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# 86

## **Destructive Engagement** *China's Real Face*

The present relationship between the United States and China can perhaps best be characterized as “ambiguous engagement” or even “destructive engagement.” Mr. Clinton’s “strategic partnership” always had an “Alice-in-Wonderland” quality about it, but recent events have even put the “constructive engagement” approach in question.

The slowly-unraveling tale of campaign-funding, leakage of Hughes and Loral rocket technology and now — thanks to the bi-partisan effort of Congressman Chris Cox and his colleagues — the well-documented disaster of massive theft of nuclear weapon technology, calls for a thorough reassessment of American policy towards China.

No-one is arguing for “isolation” of China (if that would even be possible), and “engagement” with a major power in Asia is unavoidable. However, whether this is “constructive” or “destructive” engagement depends upon China’s basic attitude.

Judging from China’s behaviour over the past years, the picture is not positive:

1. China acts like a belligerent bully and a neo-imperialist towards its neighbors Taiwan, Tibet and the Philippines.
2. It manipulates its relations with the United States and Western Europe, dangling a “market access” carrot in front of gullible Western noses.



**Congressman Cox (R-CA)**

3. It throws temper tantrums when the accidental NATO bombs hit the Chinese embassy in Belgrade, but totally disregards the mass murder of tens of thousands Kosovars by Milosevic's murderous troops.
4. And now, when ample evidence is presented of Chinese spying and theft of nuclear weapon technology, it arrogantly plays innocent, and accuses Americans of everything evil under the sun.

The Chinese reaction showed China's real face and lack of responsibility. The Chinese leaders have shown they are certainly not ready for the "strategic partnership", Mr. Clinton has been talking about, as seen through his rosy-colored glasses. They aren't even ready for "constructive engagement". Just make that simply "engagement": whether it is "constructive" will depend very much on the behaviour of the Chinese leaders.

### ***The embassy bombing: Xenophobia and hysteria***

The Chinese response to the Kosovo situation is illustrative:

First, the Chinese leaders were whipping up nationalistic sentiment in China, by bussing in students, monks, and just about everyone else for staged demonstrations in front of the American Embassy. They were providing the students with sheets with slogans to shout.

In a country where even the smallest gathering is monitored by the Communist Party-controlled police and security forces, and where any demonstration is quickly broken up, one suddenly saw thousands of students marching in the street, picking up rocks and pelting the American embassy, with the hapless US ambassador holed up inside.

As was obvious from the TV pictures, the police were not doing anything to prevent the students from throwing rocks, breaking windows and damaging embassy automobiles. This is irresponsible government behaviour.

As was stated in an excellent editorial in the Washington Post: "...China's cynical manipulation of this event may have consequences that its regime does not foresee. One of those might be a clearer understanding among outsiders of the true nature of the Chinese regime" ("*China's true colors*", **Washington Post**, 11 May 1999).

Second, the government-controlled Chinese media have been misinforming the Chinese public on the events in Kosovo and Yugoslavia. Until very recently, the *intentional* slaughter, maiming and displacement of thousands of Kosovars by the murderous Serb troops went unreported in the Chinese media.

It is thus highly hypocritical of China to make such noise about the *accidental* death of three persons in the Chinese embassy in Belgrade. As was stated by Gerald Segal of the London-based International Institute for Strategic Studies: "Beijing hysterical reaction to the bombing revealed fundamental flaws in China as a great power" ("*The Balkan War has exposed the weakness of China*", **International Herald Tribune**, 26 May 1999).



**Jiang Zemin:** "*Inflaming Chinese nationalism is our specialty*"

Finally, the specter of President Clinton having to apologize some five times is a deliberate and demeaning tactic by the Chinese to make the US "kowtow." As was stated in an OpEd piece in the New York Times: "...it is America that is owed an apology. After an accident of war, we have been falsely accused of killing Chinese with malice aforethought. That is a great insult, compounded by the calculated thrashing of our embassy by a bused-in mob encouraged by police" ("*Cut the apologies*", William Safire, **New York Times**, 17 May 1999).

**Taiwan Communiqué comment:** *The United States should indeed not let itself be intimidated by the Chinese temper tantrums and hold firm: continue the effort to expel the Serbs from Kosovo by all means, and refuse the Chinese any concessions. It's time to play hardball.*

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## More on nuclear spying and missiles

### *Mr. Cox releases his report*

On Tuesday, 25 May 1999, the long-awaited report of the Select Committee headed by California Congressman Chris Cox (R-CA) was published. Mr. Cox and his Commit-

tee had finalized the original classified version of the report at the end of December 1998, but it had taken some four months of wrangling with the White House before a de-classified version could be published.

