of Taiwan as a free and democratic country. We urge our readers to write their Senators to endorse and cosponsor this Resolution.

S. RES. 114 Future Status of Taiwan as a free and democratic country

In the United States Senate, July 31st, 1997 Mr. TORRICELLI (for himself and Mr. BROWNBACK) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Expressing the sense of the Senate that the transfer of Hong Kong to the People's

Republic of China does not alter the current or future status of Taiwan as a free and democratic country.

Whereas Hong Kong was acquired by the British in 1898 and leased from China for 99 years;

Whereas the treaty through which the Hong Kong territory was leased from China expires on July 1, 1997, at which time Hong Kong reverted to China;

Whereas no treaties exist between the People's Republic of China and Taiwan which determine the future status of Taiwan and, unlike Hong Kong, Taiwan has been de facto independent since 1949;

Whereas the People's Republic of China attempts to apply to Taiwan the formula commonly known as "one country, two systems" in an effort to annex Taiwan to China;

Whereas the People's Republic of China has refused to renounce the use of force against Taiwan, and held military exercises in the Taiwan Strait in March 1996 in an attempt to intimidate the people of Taiwan in their first presidential elections; and

Whereas the Taiwan Relations Act states that "[i]t is the policy of the United States to consider any effort to determine the future of Taiwan by other than peaceful means, including by boycotts or embargoes, a threat to the peace and security of the Western Pacific area and of grave concern to the United States":

Now, therefore, be it Resolved That it is the sense of the Senate that—

1. the transfer of Hong Kong to the People's Republic of China does not alter the current and future status of Taiwan;
2. the future of Taiwan should be determined by peaceful means through a democratic process in accordance with the principle of self-determination, as enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations; and
3. the United States should assist in the defense of Taiwan in case of threats or military attack by the People's Republic of China against Taiwan.

House Resolution: “Taiwan into the UN”

On Tuesday, 29 July 1997, U.S. Congressmen Solomon (R-NY) and Tom Lantos (D-CA) introduced a Resolution in the U.S. House of Representatives in support of Taiwan’s membership in the United Nations. Below is the text of the most important considerations as well as the operative part of the resolution.

H. CON. RES. 132 Taiwan’s participation in the United Nations

Mr. SOLOMON (for himself and Mr. LANTOS) submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was referred to the Committee on International Relations

Whereas Taiwan has the 19th largest gross national product in the world, a strong and vibrant economy, and one of the largest foreign exchange reserves of any nation;

Whereas Taiwan has dramatically improved its record on human rights and routinely holds free and fair elections in a multiparty system, as evidenced most recently by the March 1996 presidential election and the December 1995 parliamentary elections;

Whereas the 21 million people in Taiwan have not been represented in the United Nations since 1971 and their human rights as citizens of the world have therefore been severely abridged;

Whereas Taiwan has in recent years repeatedly expressed its strong desire to participate in the United Nations;

Whereas Taiwan has much to contribute to the work and funding of the United Nations;

Whereas Taiwan has demonstrated its commitment to the world community by responding to international disasters and crises such as environmental destruction in the Persian Gulf and famine in Rwanda by providing financial donations, medical assistance, and other forms of aid;

Whereas the world community has reacted positively to Taiwan's desire for international participation, as shown by Taiwan's continued membership in the Asian Development Bank, the admission of Taiwan into the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation group as a full member, and the accession of Taiwan as an observer at the World Trade Organization as the first step toward becoming a contracting party to that organization;

Whereas the United States has supported Taiwan's participation in these bodies and indicated, in its policy review of September 1994, a stronger and more active policy of support for Taiwan's participation in other international organizations;

Whereas in 1996 the European Parliament passed, and the United States House of Representatives endorsed, a resolution urging support for Taiwan's attempts to secure better representation in international organizations;

Whereas Taiwan has repeatedly stated that its participation in international organizations is one of parallel representation without prejudice to the current status of Mainland China in the international community and does not represent a challenge to that status; and

Whereas the decision of the United States to establish diplomatic relations with Mainland China, as expressed in the Taiwan Relations Act (Public Law 96-8), is based 'upon the expectation that the future of Taiwan will be determined by peaceful means';

Now, therefore, be it Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That it is the sense of the 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 by 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.

* * * * *

Notes

Into the UN ... but under what name ?

In mid-July 1997, the Kuomintang authorities on Taiwan initiated the fifth annual bid to join the United Nations by having nine of its allies in the UN submit a motion asking the UN General Assembly to consider membership for the island. The four previous motions were rejected at the insistence of China, which holds a seat in the Security Council.

The motion requested the General Assembly to "...re-examine the inadequacy of Resolution 2758 and rescind it, in order to restore without delay to the 21.5 million people of the Republic of China on Taiwan the lawful right to participate in all activities within the U.N. system."



Taiwan Communiqué comment: *While we strongly support Taiwan's membership in the United Nations, the approach by the Kuomintang authorities is a dead-end street, because they still use the anachronistic "Republic of China" title, which represents a throwback to the Chinese Civil War.*

In 1971, Resolution 2758 decided on which regime would represent China in the UN, the Chinese nationalists in Taipei or the Chinese Communists in Beijing. No decision was made who would represent Taiwan. According to the 1952 San Francisco Peace Treaty this was to be determined "...in accord with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations." Certainly in 1952 this meant independence.

An approach to UN membership will thus only succeed if Taiwan presents itself as a new and democratic nation. China may object for a while, but will eventually see that it is in its own interest to come to terms with a friendly neighbor instead of perpetuating an anachronistic Civil War.

Hong Kong: the morning after

When the handover of Hong Kong to China took place at the beginning of July 1997, it was accompanied by a large amount of hype and euphoria. Now comes the hangover. A brief overview:

- * In mid-July 1997, the Hong Kong authorities announced that they would crack down on demonstrations that “...threaten national security.” In China, the term national security is interpreted very broadly, and covers any expression of discontent.

For the time being, the Hong Kong interpretation seems to have a slightly narrower definition: the Hong Kong authorities specified that in particular promotion of Taiwan or Tibetan independence would fall under the new rule.

The new rule was immediately attacked in Hong Kong as restrictive of free speech. Paul Harris, chairman of the Hong Kong-based Human Rights Monitor said that the move amounted to a violation of free speech: “supporting Taiwan or Tibet is a political view, which people are entitled to express, provided they do so in a peaceful manner.”

- * A second matter of deep concern are the proposals for the elections of the future legislative council, which is to be elected in the Spring of 1998. The Council is to have 60 members, but the Beijing-installed administration of Tung Chee-hwa is now proposing that only 20 members of the Council are to be popularly elected. Ten would be named by a Beijing-appointed electoral college — of course closely manipulated by Beijing — and the remaining 30 to be picked by “functional constituencies.”

These functional constituencies are not new to Hong Kong, but they had been broadened by Mr. Chris Patten to include some 2.7 million voters — virtually amounting to universal suffrage. However, under the Tung proposals, the functional constituencies would be reduced back to some 180,000 corporate leaders, which are also subject to manipulation by Beijing.

Taiwan Communiqué comment: *As was already made clear by Taiwan’s leaders and the Taiwanese people on the occasion of the Hong Kong handover, the “One Country, Two systems” concept is rejected outright as a model for Taiwan. The recent developments make it all the more obvious that China has no intention of letting democracy bloom in Hong Kong. The chance is even less they would allow any democracy in Taiwan.*