



Published by:

*International Committee for Human Rights in Taiwan*

**Taiwan** : 4Fl., 5 Ching-tao East Rd., TAIPEI, Taiwan

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**International edition, October 1998**

**Published 6 times a year**

**ISSN number: 1027-3999**

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## Taiwan Betrayed

While the United States Congress, the press, and the public in general are preoccupied with Mr. Clinton's affair with Monica Lewinsky, Taiwanese and Taiwanese-Americans remain angered and dismayed by Mr. Clinton's immoral betrayal of Taiwan when he pronounced the "Three no's" during his China trip in June/July 1998.

Mr. Clinton's reckless statements were subsequently rejected by Congress and repudiated through two resolutions adopted with sheer unanimous votes in the U.S. House and Senate. They were also criticized by numerous commentaries and editorials in virtually all major U.S. publications. However, the White House and State Department continue to maintain that Mr. Clinton's statements constitute "no change" in policy.

As noted by members of Congress and several prominent publications — such as the **Washington Post** and **Wall Street Journal** — Mr. Clinton's statement went way beyond the careful language of earlier U.S. formulations. Thus, either there **was** a change of policy, **or** the White House and State Department "no change" pronouncements mean that Mr. Clinton's "Three no's" are null and void.



**Taipei rally against the "Three no's"**

## *Towards a “Three Yes” policy*

Taiwanese-Americans and many in Taiwan have lost all confidence in Mr. Clinton as a President. He has failed to stand up for the basic principles of democracy and self-determination, because with his statements he violated the rights of the Taiwanese people to freely determine their own future.

It is thus essential that the next U.S. Administration — whether the Democrats under Mr. Gore or Republicans — will enunciate a new “Three Yes” policy, which **does** adhere to the basic principles of democracy and self-determination (for which the United States supposedly stands), and which specifically endorses that:

1. Yes, the people of Taiwan have the **right to determine their own future**,
2. Yes, China can **accept Taiwan as a friendly neighbor**, instead of perpetuating the hostility and rivalry dating back from the Chinese Civil War they fought against the Kuomintang over four decades ago, and
3. Yes, the international community will **accept Taiwan as a full and equal member** in the international family of nations, including the United Nations.

## *Clintonian doubletalk*

The passage of the two resolutions in Congress in July 1998, and earlier letters by members of the House and Senate, who urged him strongly not to let any improvement of relations with China take place at the expense of Taiwan, prompted Mr. Clinton on 18 August 1998 to reply with a fuzzy-sounding letter to a number of members of Congress.

In the letter Mr. Clinton commits the same mistakes of doubletalk, half-truths, innuendo and outright falsehoods which plagued his defense against the allegations in the Monica Lewinsky case. He writes:

“Our position on Taiwan independence dates back at least to Henry Kissinger’s 1971 visit to China and was put on record by Deputy Secretary Christopher in 1979 hearings on the Taiwan Relations Act (the ruling party of Taiwan did not then and does not now support independence for Taiwan either).”

**Taiwan Communiqué comment:** that Mr. Kissinger mumbled something in a closed meeting during his 1971 China visit does not make it U.S. policy: it was not expressed openly in any way, and it was not discussed with, let alone agreed to by, Congress. Furthermore, the transcripts of the 1979 hearings on the Taiwan Relations Act do not show any statement by Mr. Christopher regarding Taiwan independence.

*That the ruling party in Taiwan did not support Taiwan independence in 1971 is immaterial: it was a repressive dictatorship. Before 1987, the government of the former Soviet Union did not support democracy either, but it was clear that the majority of the Russian people wanted it, and the United States saw fit to push for democratization of the Soviet Union.*

*By the same token, it is clear that the Taiwanese want to make a free and democratic decision on their future, and want to live in peace with their neighbors. The United States thus needs to extricate itself from the outdated “One China” policy, and align its policies to the present-day reality that a free and democratic Taiwan wants to be accepted as a full and equal member of the international community.*

*It is indeed essential to work towards a peaceful resolution of the differences between Taiwan and China, but this is not achieved by dancing to Beijing’s tunes. It can only be achieved if the US and other democratic nations insist on stability and peace in East Asia on the basis of democratic values and the principle of self-determination, and do not accept an artificial Munich 1938-style peace in the Taiwan Strait on the terms of a Communist, dictatorial regime in Beijing.*

*Mr. Clinton’s “Three no’s” statement also runs counter to what the American people want: in an opinion poll conducted in May 1998 by Frederick Schneider Research in Washington DC, as much as 85 percent of the respondents said they supported Taiwan’s membership in the United Nations, the World Trade Organization, and other major international bodies. A solid majority — 71 percent — supported that a democratic Taiwan should be considered separate and independent from communist China.*

## ***“A new form of apartheid”***

In response to Mr. Clinton’s ill-fated “Three no’s”, the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan issued a pastoral letter in which it expressed deep disappointment in Mr. Clinton, and voiced strong opposition to his statements about Taiwan.