The most important conclusion of the report was that China had conducted a massive and systematic effort to steal U.S. nuclear weapon, rocket, satellite and computer technology, enabling it to leap years ahead in the modernization of its nuclear weapons and ballistic missiles. In this operation, the Chinese stole the design secrets for all seven nuclear warheads currently deployed on American missiles, including the W-88 design of the warhead on the Trident submarine missile.

The Select Committee also concluded that the Chinese had stolen design information on the W-70 warhead from Lawrence Livermore Laboratory, and that this information was used by the Chinese to develop their neutron bomb, which was tested in 1988.

The Select Committee also concluded that the technical assistance provided to the Chinese by Hughes and Loral after three failures of the Long March rocket (in 1993, 1995 and 1996) was illegally transferred. It also stated that the information significantly improved the design and reliability of both the Long March as well as present and future PRC ballistic missiles.

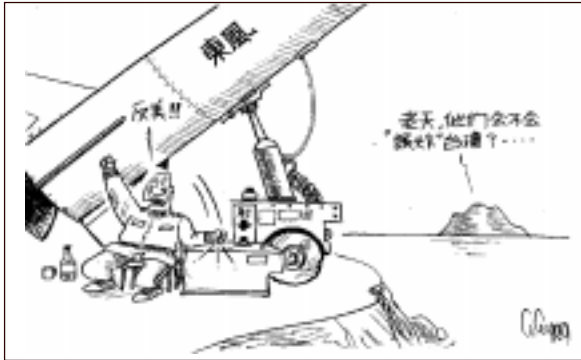
The report stated the spying is still going on at the present time, and that the Chinese use the “mosaic” method of obtaining information: a broad network of informants collect the information, which is then pieced together and analyzed. The report states that virtually every one of the 80,000 Chinese visitors to the United States each year is told to collect some kind of information. So are many of the 100,000 students and academics at American universities and research institutions, as well as the some 3,000 companies with open or concealed Chinese connections.

The approach used by China was confirmed in a recent article in the Washington Post by Mr. Paul D. Moore, who served at the FBI as chief analyst for Chinese intelligence for 20 years (“*Spies of a different stripe*”, **Washington Post**, 31 May 1999).

In the article Mr. Moore writes: “The Chinese seek to develop significant relationships with as many people as possible, in particular those of ethnic Chinese ancestry, whose thinking and value systems China’s intelligence officers understand best. They do this on a very large scale ....”

“Normally the natural “consumers” of intelligence — scientists, engineers, students, etc — are the ones who actually collect the data, not professional Chinese intelligence officers. The physical transfer of information typically takes place in China, and as a byproduct of a legitimate trip there by someone from the United States. The usual collection mechanism is simple elicitation. The visitor may be asked to give a talk to his colleagues in China, who then pepper him with questions that might induce at least a small security breach on his part.”

The full text of the Cox report is available at the website of the U.S. House of Representatives (<http://www.house.gov/coxreport/>) or at the website of the various news agencies, such as CNN, ABC, the New York Times, or the Washington Post.



**Chinese aim missiles at the USA. Comment from Taiwan: "Hope he doesn't hit us by mistake"**

The U.S. press contained a wealth of articles about the matter. We just mentioned a few which stand out in their clarity of analysis:

“The China Blind Spot”, **New York Times** editorial, 16 May 1999.

“Nuclear pickpocket”, **Washington Post** editorial, 26 May 1999.

“America’s stolen secrets”, **New York Times** editorial, 26 May 1999.

“The real China scandal”, Charles Krauthammer in the **Washington Post**, 28 May 1999.

“The China muddle”, Fred Hiatt in the **Washington Post**, 30 May 1999.

**Taiwan Communiqué comment:** *We wish to congratulate Mr. Cox and his colleagues for a job well done. They dealt with a highly complex issue in a professional and bi-partisan manner. Mr. Cox reminds us that there are still honest and principled people in the United States who dare to stick their neck out and pursue the facts, wherever they lead.*

## *The Administration's response*

While it appears that some in the Administration, such as DOE-Secretary Richardson, are making a sincere effort in cleaning up the mess, there are also signs of spin and denial. One argument heard from the Administration side is that the nuclear theft started in earlier (Republican) administrations, and that the present effort to uncover the truth is a partisan ploy. In response to this, it must first be emphasized that Congressman Cox and his Committee did their utmost to come to a bi-partisan conclusion, and they succeeded very well.

