



# TAIWAN COMMUNIQUE

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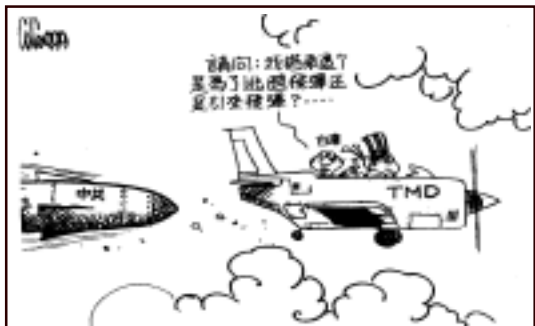
## China's military threat

### *Tripling of missiles "no new threat" ?*

At the beginning of February 1999, major British and American newspapers reported a significant increase in China's missile threat to Taiwan, up from 30-50 missiles during the March 1996 crisis, to 150-200 missiles at present. It is essential that the United States and other Western nations take a firm stance in opposition against China's campaign of threats and intimidation against Taiwan.

The White House and State Department now seem to be downplaying the increase, saying it is "not a new threat". This is highly peculiar: if Mr. Clinton has known about this more than tripling of the number of missiles, why has he been silent on it, and has he not confronted the aggressors like President Kennedy did with the Cuban missiles in 1962? In fact, Mr. Kennedy faced only 16 to 32 deployed Russian missiles in Cuba, while the present reports refer to 150-200 Chinese missiles -- of much higher accuracy -- facing Taiwan now, and some 650 foreseen by the year 2005.

China's present missile buildup is in particular designed to try prevent the United States from incorporating Taiwan under the defensive shield of the proposed East Asian Theater Missile Defense system. The United States should maintain the position that Taiwan has the right to be an integral part under this system.



**Taiwan to "pilot" USA: "Are we avoiding the missile, or is it catching up with us?"**

China threatens that bringing Taiwan under the TMD-umbrella will increase tension in East Asia. To the contrary: providing Taiwan with a defensive shield will be a major factor in bringing about stability and peace in East Asia. Eventually, it will bring the Chinese leaders to the realization that they cannot force a free and democratic Taiwan to unify, and that they should accept Taiwan as a friendly and independent neighbor and establish diplomatic ties with this new neighbor.

Taiwan is a free nation, which only recently achieved a democratic political system, thanks to the hard work of its democratic movement. This new nation deserves to be accepted by the international community as a full and equal member. The West, and in particular the United States, should not let itself be intimidated by China's temper tantrums. It should stand up for the basic principles of democracy, human rights, and self-determination as enshrined in the UN Charter.

On the following pages we briefly summarize a number of recent reports related to China's military buildup, and to the balance across the Taiwan Strait.

## *Chinese exercises targeted US troops*

On 26 January 1999, the **Washington Times** published an article by its reporter Bill Gertz, indicating that according to Pentagon officials, China's army conducted military exercises with simulated missile firings against Taiwan and also for the first time conducted mock attacks on U.S. troops in the region, according to Pentagon intelligence officials.

The exercise began in late November and ended in early December 1998 as road-mobile CSS-5 medium-range missiles maneuvered along China's coast, said officials familiar with a December 2nd, 1998 Defense Intelligence Agency report on the exercise.

Disclosure of the Chinese exercise came as officials in the Clinton administration said efforts are under way to soften the conclusions of a congressionally mandated report on missile defenses and missile threats in Asia, including new details on the rapidly growing Chinese missile arsenal.

The Washington Times article reported that according to sensitive intelligence gathered by U.S. satellites, aircraft and ships that monitored the Chinese exercise, People's Liberation Army units, including those equipped with intermediate-range CSS-5s and silo-housed CSS-2 missile units practiced firing missiles at Taiwan.

The intelligence information also indicated that the U.S. Army troops based in South Korea, and Marine Corps troops on the Japanese island of Okinawa and mainland Japan were targeted with strikes. “They were doing mock missile attacks on our troops,” said one official.

A senior administration official confirmed that the missiles were CSS-2s, first deployed in 1971, and CSS-5s, first fielded in the 1980s. Both weapons had “never been pointed our way before,” the senior official said. “The important point is these are not new missiles.”

The Washington Times stated that the intelligence report also raises questions about the recent statement of Chinese President Jiang Zemin, who announced during the June 1998 summit in Beijing that he and President Clinton agreed “we will not target each other with the strategic nuclear arms under our control.”

The Washington Times also stated that according to an earlier Pentagon intelligence report, China is engaged in a major program to upgrade its 40 CSS-2s with newer and more capable CSS-5s, which come in two versions. Liquid-fueled CSS-2s, with ranges of about 1,922 miles, are being replaced in some regions by solid-propellant CSS-5s that have a maximum range of 1,333 miles, the 1996 report said.