The Presbyterian Church said that Mr. Clinton's statement has "...greatly jeopardized Taiwan's future and the rights of the twenty-one million Taiwanese people. Not only will it potentially isolate Taiwan in the international community, it also unjustly imposes a 'new form of apartheid' policy on Taiwan", by treating the people of Taiwan as second-class citizens of the world.

The PCT added that "...on the basis of the Church's identification with the land and the people of Taiwan, we have always emphasized that human rights is a gift given by God, which cannot be removed by anyone. In the face of this critical situation, we feel that we need to remind our believers to stand firm in their faith and to encourage the people of Taiwan to rise up and strive towards making Taiwan into a new and independent country."

The Presbyterian Church in Taiwan then issued its appeal as follows:

***Hence We Appeal to:***

- 1. The members of our churches to pray for the future of Taiwan and the welfare of its people. That they will actively seek opportunities to tell their friends abroad about the Taiwanese people's desire to seek independence for their country.***
- 2. The ruling Nationalist government of Taiwan (Kuomintang-KMT) to immediately renounce their unrealistic policy of "One China" and announce to the international community that Taiwan is an independent and sovereign country. Its fate should not be decided by any foreign superpower.***
- 3. The Taiwan government and all political organizations in Taiwan, in order to protect the dignity and the rights of the people, to cease all talks with China if China refuses to abandon the idea of military intervention of Taiwan.***
- 4. The international community not to submit to the unreasonable demands of the Chinese because of economic interests or fear of the superpowers. Democracy and freedom, achieved through years of sacrifice and struggle by the Taiwanese people, are not just a precious possession of the people of Taiwan. Any violation against the dignity and democracy of the Taiwanese people also poses a threat to human values and civilization worldwide.***

*5. In search of peace, the countries of the world should also pursue justice. If the international community continues to isolate Taiwan, this action will tempt China to invade Taiwan, and thus will damage the peace and harmony of the Asia-Pacific region. Henceforth, in order to promote peace in the world, the world's nations should actively assist Taiwan in joining all international organizations.*

The appeal was signed by Reverend Hsieh Chieh-ming, and by Reverend William J.K. Lo, respectively Moderator and General Secretary of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan.

## ***Weinberger: “Clinton selling out Taiwan”***

In an article in the 10 August 1998 issue of **Forbes Magazine**, former US Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger wrote an article strongly criticizing US President Bill Clinton for selling out Taiwan.

Weinberger said that Mr. Clinton's remarks on the “three no's” during his recent China visit “...went a long country mile beyond the U.S.' carefully ambiguous policy”, which was that the United States only “...acknowledged that we understood what China's claim was — but we never went beyond that.”

Mr. Weinberger wondered who approved “...this unilateral attempt to change U.S. policy so drastically.” He added: “Certainly not Congress nor anyone else in the Administration. Mr. Clinton alone uttered those dangerously careless remarks.”

Mr. Weinberger stated that in 1994 (in the Taiwan Policy Review — Ed.) the U.S. pledged to work to “make Taiwan's voice heard” in all international organizations of which it is not a member.” But now, Mr. Clinton is “...pledging to dash any hopes our old friend Taiwan has of joining the U.N., the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, or any other organization to which China might object.”

Mr. Weinberger continues: “And what did we get in return for Mr. Clinton's extraordinary cave-in? The Chinese allowed Mr. Clinton a televised speech, and he was the subject of many admiring toasts from president Jiang.”

Mr. Weinberger then said that during his China trip, “...what Mr. Clinton forgot — or chose to ignore — was that Taiwan, unlike the PRC, is a free country. It has a free press, free elections, and freedom of religion. It has the right to determine its own future.”

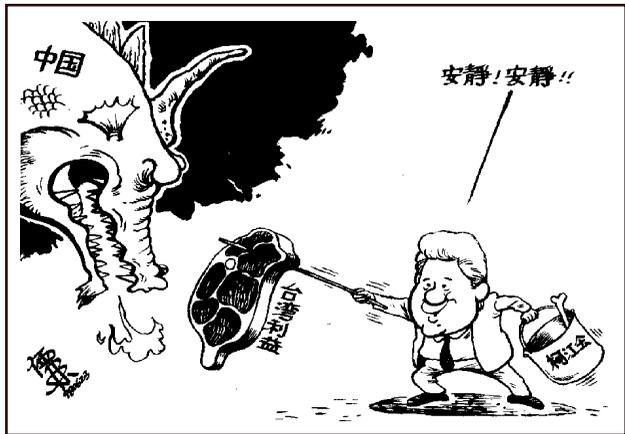
He charged that “Mr. Clinton’s extraordinary diplomatic and political blunders will ... encourage the Chinese to believe that they can use force against Taiwan. An we will develop ingenious arguments as to why we need to do nothing to stop China.”

Mr. Weinberger concludes: “Anything short of a clear repudiation of Clinton’s cave-in will only encourage China to think it has a free hand to violate our Taiwan relations Act whenever it chooses.”