Secondly, the nuclear spying may have started under earlier administrations, but it accelerated under Mr. Clinton, and — most importantly — it was discovered in 1995-96, and the Administration failed to take appropriate action for nearly three years.

The lackadaisical response to charges of leakage of rocket technology and the theft of nuclear technology came at a time when the White House was continuously trying to trumpet its “comprehensive engagement” policy with China, which was highlighted by the invitation to President Jiang Zemin to visit the United States (October 1997), Mr. Clinton’s own visit to China in June/July 1998 and the invitation to Premier Zhu Rongji to visit Washington in April 1999.

Administration sources and unnamed “experts” have also questioned the severity of the technical losses or their contribution to the Chinese nuclear capabilities, arguing that China has not implemented the technology in its weapon or rocket arsenal.

This is a self-serving and ostrich-like argument: the Chinese did obtain the technology and will use it to their best advantage. Does one have to wait until China launches a missile at San Francisco or Seattle — or Taipei for that matter?

In addition, recent press reports indicate that the Chinese *are* installing nuclear warheads, based on technology stolen from US weapon laboratories, on their new long-range, solid-fueled Dong Feng-31 missile (**New York Times**, “*China is installing a warhead said to be based on US Secrets*”, May 14, 1999).

Also, as was emphasized in a letter to the editor by Messrs. Cox and Norm Dicks (D-WA), nuclear testing by the Chinese in 1995-96 clearly showed they had stolen design information on the W-88: they got the test of the world’s most sophisticated nuclear design right virtually immediately (**Washington Post**, “*China’s nuclear data theft*”, 31 May 1999).

Another argument from the Administration's side is that China now possesses "only" some two dozen missiles outfitted with nuclear warheads, and that the United States — with some 6,000 nuclear missiles — still has "an overwhelming nuclear superiority over China."

This argument is of little comfort to the Taiwanese, who are likely to be the first target of Chinese nuclear threats and intimidation. The fact that the Chinese nuclear weapons are now at least partially based on American design, makes it all the more essential that the United States will counter Chinese threats against a democratic Taiwan.

Finally, the argument is heard that no export restrictions should be placed on satellite and rocket technology, "...otherwise the Europeans will simply sell the same aerospace technology to the Chinese."

In response to this argument, we would emphasize that it is important for the US to distinguish between friend and foe: certainly there has been strong competition between the US and Europe in this area, but the Europeans are long-time US friends and allies, and have traditionally even been more reluctant to sell space technology to the Chinese. It was the United States which started to use the Long March for the launch of American satellites against strong objections from Europe.

In the present situation, it will certainly be feasible to come to an agreement between the U.S. and Europe to restrict the export such dual-use technology to China.

## ***“ROC-born” spy***

One aspect of the case of spying for China by Los Alamos computer-specialist Lee Wen Ho has not been highlighted yet: How could a person born and educated in Taiwan start spying for China ?

Both Mr. Lee Wen Ho and Peter Lee, the TRW scientist who reportedly channeled information about advanced radar technology being developed to track submarines to the Chinese, were born in Taiwan and are the product of the educational system of the Kuomintang.

That they could start spying for China, is primarily due to the Kuomintang's mistaken policies of telling the people of Taiwan that they are "Chinese." Until very recently, students in schools and colleges in Taiwan only studied Chinese history and geography and never learned anything about Taiwan itself.

***Taiwan Communiqué comment:*** *This type of brainwashing, which has gone on for more than four decades, should end immediately. The government of Taiwan should discard its “Republic of China” syndrome, and take major steps to let the people of Taiwan be proud that they are Taiwanese, and live in a free, democratic and independent Taiwan.*

*Only if Taiwan identifies itself internationally as “Taiwan” will it be possible to break the diplomatic isolation, and will Taiwan be accepted as a full and equal member in the international community.*

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## **Zhu Rongji came to DC**

### ***No human rights, no agreement on WTO access***

At the beginning of April 1999, the Clinton Administration invited Chinese Premier Zhu Rongji for a visit to Washington. The visit came at a time of rising tension because of the revelations of Chinese spying at US nuclear labs, the Chinese buildup of missiles along the coast facing Taiwan, and continuing repression in Tibet.