## ***Cox report: China stole technology***

On 31 December 1998, a select committee of the US House of Representatives concluded that US national security interests were damaged when two US aerospace companies, Hughes and Loral Space and Communications, provided China with technical information after the failure of two Chinese Long March rockets carrying American-built satellites.



**China's Long March**

Both the **New York Times** and the **Washington Post** reported on 31 December 1998 that the committee, headed by Congressman Christopher Cox (R-CA), had unani-

mously approved a still-secret 700-page report, which also concluded that over the past 20 years, China had been involved in a serious and sustained effort to steal the most sensitive of American military technology, including nuclear weapons designs and high-performance computers.

The Cox-committee, which was established in mid-1998 after the Loral and Hughes affairs came to light earlier during the year, made 38 recommendations for legislative and executive orders in areas such as tightening control over the export of sensitive technology, access to US national laboratories, and the handling of sensitive intelligence data.

## *Financial Times: China's missile threat*

On 10 February 1999, the London-based **Financial Times** reported that China has sharply increased its deployment of missiles aimed at Taiwan. The move means yet another increase in tension in the region.

The newspaper cited military analysts in Washington who had access to a classified Pentagon report, which stated that the Chinese had stationed 150 to 200 M-9 and M-11 missiles in its southern regions aimed at Taiwan. The *Financial Times* quoted a senior U.S. administration official as warning that China “couldn’t assume that a continued missile build-up in Southeast Asia will go unanswered.”

The newspaper said that the reported escalation, coming before a planned visit to Washington in the spring by Chinese Premier Zhu Rongji, was emerging as a serious foreign policy headache for the Clinton administration. It reported that it was “...causing sharp differences within the U.S. government over an appropriate response,” adding that the Department of Defense was said to favor a stronger show of support for Taiwan, but the State Department and National Security Council feared risks to Washington’s growing “co-operative strategic partnership” with Beijing.

According to the report, China had 30 to 50 short-range ballistic missiles in its southern areas in 1995-96 when it launched the M-9 missiles into waters off Taiwan, prompting President Clinton to send two aircraft carrier task groups to the area.

The *Financial Times* reported that a Pentagon study in October 1998 concluded that China was pouring resources into missile development to improve its ability to prevail in a local conflict on its south-eastern flank “especially in the Taiwan Strait and South China Sea.”

## *DOD-report on Theater Missile Defense*

In Mid-February 1999, the US Defense Department issued a report to Congress, examining the possible components for regional missile defenses in Asia that would have the capability of protecting key regional allies, Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan from missile attack.

It was mandated by the fiscal 1999 defense authorization bill and includes descriptions of U.S. missile defenses that could be transferred to key allies in Asia for “self-defense against limited ballistic missile attacks,” according to the legislation requiring it. The plan was initiated after the unexpected launching of a missile by North Korea in the beginning of September 1998, but is also prompted by concerns about China’s increasing missile threat.

The report was originally due to reach Congress on 1 January 1999, but the Pentagon has been held up from sending the report to the House Armed Services Committee because of disagreements with its conclusions. According to press reports, the White House and State Department’s East Asia bureau are said to be seeking to water down some of the harsh conclusions of the report, while the Pentagon and CIA want it to present unvarnished views of the Chinese missile threat.

According to officials familiar with the report, the Pentagon study shows that China is engaged in a major strategic missile buildup of several types of weapons that political officials are reluctant to publicize for fear of upsetting the Chinese government. China’s government is opposed to deployment of U.S. missile defenses in Asia because they could counter Chinese missiles.

## *Defense Department: Imbalance in the Taiwan Strait*

A separate report on the military balance in the Taiwan Strait, which was originally due in Congress on 1 February 1999, has not been published yet. The directive for this study was also contained in the 1999 Defense authorization bill, and was initiated by Senator Frank Murkowski (R-Alaska).

Mr. Murkowski and others who supported the initiative stated they wanted more than the traditional “force-on-force analysis.” He stated that rather than merely counting

troops and equipment, the Pentagon should evaluate the capability of China's PLA "...to conduct command and control warfare against Taiwan, including .... information dominance, air superiority, naval blockade and amphibious invasion. This is an area that has not received enough attention in terms of evaluating Taiwan's defensive capabilities."

A co-sponsor of the initiative, Senator Ted Stevens, also of Alaska, emphasized that the 1979 Taiwan Relations Act (TRA) envisions that Congress remain "...fully and currently informed on the military balance in the tense Taiwan Strait."

The Taiwan Relations Act also stipulated that "... the United States will make available to Taiwan such defense articles and defense services in such quantity as may be necessary to enable Taiwan to maintain a sufficient self-defense capability" (Sec.3.a), and directed the President "... to inform the Congress promptly of *any threat to the security or the social or economic system of the people on Taiwan* and any danger to the interests of the United States arising therefrom" (Sec. 3.c. -- emphasis added).