## *Arthur Waldron: “Bowling to Beijing”*

The September 1998 issue of **Commentary Magazine** carried an excellent analysis by Dr. Arthur Waldron, professor of history at the University of Pennsylvania and director for Asia at the Washington-based American Enterprise Institute. A number of quotes from Professor Waldron’s article:

He states that with the June 30th “Three no” pronouncements, “...*Bill Clinton went farther than any of his predecessors in aligning U.S. policy with Beijing. In so doing, the Clinton administration undermined American alliances, abandoned longstanding American principle, and endangered American interests. The worst of it all is that it was unnecessary.*”



**Mr. Clinton throwing a "Taiwan steak"  
to pacify the Chinese dragon**

After a brief historical perspective, professor Waldron writes that in the 1960s, U.S. policymakers were confronted by a zero-sum choice between Communist China and Taiwan. They were convinced that good relations with the PRC were in principle desirable, but that “...*the idea of sacrificing Taiwan was hardly palatable. Not only was its political system, for all its grave faults, better than the one in Beijing, but the native Taiwanese were clearly the victims of history. Better educated and more advanced in many respects than their distant mainland cousins, they had not elected to join the Chinese civil war, and now*

*they were being largely silenced by the fierce authoritarian methods of Chiang's Nationalist regime."*

He then presents an analysis of the developments in the early 1970s, which led to the Shanghai Communiqué. He argues that the importance of the Communiqué, "...lay in what it did not say. While declaring to Beijing, in effect, "We recognize you," it did not say, "We also agree that Taiwan is yours."

Professor Waldron then proceeds with his analysis through the 1980s and early 1990s, and arrives at the Chinese missile crises of July / August 1995, and states: "*President Clinton responded to China's violation of the tacit understandings on the non-use of force by doing nothing at all. The State Department's comment -- that the missile firings were "not conducive to peace and stability in the area of the Taiwan Strait" - was utterly inadequate, and helped set the stage for what was to come.*"

"What was to come" were the much larger military exercises of late 1995 and early 1996, in advance of the Taiwanese Presidential elections, when the Clinton Administration finally acted and sent two aircraft carriers to the area near Taiwan.

Professor Waldron then states: "*But the reckless display of Chinese brinkmanship had clearly frightened the Clinton administration, and, ... the intimidation worked. What emerged from the White House was not a renewed emphasis on the need to deter Chinese aggression, or to enhance the security of our democratic allies. Quite the opposite: within a few months, the White House had responded to the Chinese threats and use of violence by unveiling its new strategy of "engagement" with Beijing.*

*Couched in the language of realism, moderation, dialogue, and respect for the culture of others, the new American strategy, which the President's trip to China this past July was meant to dramatize, is a transparent exercise in accommodation."*

After characterizing Mr. Clinton's 30 June 1998 statements as a "fundamental shift" in the U.S. position, professor Waldron asks:

*"Why not [support independence for] for Taiwan? The only possible answer is that Beijing opposes it. And why should we not support membership in the UN for a state that obviously meets every relevant criterion? The answer is the same: Beijing opposes it.*

*In brief, from an ambiguous and open-ended approach premised on no use and no threat of force, the U.S. has now moved to a strategy, sparked precisely by the*

*successful use of mainland Chinese force against Taiwan, in which the outcome is strictly circumscribed and which carries the implicit warning to the Taiwanese that challenging the new understanding will entail the loss of American support.*

*This is hardly a glorious position for the world's oldest democracy to be adopting toward a democratic ally. And it is profoundly unrealistic to boot. Does anyone believe that Taiwan is ever going to fly the flag of the People's Republic of China atop its public buildings, or agree to cease electing its own president, except at bayonet point? Yet, our entire strategy invites the display of bayonets, and possibly their use."*

After a further analysis of how the Clinton Administration failed to learn the right lesson from the collapse of Communism in Eastern Europe, and failing to pick up the right signals from Chinese leaders like Zhao Ziyang, Professor Waldron concludes:

*"Where do we go from here? To begin with, it must be understood that the alternative to Clinton's "engagement" policy is not, as the administration would have us believe, the "isolation" of China and a new cold war. Rather, it is engagement of another sort: one in which our allies and our democratic values come first and in which threats of force do not elicit American retreats.*

*It is preposterous to take China pretty much as a given, as we once took the USSR, and then consider how the rest of Asia and the world will have to adjust in deference to its needs, sensitivities, and spheres of interest. To the contrary, our own policy must be based on a security system among us and the democratic states of Asia in which China is not a crucial load-bearing element.*

*Such a policy, instead of attempting to isolate and pressure Taiwan ("put it in a box," in the term favored by the administration), would forthrightly support the island's democratization, push Beijing to accept its reality, and, without foreclosing any options, seek to find it a legitimate place in the international community. ....*

*Above all, such a policy would proceed from the lessons learned by the end of the cold war in the West. As we once staked too much on the Soviet Union, so we are staking too much on China, going long when we should be hedging, and shorting the fundamentals. By this means we are setting ourselves up for disaster when Chinese Communism sells off. It is time to recognize that the challenge in Asia is not to "restore" a world but to surmount the coming upheaval and help bring about, for ourselves and our allies, the future we wish to live in."*