Instead of trying to tackle these important issues, Mr. Clinton focused on trying to bring about an agreement on China’s entry into the World Trade Organization. However, at the last minute, fearing a barrage of criticism from Congress, he backed off, and decided to defer a final agreement to later this year.

According to press reports, Mr. Zhu was unwilling to engage in any serious discussion about human rights, despite promises to do so.

### ***Analogy with US Civil War ?***

Mr. Zhu also made a colossal blunder during a press conference on 8 April 1999, when he compared China’s policy vis-à-vis Taiwan to US president Abraham Lincoln’s decision to fight the American Civil War.

To his credit, President Clinton responded that the situation between Taiwan and China over the past 50 years are quite different from the facts leading up to the American Civil War.



***Taiwan Communiqué comment:*** Mr. Zhu's comparison is indeed totally erroneous. Taiwan was never part of China's Civil War, but became a victim of it, when the defeated Chinese Nationalists of Chiang Kai-shek occupied the island after World War II, and established their repressive rule, which lasted until the late 1980s.

*Taiwan was also never part of the People's Republic of China, not even for one day. Until the end of World War II it was a colony of Japan, and should thus — like all other colonized countries in Africa and Asia — have gained its independence during the late 1940s or early 1950s.*

*It is important for a proper understanding of the Taiwan-China situation to distinguish between the old ROC Kuomintang — with which the Chinese Communists had their Civil War — and the new and democratic Taiwan, which wants to live in peace with all its neighbors, including China.*

## ***Rally against Mr. Zhu***

On Thursday, 8 April 1999, the Tibetan, Taiwanese, and human rights communities held back-to-back rallies against Mr. Zhu at Lafayette Park, in front of the White House. The Tibetan community and Amnesty International led off at 10:00 am with speeches, cheers, and prayers.

At around 11:30 the crowd wound its way to Pennsylvania Avenue, just in front of the White House, and cheered: "China out of Tibet", "Human Rights in China", and "Taiwan Independence."

This was followed by a Taiwanese-led rally with speakers from the Taiwanese-American Community, but also guest-speakers from the Tibetans, East Turkestan and Mongolia. The rally was kicked off by Nora Tsay, secretary-general of the Taiwanese Association of America, and attended by some 500 Taiwanese-Americans from as far away as Kansas, Florida, Boston, New York, and New Jersey.

An important statement titled "Let Taiwan be Taiwan" was read by FAPA president Wen-yen Chen on behalf of the Coalition for Taiwan Sovereignty. The president



**Prof. Wen-yen Chen :** "*Let Taiwan be Taiwan*"

of the Formosan Association for Human Rights, David Hung, read a proclamation, titled “Human Rights for All” from FAHR.

At around 1:30 p.m., the Taiwanese-American group moved up to the Chinese Embassy at Connecticut Ave, where they continued until around 4:00 p.m. with speeches and cheers, such as “China, Hands off Taiwan”, “Recognize Taiwan”, and “Stop Chinese Missiles.”



**In front of the Chinese embassy: Sending a message**

The day was completed with a vigil at the Chinese Embassy by the Tibetan Community, while a reception was being held for Premier Zhu.

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## 20 years Taiwan Relations Act

In April 1999, it was 20 years since the Taiwan Relations Act was enacted. Taiwanese-Americans appreciate the role this US law has played in the developments in our homeland.

Because of its clause on human rights, in the early 1980s it was a basic reference for those in Congress, in the Taiwanese-American community and in Taiwan itself, who pushed for human rights and democracy. This resulted in the end of Martial Law in 1987, and in the subsequent blossoming of democracy. The TRA was a helpful tool in achieving those results.

It also contains important clauses on determination of Taiwan’s future by peaceful means, peace and security of the Western Pacific area, provision of defensive arms to Taiwan, and maintenance of US capacity to resist any resort to force or other forms of

coercion that would jeopardize the security, or the social or economic system of the people on Taiwan. These have been very helpful in safeguarding Taiwan's security against China's threats, as we witnessed in March 1996 during the Chinese missile crisis.

## *The TRA falls short*

Still, we argue that the TRA falls far short in three areas:

1. It does not provide a framework for the US to deal with a fully democratic Taiwan. Indeed, it has become a hindrance, in that US officials generally hide behind the TRA, saying it provides for "unofficial" relations with Taiwan.