Another co-sponsor of the initiative, Senator Daniel Inouye (D-Hawaii) added that it is "...particularly important to focus on the qualitative balance now ... as compared to what existed in 1979."

One indication of the increasing U.S. concern about the Chinese military buildup in the Taiwan Strait came on 3 February 1999, when US Central Intelligence Agency director George Tenet testified before Congress that China is developing and acquiring air and naval systems "...intended to deter the United States from involvement in Taiwan and to extend China's fighting capabilities beyond its coastline..."

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## Kissinger and Nixon's sell-out

Seldom have the secret machinations of two men had such damaging and long-lasting effect. We are speaking of the secret dealings of Messrs. Nixon and Kissinger with the Chinese in the early 1970s. Much new light was shed on these machinations by two books published recently.

The first book was written by **Los Angeles Times** reporter Jim Mann, and is titled "*About Face; a history of America's curious relationship with China, from Nixon to*

*Clinton*”, and the second was compiled by William Burr, and is titled “*The Kissinger Transcripts*.” Below we discuss some aspects from both books, as they relate to Taiwan.

## ***Jim Mann: About Face***

The book by **Jim Mann** details for the first time how Nixon and Kissinger secretly promised Chou Enlai and Mao Tse-tung that they would not support Taiwan independence, in exchange for Chinese pressure on Vietnam to end the Vietnam War. It also shows how Mr. Kissinger secretly undermined the official U.S. policy on membership of Taiwan in the United Nations, which was at the time that the U.S. would support dual recognition for both China and Taiwan.

The Chinese pressure on Vietnam of course never materialized, and the US later realized how little leverage Beijing had in Hanoi: at the end of the 1970s Beijing even went to war against Vietnam.

However, the American promises regarding Taiwan took a strange twist. In the early 1970s, The United States still had diplomatic relations with the repressive Kuomintang regime of Chiang Kai-shek. The Taiwan independence movement had primarily taken root in the overseas Taiwanese community in Japan, the United States, and Europe, where concepts like human rights and democracy could flourish. In Taiwan itself, the idea was harshly repressed by Chiang Kai-shek and his secret police, the Taiwan Garrison Command.

It wasn't until after the lifting of martial law in 1987, and the growth of the democratic opposition movement in Taiwan, that the idea of Taiwan independence could be openly expressed on the island. Between 1992 — the first year that elections were held for all seats in the Legislative Yuan — and the present, the democratic movement grew into a full-fledged opposition, which could gain the majority in any of the upcoming elections.

This growth of democracy in Taiwan has led to considerable paranoia in some circles in the US, in particular the academia and in some parts of the Administration. Instead of applauding democracy, and encouraging the next logical step — Taiwan independence — these circles began to fear a confrontation with China. Of course China knows how to play on these fears, and throws temper tantrums each time Taiwan drifts further in the direction of independence.

Here is where the abovementioned strange twist comes in: In 1972, the US had “acknowledged” the Chinese position, but had itself not taken a position on Taiwan’s status. From 1979 onwards, the time President Jimmy Carter de-recognized Chiang Kai-shek’s Kuomintang regime and established diplomatic ties with Beijing, the official US line was that the conflict had to be resolved between the two sides of the Taiwan Strait, and that it had to be resolved peacefully. This was also laid down in the Taiwan Relations Act of 1979.

However, when President Bill Clinton visited Shanghai in June/July 1998, he became the first US president to pronounce the “Three No’s” (no US support for “One Taiwan, One China”, for an independent Taiwan, and for Taiwan membership in the UN), and a hot debate ensued whether this was “existing” policy or a reckless and irresponsible swing away from the present policy.

Associated Press



**Kissinger with Chou Enlai in 1972**

Congress outrightly rejected Mr. Clinton’s statements by almost unanimous votes in the House and Senate, and the pronouncements were strongly criticized in editorials in virtually all major US newspapers, while US opinion polls show strong support for an independent Taiwan, and its membership in the United Nations. Still, the Administration continues to defend the “Three No’s”, and in an August 1998 letter to Congress even had the audacity to state that the position “..dates back at least to Henry Kissinger’s 1971 visit to China.”

***Taiwan Communiqué comment:*** *Mr. Mann makes it excruciatingly clear how at least two of the “Three No’s” have their roots in the secret machinations of Messrs. Nixon and Kissinger. They were not expressed openly at that time, and were not discussed with, let alone agreed to by, Congress, and can thus hardly constitute “policy”.*

*Even more importantly, because of the prevailing lack of democracy in Taiwan, in 1971-72 the people on the island did not have any say in the deliberations regarding*



*their future. Congress should thus continue to make strong objections to Mr. Clinton's "Three No" policy, and insists that it be discarded: it is in violation of the basic U.S. and international principles of human rights, democracy and self-determination.*

*In Taiwan today, the Taiwanese have crafted a new nation with a democratic government, a vibrant economy and political system, and a desire to be accepted by the international community as a full and equal member.*

*Thus, like the secret machinations of Messrs. Nixon and Kissinger, the "Three No's" should be relegated to the past, and a new "Three Yes" policy should be established, based on the basic principles of human rights, democracy and self-determination: 1) the Taiwanese have the right to determine their own future, 2) China should accept Taiwan as a friendly neighboring state, and 3) Taiwan should be accepted as a full and equal member in the international family of nations.*

## ***The Kissinger capers***

The second book, titled "The Kissinger Transcripts", was assembled by William Burr of the Washington-based **National Security Archive** at George Washington University, and is based on transcripts of Kissinger's conversations in the 1970s.