# Promoting a free Taiwan

## *Newsweek interviews DPP Chairman Lin*

On 31 August 1998, **Newsweek** Magazine published an excellent interview with the newly-elected DPP Chairman Lin Yi-hsiung. A few excerpts from the interview:



**Lin Yi-hsiung**

*Eighteen years ago, Lin Yi-hsiung's mother and twin-daughters were knifed to death as they slept in the basement of their home. Lin, imprisoned by Taiwan's ruling Nationalist Party at the time, was powerless to protect them. The murders remain officially unsolved to this day.*

*And although the Nationalists lifted martial law in 1987 and now rule by virtue of elections, Lin — who last month became chairman of the rival Democratic Progressive Party — still opposes them. His goal: independence for Taiwan, rather than reunification with the mainland favored by the Nationalists.*

*Lin spoke with NEWSWEEK's Mahlon Meyer in Taipei. Excerpts:*

**MEYER: Have you come to feel differently about the murder of your family members?**

Lin: The intense pain of that period has already passed. I am at peace with myself now. A lot of people say that it was the Nationalists that committed those murders. For me personally, and for my family, tracking down the culprits is not that important. But since these are things that occurred in our society, it's important to clear them up for the sake of social justice.

**Did the murders affect your political ideals?**

When I was in prison, I would ask myself: "How could a thing like this have happened?" My conclusion was that there must have been several conditions existing. The first was that we were subject to authoritarian rule for a long time. The other was that under this rule the character of the Taiwanese people was destroyed. These conditions were

mutually interactive. So I decided in the future I wanted to overthrow this system of authoritarian rule. And wake people up so that kind of things that happened to my family would never happen again.

**What are your ideals?**

My basic ideal is to have Taiwan become a democratic, prosperous and independent country.

**How were things different before the lifting of martial law allowed you to form an opposition party?**

There was an enormous difference. At that time the atmosphere was so horrible that it was an extremely scary thing to take part in political activities. Some people would even refuse to have anything to do with you if you were involved in political activities.

The DPP supports Taiwan independence. If most people were opposed to this, as some polls suggest, would it prevent the DPP from having a shot at becoming the ruling party? (Other polls suggest an increasing majority in favor of independence — Ed).

Some people say that what we advocate is wrong. So they don't think it's right to support the DPP. But if you look at the trend of recent years, our supporters are increasing. We still haven't stated our beliefs clearly enough yet, so the people can understand. This is what we are working on.

**Aren't your beliefs stirring up resentment and anger in China? Aren't you opening yourself to charges of being a troublemaker?**

That's what people say. We see it differently. We feel that promoting Taiwan independence is good for Taiwan and China. We believe that China will probably change. After 10 or 20 years of work on both sides, China will no longer think it necessary to take over Taiwan.

**Your predecessor, former chairman Hsü Hsin-liang, pushed for closer ties with China, including better trade links.**

Those were not the politics of the DPP. They were just the individual opinions of the former chairman. Of course, we all discussed his opinions. And there were some people

who felt that he was pushing for better relations too quickly. Everyone agrees we want to have relations and dialogue with China. But we want to prevent China from taking advantage of the opportunity to hurt Taiwan's safety. We also need to have a plan for what we should do when we approach China. We don't want to just say, "Hurry up, hurry up and develop a relationship with us."

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## China threatens Taiwan again

### *State Council issues White Paper*

In his letter to members of Congress (see p. 2) Mr. Clinton also writes that in his meeting with Chinese president Jiang, he made clear the U.S. "...insistence that the differences between the PRC and Taiwan be resolved peacefully."

Mr. Clinton's insistence apparently didn't make too much of an impression on the Chinese: a few weeks later, on 27 July 1998, China's State Council — of which Mr. Jiang is chairman — issued a "White Paper" in which it stated that China reserves itself the right to use force against Taiwan.

The 30,000 word White Paper, which was released by the government news agency Xinhua, was as unyielding as ever regarding Taiwan, and stated that Beijing has a "...right to use all means it thinks necessary, including military means..." to attack Taiwan.

The policy review also assailed "hegemonism" — a veiled reference to the United States, and the U.S. - Japan security agreement, which is designed to safeguard security in East Asia, and was agreed to in Tokyo in April 1997 to guard against any attack that would disturb safety and security in East Asia.

The Paper was the first published defense policy review since 1995. The United States and other nations have urged China to publish more information about its intentions, and about the People's Liberation Army, in order to provide more transparency, and to dispel international suspicions about China's intentions.

While the Paper gave some details on the budgets, and on plans to downscale the PLA from 3 million to 2.5 million men, and the planned reductions of navy and airforce,

international observers say that China hides a considerable part of its budget for military spending in budgets of other departments, agencies and operations.