The language in the TRA referring to human rights ("...the preservation and enhancement of the human rights of all the people on Taiwan are hereby reaffirmed as objectives of the United States") falls short of endorsing that the people of Taiwan have the right to determine their own future under the principle of self-determination, as laid down in the Charter of the UN.

2. The TRA also falls far short in helping Taiwan's membership in international organizations. The language of the TRA states: "Nothing in this Act may be construed as a basis for supporting the exclusion or expulsion of Taiwan from membership in any international financial institution or any other international organization."

This language may not directly endorse Taiwan's membership in international organizations, but it does state US policy as specifically opposing exclusion or expulsion of Taiwan.

In spite of this, the successive administrations have done very little to ensure that Taiwan's voice in international organizations is heard. The best the Clinton Administration has been able to come up with is that Taiwan's application for membership in the World Trade Organization should be considered on its own merit, and not linked to China's application.

Taiwan's efforts to become a member of other organizations have faltered and languished to a large part due to the lack of resolve of The Clinton Administration and its predecessors. Indeed, the Clinton Administration took a step backwards in

its Taiwan Policy Review in September 1994, when it added the qualification that it would only support Taiwan's membership in organizations "...where statehood is not a requirement." This qualification was totally new: it cannot be found anywhere in the Taiwan Relations Act, nor in any other previous document.

3. The third area where it falls short is in the area of safety and security. Over the past years, the United States had become more aware of the Chinese threats to Taiwan, especially since the 1995-96 Chinese missile crisis, and has become more flexible in granting permission for the sale of defensive equipment.

However, as has now been well-documented in the Cox report, the United States has also become the prime source of nuclear and rocket technology that China can use in its threats against Taiwan. The safety and security of Taiwan has thus certainly not improved, but rather deteriorated.

## *Resolutions sail through Congress*

Congress marked the 20th anniversary of the Taiwan Relations Act with the adoption of two resolutions, one in the House (H.Con.Res 56) and one in the Senate (S.Con.Res. 17). The two similar sounding resolutions emphasized the close ties between the United States and Taiwan, and praised the Taiwan Relations Act for its contribution to peace, security and stability in the Taiwan Strait.

The resolutions also expressed the grave concern of Congress about China's military modernization and weapons procurement program, especially the ballistic missile capability, and urged to Clinton Administration to seek from China's leaders a renunciation of any use of force in resolving the problem across the Taiwan Strait.

The resolutions also asked the Clinton Administration to report annually to Congress on the military balance across the Taiwan Strait, and to be informed of request for weapon purchases from Taiwan.

The resolutions expressed their support for a further dialogue between Taiwan and China, and urged the Clinton Administration to support Taiwan's admission to the WTO on its own merits.

House Resolution 56 was approved by a 429-1 vote in the US House of Representatives on 23 March 1999, while Senate Resolution 17 was approved unanimously by the full Senate on 12 April 1999.

## *“Out-of-the-box” thinking*

The 20th anniversary of the TRA was also marked in Washington by a whole series of events. At one of the events, an interesting statement was made by Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, Mr. Stanley Roth. In a presentation on 24 March 1999 at the Woodrow Wilson Center, Mr. Roth referred to the talks between Taiwan and China and argued for “out-of-the-box” thinking, i.e. less emphasis on old ideas, and more flexibility.

Of course the main institution that requires some “out-of-the-box” thinking is the State Department itself. It has been mired in the anachronistic “One-China” policy of the 1970s, while the situation in Taiwan has drastically changed, and State has failed to keep up. There are even some State Department officials who maintain that Taiwan is not a nation-state, and who argue that Taiwan could only join international organizations “...that do not require statehood.”

*Taiwan Communiqué comment: If the Department of State continues to dig itself into a trench with such fallacies, it will find it difficult to extract itself from these untenable positions. We must remind State that the “crisis” surrounding President Lee’s visit to Cornell in 1995 was to a large part caused by the fact that State had maintained for so long that Mr. Lee would not be granted a visa .... only to be overruled by the White House after unanimous votes in Congress.*

*It would thus be wise for Mr. Roth to come “out-of-the-box” himself, and to plan a strategy for the US to support Taiwan’s acceptance by the international community as a full and equal member.*

As was stated in an excellent recent editorial-page article in the **Washington Post** by Mr. Fred Hiatt (“*The China Muddle*”, 30 May 1999), the rationale of the U.S. China policy used to be to provide a counter-balance to the Soviet Union. However, when the Soviet Union collapsed (and the rationale disappeared), the policy just kept going — out of habit. Mr. Hiatt argues that the US should stop slighting the democracies of Asia for fear of offending the Beijing regime, and start sorting out where its real interests lie.