The book shows how Mr. Kissinger tried to manipulate, and was manipulated by, his Chinese hosts. He even offered China secret satellite data about the Russians from the U.S. early warning system.

The compilation of Kissinger's conversations with Chinese and Soviet leaders shows that President Richard M. Nixon's "triangular diplomacy" with Moscow and Beijing involved a much higher level of U.S. strategic assistance to China than has been officially acknowledged.

The **Washington Post** reported in an article by Michael Dobbs ("*Kissinger offered China Satellite Data in 1973*", Washington Post, 10 January 1999) that both Washington and Beijing took pains to conceal their level of cooperation both from Moscow and public opinion in their respective countries.

The report states that Mr. Kissinger agreed to provide China with satellite intelligence of a Soviet military buildup, and also agreed with Zhou Enlai to keep it secret. Their conversation is recorded in a "Top Secret/Sensitive/Exclusively Eyes Only" memo for

Nixon. The memo is one of hundreds of Kissinger conversations assembled by the National Security Archive.

The Washington Post states that besides showing important gaps in Kissinger's published recollections, the documents also demonstrate that the United States began sharing intelligence with Beijing much earlier than officially acknowledged. This in turn evolved into a broadening security relationship that has included providing the Chinese with sophisticated computer technology, setting up electronic listening posts along the Chinese-Russian border, and using Chinese rockets to launch U.S. satellites.

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## Clinton's China policy invites disaster

The **Wall Street Journal** of 26 January 1999 carried an insightful article, titled: "*Clinton's China Policy invites Disaster*", by professor **Arthur Waldron**, who teaches international relations at the University of Pennsylvania and serves as director of Asian studies at the American Enterprise Institute in Washington DC.

Professor Waldron started his analysis by showing how the Clinton administration's "engagement" policy toward China has only emboldened the People's Liberation Army in its efforts to crack down on the dissenters of the Chinese democratic movement.

Mr. Waldron criticizes the Clinton administration for lavishly wooing the Chinese generals — "many with hands still bloody from the Tiananmen massacre" — and for even receiving them at the White House. In fact, a few eeks after Mr. Waldron's essay, on 12 February 1999, the **Washington Post** published an article on this issue, including a picture of Mr. Clinton meeting with General Zhang Wannian, otherwise known as "The Butcher of Tienanmen."

Professor Waldron also indicates that the still-to-be-released Cox report found, among other things, that China had obtained by espionage the technology for the most advanced U.S. nuclear warhead, the W88, which is used in the Trident system.

Mr. Waldron continues that the U.S. could have strengthened the hand of reformers in China by making clear that the revival of authoritarianism would lead to trouble in the China-U.S. relationship. Instead the administration did just the opposite — it shunned

the reformers and embraced the oppressors. He states that U.S. policy has smoothed the road for an ultranationalist dictatorship in China — even as U.S. security failures have ensured that the dictatorship will have state-of-the-art weapons.

Further down in his article, Professor Waldron states that the only important exception to the general policy of appeasement comes from the Defense Department, which, although keen on engaging the PLA, has hedged against trouble in China by recognizing, far more clearly than the White House, the crucial importance of America's democratic Asian allies and working to strengthen them.

Mr. Waldron argues that the U.S. will need a new Asia policy, certainly in the face of the instability to be expected in China due to the current political infighting and social unrest. He states that such a policy should begin with the understanding that democratization in China, remote as it may seem, is not just morally desirable; it is a fundamental American national security interest. A democratic China would be a better country, and a better international citizen, than is the current dictatorship.

He states that the U.S. must no longer shun democratic voices from China — or from Hong Kong or Taiwan — and suggests some presidential praise for Taiwan's recent elections.

Professor Waldron suggests that, given that America has inadvertently boosted China's menacing ballistic missile program with some of the best technology available, that the U.S. should restore some balance — with Theater Missile Defense cooperation with the U.S.'s Asian allies.

He mocks the “squeals of protest from the usual political China specialists”, but states that if Washington want a peaceful future in Asia, it is going to have to make some down payments now in the form, most likely, of higher tension over the short term.

Professor Waldron says that the Chinese communist government faces difficult, perhaps terminal, domestic problems, and that in order to divert attention from these problems, it may well in the months ahead turn up the flame under a foreign crisis, hoping to rally its people, and expecting the U.S. to acquiesce.