According to the Paper, the defense budget is to grow 11.3 percent from US\$ 9.79 billion in 1997 to US\$ 10.9 billion in 1998, but international observers believe that the real budget is anywhere from three to ten times that figure.

In Washington, State Department spokesman James Rubin gave only a weak response to the new threats made in the Chinese White Paper: he lamely reiterated that the U.S. "...hopes the two sides of the Taiwan Strait will resolve their disputes or problems strictly by peaceful means."



In response to a question, he stated that the U.S. intends to continue to comply with the Tai-

**Chinese dragon -- aided by "Three no" unificationist -- chasing Taiwan.**

wan Relations Act, and vaguely added that this "...requires certain steps to take place if there is a threat to the people of Taiwan. Nothing has changed from our standpoint."

## *To talk or not to talk ?*

The continuing threats and intimidation by China also put into question whether Taiwan should proceed with upcoming talks: from 14 through 19 October 1998, a visit to China is being planned for Mr. Koo Chen-fu, chairman of Taiwan's Straits Exchange Foundation. The visit is hosted by Mr. Wang Daohan, the chairman of China's Association for relations Across the Taiwan Strait (ARATS), and will reportedly include a meeting with China's President Jiang Zemin.

The meeting is being heralded as a "reopening" of the dialogue between Taiwan and China. Messrs. Koo and Wang last met in Singapore in 1993. The exchanges were

suspended in 1995, when China aggressively launched provocative military exercises and missile firings after Taiwan president Lee's visit to his alma mater Cornell in June 1995.

During the past months, the Chinese have been pressuring Taiwan to open a "political dialogue" designed to force it into negotiations on so-called "reunification", while the Kuomintang authorities in Taiwan have stated that they want to restrict the discussions to "technical matters", such as resolution of fishing disputes, protection of the investment of Taiwanese businessmen in China, and repatriation of hijackers.

In preparation for the meeting, Mr. Wang has floated some fuzzy-sounding suggestions, such as "shared sovereignty", and according to a pro-China American academic would even "...consider a new flag and would change the national anthem if that would help persuade Taiwan to become part of a single China."

**Taiwan Communiqué comment:** *The reported suggestions are totally preposterous. Nobody in his right mind can believe that China will change its name, flag or anthem. They are just a smokescreen, designed to confuse the outside world in an attempt to make China's position sound reasonable.*

*If China renounces the use of force, then "technical discussions" could be held on a range of practical issues, which would function as a confidence-building exercise, and would show whether China would keep its words on those issues. However, any "political discussions" will have to wait until the people of Taiwan have been able to express their views on the future of the island in a fully open and democratic process.*

*In the present situation, there are still two major reasons why the real views of the Taiwanese have not been fully heard yet:*

- 1. the after-effects of Kuomintang's long history of repression, which still prevents many Taiwanese from expressing themselves on political issues, and*
- 2. China's campaign of threats and intimidation, which is equivalent to a gun pointed at the head of the Taiwanese.*

*If China is serious in its resolve to end its dispute with Taiwan, it should thus first renounce the use of force, and then acknowledge that the present Taiwan is totally different from the old so-called "Republic of China" of the Chinese Nationalists, with which it fought its Civil War four decades ago. The next step would be to come to an accommodation with this new Taiwan, accept it as a friendly neighbor, and establish diplomatic relations with this neighbor.*

## DOD rebukes private Chas Freeman

In its September / October 1998 issue, **Foreign Affairs Magazine** published a strong rebuttal by the office of the U.S. Secretary of Defense to an earlier article by former Clinton Administration official Chas Freeman, now a private citizen, who had written that the U.S. should reduce weapon sales to Taiwan in order to pressure Taiwan into negotiations with Beijing.

*To the Editor: Chas W. Freeman, jr. draws the wrong conclusions (“Preventing War in the Taiwan Strait”, July/August 1998). If the United States followed his recommendations, conflict would be more likely.*

*Freeman fails to distinguish between peaceful and non-peaceful approaches to changing Taiwan’s status unilaterally, either by Beijing or Taipei, and prefers a status quo maintained through military intimidation to promoting democracy in the region.*

*He fundamentally misreads Taiwan’s domestic policies by stating that Taiwanese politicians think they have “wide latitude to ... maneuver the island towards independence” and mischaracterizes the results of U.S. arms sales to Taiwan by saying that they no longer “boost Taipei’s confidence that it can work out its differences with Beijing.” And he strongly implies that independence sentiments in Taiwan — not Beijing’s inability to offer Taiwan an attractive alternative — are the greatest impediments to resolution of the cross-Strait dispute.*

*Freeman’s policy recommendations endorse a zero-sum notion of the U.S. - China - Taiwan relationship: that improvements in either the Washington-Beijing relationship or the Washington-Taipei relationship must come at the expense of the other. This approach would create insecurity in Taipei, reward Beijing’s military intimidation, and undermine Washington’s regional strategy for promoting democracy, peace, and stability.*