Professor Waldron suggests that the U.S. and its allies should stand firm when the challenge comes, and that only then Beijing may realize that, difficult as it is, reform is the only way forward. But if the West bends under threat, it will open the road to more

dictatorship, and Beijing will take that road. The stakes are the highest. For firmness the U.S. will pay a big rhetorical price now in denunciation and saber rattling from China — but will probably end up with a more open China and a much safer Asia.

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## Taiwan, Macedonia and East Timor

At the end of January 1999, there were two announcements that may affect Taiwan's international relations positively.

The first one was the announcement that on 27 January 1999, Taiwan and Macedonia established diplomatic ties. We congratulate the government and people of Macedonia for their courage. It is lightyears beyond what the United States and Western Europe have managed to come up with until now.

Most people in Taiwan probably never heard of Macedonia before: it is a small nation — part of former Yugoslavia — which gained its independence in 1992 against great odds. It is now recognized by most countries in the world, including the United States. It has a formal embassy in Washington, where it is represented by a female ambassador and three other diplomats.



**Macedonia in the Balkans**

The Foreign Ministry in Taipei, Mr. Jason Hu, did show some fast footwork in bringing the diplomatic ties about. They jumped at the opportunity, when in November 1998 a new government came to power in Macedonia's capital Skopje, made up of a non-communist coalition led by Mr. Vasil Tupurkovski.

A funny situation arose, when Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov — who is part of the defeated former communist party in Macedonia but who retained his post — announced that he didn't know about the relations with Taiwan, and expressed his strong opposition against it.

On 12 February 1999, the Macedonian parliament confirmed the diplomatic ties with Taiwan by a vote of 65 to seven, with two abstentions, after a speech to the parliament by foreign minister Aleksandar Dimitrov. He explained that the relations with Taiwan would lead to long-term cooperation in agriculture, industrial development, and investment in Macedonia as a regional distribution and production center for Taiwanese companies.

***Taiwan Communiqué comment:*** *If Taiwan can maintain the relations with Macedonia, this would be a nice “foot-in-the-door” in Europe. But, it has to work hard to build up relations with other nations too, like the Nordic countries (Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland), the Baltic States, and the members of the European Union. This can only be done if Taiwan presents itself as a new, democratic and independent Taiwan, and drops the old and outdated “Republic of China” title.*

The second announcement, was the one made by Indonesia's Foreign Minister, Ali Alatas, who stated that he didn't exclude granting independence to East Timor, the former Portuguese colony, which was occupied by Indonesia in 1975, followed by more than 20 years of brutal military repression.

Indeed, Taiwan should strongly support the granting of full independence to East Timor, and help rebuild that nation. If Taiwan does that, then chances are good that it can establish diplomatic ties with this new nation. The independence movement in Taiwan already has good ties with Dr. Jose Ramos-Horta, the 1996 Nobel Peace Prize Winner, who will certainly be a major leader in future independent East Timor.

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# Washington Report

## *Safety and Security Resolution introduced in the U.S. House of Representatives*

On 3 February 1999, U.S. Congressmen Robert E. Andrews (D-NJ) and Steve Chabot (R-OH) introduced a bipartisan resolution in the U.S. House of Representatives strongly urging the Clinton Administration to seek a public renunciation by China of any use of force, or threat of use of force, against Taiwan, and stressing that the United States should help Taiwan in case of threats or a military attack by China.

The resolution — H.Con.Res.22. — is very timely in view of the renewed signs that China is stepping up its threats to Taiwan, and has significantly increased the number of missiles trained at the island.

The resolution refers back to March 1996, when China used provocative military maneuvers, including missile launch exercises in the Taiwan Strait, in an attempt to intimidate the people of Taiwan during their historic, free and democratic presidential elections.

It also refers to the June 1998 House resolution, which was passed by a vote of 411-0, and which the President to seek, during his July 1998 summit meeting in Beijing, a public renunciation by the People's Republic of China of any use of force, or threat of use of force, against democratic Taiwan.



**Congressman Robert Andrews, addressing a Taiwanese crowd in front of the Capitol**

Finally, it refers to the 1979 Taiwan Relations Act, which 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”.

## ***“Taiwan into the WHO” resolution in the Senate***

On Wednesday, 20 January 1999, Alaska Senator Frank Murkowski introduced a resolution in the US Senate supporting Taiwan’s membership in the World Health Organization. The measure was cosponsored by five influential Senators, including Senate Foreign Relations Committee chairman Craig Thomas (R-Wyo) and Robert Torricelli (D-NJ). The move follows a unanimous vote in the House of Representatives in October 1998, with the same purpose.

In the “Resolved” part, the resolution states that it is the sense of the Senate that Taiwan and its 21 million people should have appropriate and meaningful participation in the World Health Organization. It also calls for a report by Secretary of State Madeleine Albright by April 1, 1999 on the efforts of the Secretary to fulfill the commitment made in the 1994 Taiwan Policy Review to more actively support Taiwan’s membership in international organizations and to look for ways to have Taiwan’s voice heard in international organizations.

It also requests the Secretary of State to report to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee by April 1, 1999 on what action the United States will take at the May 1999 World Health Organization meeting in Geneva to support Taiwan’s meaningful participation.

***Taiwan Communiqué comment:*** *While we are happy that Senator Murkowski and his colleagues took this initiative, the text still has some weaknesses: the major one is that it only talks about Taiwan’s “participation” in international organizations, and sidesteps that Taiwan has a right to be a full and equal member in the international community.*

*Another weakness is that in one section, it still refers to Taiwan as the “Republic of China on Taiwan”. This change was slipped in at the last minute by Senator Jesse Helms at the request of the TECRO office in Washington. Mr. Helms — and the Kuomintang authorities in Taiwan — should realize that clinging to this outdated name will only make it more difficult to enter international organizations. It’s clear and simple: Let Taiwan be Taiwan.*

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# Tug of War: the Story of Taiwan

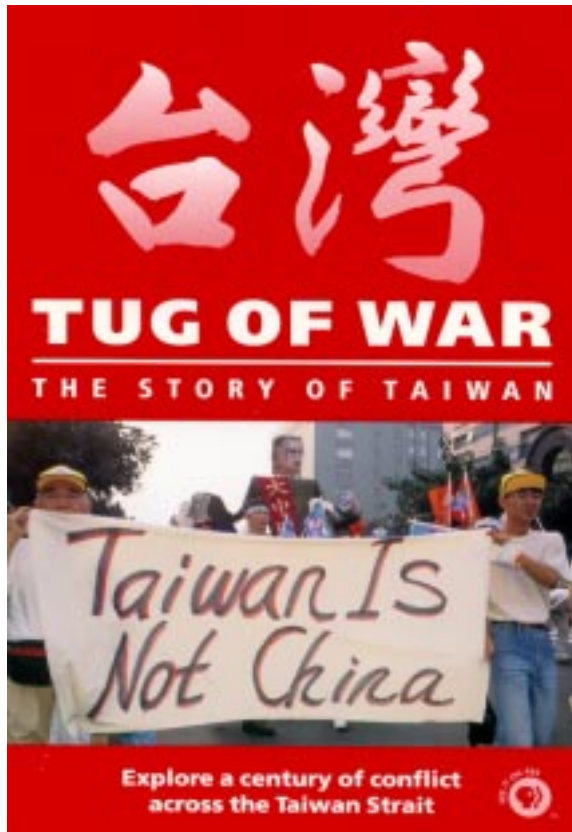
## *A critical review by Doris Chang*

The PBS documentary, “the Tug of War: the Story of Taiwan”, which was aired in December 1998, gave a concise overview of Taiwan’s history in the 20th century. It is an important contribution to the understanding of Taiwan’s history in the past century. In general it gives a balanced and objective perspective.

Having said that, we would like to point out a number of areas, where it is either inaccurate or shows omissions. While it is impossible for an 80-minute documentary to shed light on every major event in Taiwan’s 20-century experience, it is our hope that this critical review would make the over-all picture more complete.

By design, the documentary starts in 1895. Virtually the only statement about history prior to that date is that “Chinese emperors claimed the island for China.” In fact, the only real Chinese claim did not come until 1887, when the Manchu Emperor — in a futile attempt to stop the Japanese expansion towards the south — declared the island a province of China.

Before that, the Chinese claims were rather thin. In fact, Dutch historical records show that



**An important contribution to the understanding  
of Taiwan's history**



when the Dutch East India Company landed the island in 1624, there were hardly any Chinese living on the island, and there was no Chinese administrative structure at all, whatsoever.

Starting the documentary's perspective in 1895 also leads to an under-representation of the island's aboriginal heritage. Recent genetic studies in New Zealand show that Taiwan may have been the homeland of all Maori and Polynesian aboriginal groupings. We realize though that it is difficult to obtain visual / pictorial information about that period.

In the documentary's evaluation of Taiwan's colonial experience under Japan from 1895 to 1945, it suggested that Japanese colonial rule was highly regimental in that the colonial administration controlled and regulated all aspects of colonial life. Even though there is a great deal of truism in this assessment, the documentary did not counterbalance this negative reality with some of Japan's major colonial achievements in Taiwan. The only positive contribution of Japanese colonial rule that the documentary had acknowledged was that the Japanese colonizers regimented the Taiwanese populace into law-abiding citizens who did not have to worry about crimes in the society.

To be a more balanced and objective evaluation of Taiwan's colonial experience, Japanese colonial authority's achievements in building the basic infrastructure of Taiwan, such as railways, should have been mentioned in the documentary. Historians argued that Taiwan's infrastructure under Japanese colonial rule was a major factor that facilitated the rapid industrialization of Taiwan in the post-WWII era.