*Reducing security assistance to Taiwan, particularly in the light of China’s military modernization, is most worrisome. It would be misread in every capital in the region, making a Chinese attack more likely.*

*The United States should not inject itself directly into the dispute. Rather, it should focus exclusively on process and not pressure either side towards any one outcome, including the unlikely option of Taiwan independence.*

*The administration may not actively support independence, but neither should it reject or oppose it. The United States should limit itself to creating an atmosphere conducive to peaceful resolution.*

*The administration is right to engage China. It should now build on the Clinton-Jiang summit and improve relations with Taiwan as well. Not to do so, whether by calculation (Freeman's approach) or neglect, will dangerously destabilize this unique triangular relationship.*

*Parallel engagement of Taiwan should involve the Clinton Administration's offering Taiwan security assurances not only through continued arms sales but through high-level dialogue to encourage Taiwan to proceed with a cross-strait dialogue.*

*Washington should support greater international participation for Taiwan, help integrate it into the international economic system, and support its bid for membership in the World Trade Organization.*

*Taiwan's democracy should be allowed to mature. America needs to engage both countries because the prosperity and security of all three are closely linked. One insecure participant can disrupt progress, and today Taipei is not feeling very secure.*

*Randall G. Schriver, Senior Country Director for China, including Taiwan  
Office of the Secretary of Defense*

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## **Elections coming up**

On 5 December 1998, a set of three major elections will take place in Taiwan. The residents of Taipei and the southern port city of Kaohsiung will elect their mayors and members of the city councils, while in all of Taiwan, elections will be held for the Legislative Yuan, the national legislature, which is increasing its size from the present 164 seats to 225 seats.

Of the three races, the race for mayor of Taipei is viewed as an important indicator of future politics on the island. DPP incumbent Mayor Chen Shui-bian is facing a

challenge from KMT candidate Ma Ying-jeou, the former Minister of Justice. The popular Mayor Chen has been widely mentioned as the likely DPP candidate for the upcoming presidential elections in March 2000. He wants to win this race for a second term as mayor in order to build momentum for 2000, while the Kuomintang is trying to garner all its resources in an attempt to stop Mr. Chen.

The Taipei mayoral race may still run into a three-way contest, since the pro-reunification New Party has nominated former finance minister Wang Chien-hsuan to be its candidate. However, observers in Taiwan believe that most supporters of the radical pro-unification New Party will cast their votes for Mr. Ma, who still clings to the idea of unification with China.

Mr. Chen's record as mayor is significant: when he was elected in 1994, he pledged to turn Taipei into a modern city in the 21 century. In the past three years, he improved the well-being of the Taipei citizenry in many ways, and changed the city as none of his KMT predecessors had been able to do in the preceding 40 years. He streamlined the Taipei City Government and improved the administrative efficiency. He also implemented several important social programs. The Metropolitan Rapid Transport System was completed and is in operation. The traffic congestion in the city has been greatly reduced.



**Mayor Chen Shui-bian**

Many of the measures he took to modernize Taipei city, such as cracking down on gangsters, banning prostitution, tearing down illegal buildings and clearing the streets of vendors caused resentment among those who felt victimized by his policies, but were applauded by the population as a whole.

Prof. Li Hung-hsi, a law professor from National Taiwan University and a top-notch speaker who can draw huge crowds to the campaign rallies, has accepted Mr. Chen's invitation to be the campaign manager.

Taipei Mayor Chen Shui-bian's reelection bid and Hsieh Chang-ting's candidacy for Mayor of Kaohsiung have galvanized Taiwanese-Americans into forming support

groups in major cities of the United States. So far 42 local action committees have been set up. On September 12, 1998, delegates from all over the United States gathered in Los Angeles to discuss strategy and plan action.

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## **Independence sentiment growing**

### ***Rally for independence in Taipei***

On 8 September 1998, a major rally was held in Taipei in support of independence. It was organized by the Overseas Taiwanese National Affairs Advocacy Group (OTNAAG), an umbrella group for some 31 overseas Taiwanese organizations. Among these the World United Formosan for Independence (WUFI), World Federation of Taiwanese Associations (WFTA), the Taiwanese American Association (TAA), Formosan Association for Public Affairs (FAPA), and the North American Taiwanese Professors' Association (NATPA).

The organizations issued a joint statement, in which they urged president Lee Teng-hui to: 1) Use the name Taiwan in applications for a seat in U.N. and other international organizations; and 2) Abolish the Unification Guidelines and the National Unification Council.

On September 8th, more than a thousands people gathered in front of the Chiang Kai-Shek Memorial Hall and proceeded to the 2-28 Memorial Park, where a rally with speeches and performances was held. At 3:00 p.m., six representatives of the group led by Dr. Samuel Chou, accompanied by Legislator Lee Ying-yuan and National Assemblyman Chang Cheng-Hsiang, walked over to the Presidential Palace to deliver the statement.

Initially, the Presidential Palace declined to send higher level official to receive the document. Then, the whole crowd moved in the pouring rain to the front of the Presidential Palace in a show of support. A barbed-wire barricade was set up and the police and military police in anti-riot gear started to line up behind the barricade.

A prominent US-based medical doctor, Dr. Ko Sebo, who presently serves a President of the US Chapter of the World United Formosans for Independence, saw a gap and

went through the barricade. As the demonstration proceeded, he was initially left alone, and continued to wave his placards in the heavy afternoon rain of Taipei for a good twenty to thirty minutes.

Then, all of a sudden, police jumped him, and he was dragged into a police station nearby. During the arrest, one of the plainclothes security man punched him in the stomach several times. Fortunately, he was not seriously hurt. He was held at the police station for about one hour, when his wife and several of his friends simply walked into the station and pulled him out of there.

While all this was happening, the Presidential Palace finally sent a high-level official to receive the petition. The gathering ended at 5:00 p.m. It was the first time that a combined group representing all major overseas Taiwanese organizations had organized a demonstration in Taiwan.

## *New Nation Alliance set up in Taiwan*

On 18 September 1998, a new political alliance was set up in Taiwan by a group of pro-Taiwan independence politicians. The group was named New Nation Alliance and is dedicated to promote political, social and cultural reforms. The alliance issued a manifesto explaining its main purpose — promoting the establishment of a “new nation, new society and new culture.”

Six of the politicians are currently independent members of the Legislative Yuan. They left the DPP two years ago due to the wishy-washy policies of former chairman Hsü Hsin-liang.

The manifesto said all of its members share the same political concepts and ideals. “We are willing to serve as woodpeckers and antiseptics in a new era and to dedicate ourselves to pushing for the birth of a new, free and democratic Taiwan Republic,” it stressed.

The Alliance will field 15 candidates for the upcoming December 5th elections for the Legislative Yuan and Taipei and Kaohsiung city councils. Under current regulations, it will be given two at-large seats in the legislature if its legislative candidates receive at least five percent of the vote.

Addressing the ceremony, Chairman Lin Yi-hsiung of the main opposition Democratic

Progressive Party (DPP) said the formation of the new alliance indicates that Taiwan has become a mature pluralistic society. “I think there will be ample room for the DPP and the New Nation Alliance to cooperate in pursuing the creation of a new nation,” Lin noted.

Speaking at the inauguration ceremony, Premier Vincent Siew said the formation of the Alliance signifies the value of democracy and will make the Legislative Yuan’s political spectrum even more diversified. “Even though my political concepts differ from those of the Alliance, I believe that we are both pursuing the country’s well-being,” the premier said.

A leading member of the Alliance is Legislator Chen Yung-hsing, from Hualien County, who played an important role in the late 1980s in calling for a new interest in, and commemoration of, the February 28th Incident of 1947. Up until that time, it had been a taboo to speak and write about this Taiwanese equivalent of the Holocaust.

Chen Yung-hsing said the year-end elections will offer a new opportunity for the adjustment of Taiwan’s political map. “In order to ensure the survival of those with clean images and lofty political ideals in the legislature and the city councils of Taipei and Kaohsiung, we have decided to form this new alliance to promote our cause,” he noted.

Chen said the alliance will maintain cooperative ties with the pro-independence DPP and the Taiwan Independence Party. “We’ll cooperate closely in the year-end elections in the hope that the opposition camp will be able to control more than half the seats in the legislature.”

## *Opinion poll: independence on the rise*

Two recent opinion polls in Taiwan do show yet another marked increase in support for independence on the island. A telephone survey conducted by the Rising People Foundation among 1008 adult residents throughout the island in mid-August showed that some 40 percent were in favor of independence, while those who still supported unification had dropped to 31.2 percent.

The August poll also showed that an overwhelming 79.4 percent were strongly opposed to Beijing’s “One Country, two systems” proposals. An even higher percentage, 80.7 percent, was opposed to unification, even if China promised not to interfere in Taiwan’s

internal and economic affairs. Even if Taiwan was allowed to retain its own military, then 71.7 percent said they still couldn't accept unification.

A telephone poll conducted by the United Daily News among 1205 adults in the third week of September 1998 showed an even higher percentage, 47 percent, in favor of independence, with some 13 percent undecided and the remainder opposed.

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## **In Memoriam**

### ***DPP legislator Dr. Lu Hsiu-yi***

On 6 August 1998, DPP legislator Lü Hsiu-yi passed away in Tamsui, near Taipei. He had been suffering from lung cancer since 1995. He was a sparkling personality with a great sense of humor. He also had great courage, and was one of the first overseas Taiwanese to come out and run for election in Taiwan.

He was already politically active when he studied in Europe in the 1970s. He studied at the University of Leuven in Belgium and received his Ph.D. in political science from the University of Paris in Nanterre in 1980.

After returning to Taiwan, Professor Lü taught at Chinese Culture University and National Tsinghua University. However, he was arrested in January 1983 and held incommunicado for 1 1/2 months, during which he was interrogated harshly, sometimes for a couple of days in a row. After a kangaroo trial he was sentenced and served a three-year prison term from 1983 through 1986 on a charge of "sedition" for promoting Taiwan independence. Later he would joke that his hair turned gray during this prison period, but that this made him look more distinguished!!