In addition, Taiwan's high literacy rates under Japanese colonial rule should be acknowledged. According to the estimate of Edward I-Te Chen, professor of Japanese history, around 60 percent of Taiwanese populace were literate in Japanese; about 20 percent of the populace were literate in Chinese. In other words, the vast majority of Taiwanese already enjoyed full literacy at the latter stage of Japan's colonial rule. This did not necessarily mean that the Japanese colonizers had the best interests of the Taiwanese in mind when they implemented this educational policy.

Perhaps the Japanese had the intention of training the Taiwanese to be a more productive colonial workforce for the Japanese empire. It is also true that most Taiwanese and Japanese pupils in Taiwan attended schools in racially segregated settings. Nevertheless, the achievements of Japanese colonial authority's educational policies in Taiwan should not be overlooked.

The documentary states that after the end of World War II, China and Japan “...signed an agreement returning Taiwan to China.” This is factually incorrect. The Chinese left all contacts with the Japanese to the American forces under McArthur. In fact, Taiwan was occupied by Chiang Kai-shek’s forces “on behalf of the Allied Forces” under an Executive order signed by McArthur.

In relation to this, the documentary has an important omission: it does not refer at all to the decisions at the 1951 San Francisco Peace Conference, when Japan formally ceded its sovereignty over Taiwan. It is important to note that at San Francisco *no beneficiary was named*: this was left to a future decision by the people of Taiwan, “...in accord with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.” In 1951-52, this could have only one meaning: independence.

The best source for information on this whole period is “Formosa Betrayed” by the former American diplomat George Kerr. Regrettably, the WGBH webpage article about “Tug of War” fails to mention this monumental work about Taiwan’s recent history.

George Kerr also extensively discusses the numbers of mainlanders who came over with Chiang Kai-shek. He arrives at an estimate of slightly over 1 million, and not at the 2 million mentioned in the documentary. His figure would lead to a mainlander-taiwanese ratio of about 15% versus 85%, which is about correct.

The documentary states that during the February 28th incident of 1947 “Chiang’s troops killed an estimated 10,000 people.” This is based on a very early — and very incomplete — estimate. A 1992 study commissioned the Kuomintang authorities themselves came up with a much higher figure: between 18,000 and 28,000. The study was done by a group of five scholars headed by Academia Sinica member Dr. Lai Chehan. See our *Taiwan Communiqué*, no’s 53 and 54 on the Internet for further information on this point.

Lastly, the documentary mentioned that there has been no security treaty between the governments of Taiwan and the United States since the U.S. severed her relationship with the KMT government on Taiwan. Nevertheless, the U.S. government decided to send two carrier groups to the Taiwan Strait when the Communist Chinese government threatened Taiwan with the missile tests during Taiwan’s first presidential election in 1996. While this statement is true, the documentary should have also mentioned the Taiwan Relations Act.

When the Carter Administration recognized the government of Beijing as the legitimate government of China and severed the United States' diplomatic relations with the government in Taipei in 1979, the U.S. Congress passed the Taiwan Relations Act to reaffirm the cultural and economic ties between the U.S. and Taiwan. Equally important, the Taiwan Relations Act stated that the U.S. would continue to sale arms of defensive nature to Taiwan, and Taiwan's political future should only be determined through peaceful means. If Taiwan's security were to be threatened, the U.S. President and the Congress should make decisions on the appropriate actions to take.

Based on the wording of the act, it is probable that the Taiwan Relations Act was one of the important factors that had provided the legal backing for the U.S. government to send the two carrier groups to the Taiwan Strait during China's missile tests near Taiwan.

In the final analysis, "the Tug of War: the Story of Taiwan" provides a good overview of Taiwan's history in the past century.

Hopefully, this critical review provides the audience of the documentary with a more complete overall picture of Taiwan's history.

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## Lighter (and serious) Notes

### *The wisdom of Chinese leaders*

In the discussions surrounding the status of Taiwan, one of the most-often-heard canards from the side of the Chinese and their supporters is that Taiwan was part of China "since historical times." For those who have started to believe this deception, we have some wise words from some of the historic Chinese leaders themselves:

***"Taiwan has never been a part of China."***

**Manchu Emperor Yung-Cheng in 1684**

***"...we advocate the independence of the Taiwanese nationality."***

**Dr. Sun Yat-Sen in 1925**

*“...we must restore the independence and freedom of the brethren in Korea and Taiwan...”*

**Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek in 1938**

*“...we will extend (Korea) our enthusiastic help in their struggle for independence. The same thing applies to Formosa (Taiwan).”*

**Mao Tse-Tung in 1938**

( quoted in Edgar Snow’s book “Red Star Over China”, page 110 in the Grove Press, NY edition of 1961)

These pronouncements were published in July 1992 by the Washington-based Formosan Association for Public Affairs (FAPA). The statements were based on the scholarly research of Frank S.T. Hsiao and Lawrence R. Sullivan, as published in “*Chinese Communist Party and the Status of Taiwan, 1928-1943*,” **Pacific Affairs**, 52(3), Fall 1979, pp. 446-467.