**Prof. Lu Hsiu-yi**

In 1989, he was one of the first overseas Taiwanese to run for public office, and he was elected to a seat in the Legislative Yuan, representing Taipei County. He was re-elected

in 1992, and again in 1995. In November 1997, although terminally ill, Lu rejected his doctor's advice and went out to stump for the DPP's candidate for the Taipei County magistrate election, Su Chen-chang.

Thousands of Taiwanese attended the funeral service for Mr. Lu, which was held in Panchiao, Taipei County on Tuesday, 18 August 1998. It was attended by senior government officials, including President Lee Teng-hui, Vice President Lien Chan and Premier Vincent Siew, as well as leading members of the DPP, such as newly-elected chairman Lin Yi-hsiung.

The funeral rites began with a performance of French composer Gabriel Fauré's "Song of Pathos" by the Formosa Egret Symphony Orchestra, which was founded with the support of Lu and his wife, who is a well-known concert pianist in Taiwan.

The funeral procession extended several kilometers as thousands of Lu's supporters, including many taxi drivers, escorted Lu's coffin to the crematorium where Lu's body was cremated. The DPP held an overnight vigil to pay tribute to one of its most popular standard bearers.

We will miss him, and we wish his wife and children much strength in these difficult days, weeks, and months ahead.

## *Ms. Lin Ti-chuan laid to rest*

On Tuesday, 18 August 1998, Ms. Lin Ti-chuan, a female opposition politician from the southern Taiwanese port city of Kaohsiung, was laid to rest in her hometown. She died in China at the end of July 1998, after being kidnapped and drugged while she was accompanying her boyfriend on a business trip in the northeastern province of Liaoning.

Reportedly, the Chinese business contact in Dalian, a certain Lee Kuongchih, and two of his associates armed with knives bound and blindfolded Lin and Wei, and then injected them with an unknown drug, apparently a sedative. They were then taken by car to Haicheng City, an hour's drive from the industrial city of Anshan. The kidnapers reportedly demanded a ransom of US\$ 200,000 but refused to allow Wei to use a telephone to try to raise the money.

Over the next two days, the couple received injections about once every five hours. By

July 29th, Ms. Lin had turned deadly pale and was foaming at the mouth. The kidnapers then took her to a local hospital, at which time Mr. Wei escaped. He went to the authorities to report the case.

Her death caused an outrage in Taiwan, not only because of the brutal way her life came to an end, but also because of the high-handed way in which the Chinese authorities handled the matter: when Ms. Lin's family arrived in China to bring her back home to Taiwan for burial, the authorities at first refused to release the body.

At the funeral in Kaohsiung, Ms. Lin's coffin was covered with the green-and-white DPP party flag, and some 1,000 people, including leading Party members and local politicians, attended the funeral.

In China, the authorities subsequently arrested a number of persons on suspicion of being involved in the murder, but the main suspect is still at large.

The Taiwan authorities said that during the past few years, some 30 businesspeople had been murdered in China, while dozens received murder or kidnap threats. The most recent case is that of a Taiwanese businessman, Mr. Wang Fujing, who was murdered by contract killers in the southern boom city of Shenzhen. Wang, 40, from the Taiwanese port city of Kaohsiung, was suffocated in Shenzhen on July 12 and his body was stripped and thrown down a well.



**Ms. Lin Ti-chuan**

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## **Aborigine report**

### ***Aborigine delegation denied a voice in Geneva***

At the end of July 1998, the 16th Session of the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations (UNWGIP) took place in Geneva, Switzerland. The theme of

this year's UNWGIP Forum was "Education and Language".

As in previous years, a delegation representing 11 aborigine tribes from Taiwan planned to attend and participate in the meeting. The 15 members were very enthusiastic to share their experiences with the UN and other indigenous groups around the world. However, due to China's strong objections, the delegation was almost denied participation in the meeting, and they were eventually barred from speaking at the Forum.

The UNWGIP and the Forum were originally set up as an open platform for all indigenous peoples, without any reference to national affiliation. As long as a group was identified as "indigenous people" it was automatically considered a member of the UNWGIP. In clear violation of that ground rule, the Taiwanese indigenous groups are now under a "special file" and waiting for a review by five rapporteurs of the UNWGIP to decide their membership in the UNWGIP.

The original agenda of the meeting showed that the spokesperson for the delegation, Dr. Wen-chi Kung of the Atayal tribe, was scheduled to speak. However, at the last minute, his name was removed from the list of speakers, and he never



received an opportunity to speak.

On 30 July 1998, the delegation issued a press release and a formal request to the Secretariat of the UN Working Group for an explanation, but the delegation never received a response.

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P.O. Box 15182  
CHEVY CHASE, MD 20825

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Bethesda, MD  
Permit no. 4362

ISSN Number: 1027-3999

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October 1998**

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