## ***Learning from history:***

### ***“anschluss” and unification***

Another important lesson from history was provided by our reader Jonathan Lin, who wrote the following:

Some people — both outside and inside of Taiwan — think China is interested in Taiwan only, and that all will be well if Taiwan is “unified” with China.

This draws me to the parallel between China today and pre-WWII Germany. In this parallel, we find that Taiwan closely resembles Austria at that time. Germany wanted to annex Austria because both countries shared ethnic and cultural ties, in the same way as the Chinese say that Taiwan is part of “Greater China.”

Sadly enough, there were some people in Austria who adhered to such views as well, and welcomed the “Anschluss.” When Nazi Germany did annex Austria in 1938, the world stood by and watched, thinking that would satisfy Germany’s appetite. The world found out how wrong they were, and paid dearly for their mistake: Czechoslovakia and Poland followed in 1939, and in May 1940, the Germans decided to invade The Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, and France.

I only hope the world can learn a lesson from the history. I especially hope that people in Taiwan will realize that when Austria joined Germany to form a bigger and more powerful nation, it did not bring any fruit to the German race; on the contrary it brought disaster to people in Austria as well.

## ***“China” Airlines***

The Kuomintang’s national airline, China Airlines, has become the subject of many jokes in Taiwan. First and foremost, because of its anachronistic name: it should adopt a more appropriate name, such as **Air Taiwan**, or **Taiwan International Airlines**.

Second, because it is still managed primarily by a number of old Kuomintang airforce generals, who don’t have a clue how to run a modern airline. We thought we ‘ld share the following story, submitted by our reader Columbus Leo:

A China Airlines plane makes a routine approach to an airport. The plane descends, descends, and finally the wheels touch the runway. However, the plane immediately bounces, and then slides into the grass field. The pilots frantically brake hard and try to keep the plane straight. The plane nearly tips over several times hitting a few more bumps and skids left, right, left, etc. Finally the plane comes to a full stop in the mud.

The passengers scream, bump their heads, and some passed out. Fortunately no one was seriously hurt. The stewardesses begin to prepare for emergency exits through the many exit doors.

The pilot says to the co-pilot “Holy mackerel, that runway was short”!! The co-pilot goes “yeh, that runway sure was short”, and then — after looking out of his side-window — adds “Hey, but why did they make it so wide?”

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## Spratly conflict heats up

During the past months, the tension in the Spratly Archipel has gradually increased. The major reason is the fact that China is building up its military fortifications, especially on the aptly-named Mischief Reef, only 150 miles from the Philippine island of Palawan. The absurdity of China's claim is illustrated by the fact that this island is more than 1,000 miles from the Chinese mainland, and some 700 miles south of Hainan Island.

The island group is located strategically near the main shipping lanes from East Asia around the Malacca peninsula. Five nations, The Philippines, Malaysia, Vietnam, Taiwan, and China lay claim to a number of islands in the archipelago. In 1988, Vietnam and China fought a major battle over Fiery Cross Reef, but the most recent tension is due to the Chinese encroachment on islands claimed by the Philippines, which started with the building of "temporary structures" in 1995.

Starting in October 1998, the Chinese began to "upgrade" the structures, and according to recent press reports, these have now been completed. The Chinese obviously intend to present the Philippines and other nations in the area with a *fait accompli* and -- if there is no strong pressure from the US and other nations -- will further increase their military presence in the area.

The Philippines has protested the moves, and even detained a number of Chinese fishermen in the area, but it lacks the military power to deter China. In the meantime, the United States have either ignored or downplayed the issue, wanting to avoid yet another friction point with China. During a recent visit to Washington, former Philippine President Fidel Ramos expressed his deep concern about the fact that the Clinton Administration was ignoring the issue, and urged the United States to offer more than vague commitments to freedom of navigation.

China's moves appear to be part of a wider campaign to maneuver itself into a position to have the capability to strangle shipping from East Asia through the Malacca Strait. The US publication **Defense News** highlighted this issue in a recent cover story ("Chinese Moves Roil Region", February 8th 1999).

According to a recent presentation in Washington by Mr. David G. Wiencek of the International Security Group, the shipments along the sealanes flanking the Spratly's account for some US\$568 billion, or 15 percent of all global cross-border trade, and some 75 percent of Japan's oil is shipped through these sealanes.

It is thus not just a matter of a local border conflict, but freedom of navigation and trade will become a major issue if China is left undeterred.



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**Taiwan Communiqué** supports a free, democratic, and independent Taiwan, and campaigns for full and equal membership of Taiwan in the international community, including a seat in the UN.

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