# White paper on Taiwan's Safety and Security

On 19 May 1999, nineteen organizations, representing the overseas Taiwanese community in Canada, Europe, and the United States, issued a White Paper on Taiwan's Safety and Security.



This paper discusses how the safety and security of Taiwan affects peace and stability in all of East Asia. The Paper first gives a brief historical background, and then presents an overview of the Chinese military threat and Taiwan's defensive capabilities.

The Paper reiterates the appeal to the world community, that the overseas Taiwanese community and the people in Taiwan want their island-nation to be accepted by the international family of nations as a full and equal member.

The Paper is based on the premise that peaceful coexistence between Taiwan and China as two friendly neighboring states is the only way in which peace and stability in East Asia can be guaranteed, and urges China to renounce the use of force. It is intended to signal that the people of Taiwan want peace and stability, but are determined to defend themselves when threatened.

It makes a number of policy recommendations, aimed at strengthening Taiwan's defensive capabilities. It suggests that — in view of China's fast-expanding missile threat — the United States and Japan must make it crystal clear that Taiwan is included in the proposed East Asia Theater Missile Defense system.

It also recommends that Taiwan expands its anti-submarine warfare capabilities, in order to constitute a credible deterrent against China's massive submarine force, and that its air-to-air armaments and avionics be upgraded.

The Paper is the second in a series. The previous one, titled "*White paper regarding Taiwan and its Future*" was issued in November 1998. Through these White Papers, the overseas Taiwanese want to promote a better understanding in North America and

Europe of their homeland Taiwan, and to gain support for acceptance of Taiwan as a full and equal member in the international community.

The full text of the White Paper can be accessed in HTML-format or downloaded in Acrobat PDF-format from the “**Taiwan, Ilha Formosa**” website at <http://www.taiwandc.org>.

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## DPP adopts Resolution on Taiwan’s Future

Taiwan’s opposition Democratic Progressive Party held an important Party Congress on 7-8 May 1999 in the southern port-city of Kaohsiung. The DPP Party convention overwhelmingly passed a ***Resolution on Taiwan’s Future***, by a vote of 233 to 21. The resolution emphasizes that Taiwan is a sovereign and independent country, and that any change in its status must be decided by the people on the island by means of a referendum.

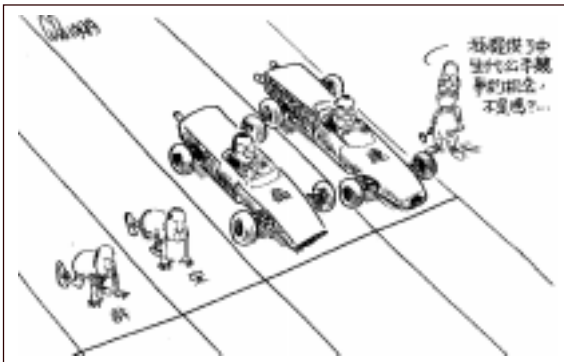
It rejects the PRC’s claims to the island, and its “One China” and “One Country, Two Systems” as fundamentally inappropriate for Taiwan. It urges the Kuomintang authorities to renounce the outdated “One China” position, in order to avoid international confusion, and it urges a bipartisan consensus between the ruling Kuomintang and the democratic opposition on foreign policy, “to face China’s aggression and ambition.” And finally, it urges a comprehensive dialogue with China, “...to seek mutual understanding and economic cooperation” in order to “...build a framework for long-term stability and peace.”

In an explanation following the seven points of the main proclamation, the DPP Congress gives a further elaboration of its position, emphasizing that Taiwan is a sovereign independent country.

The explanation contains a controversial clause, stating that “...Taiwan, although named the Republic of China under its current Constitution, is not subject to the jurisdiction of the People’s Republic of China.” While the DPP supporters wholeheartedly agree with the second part of this clause, the first part became a topic of hot debate, because some read in it an acceptance of the name “Republic of China”, which is anathema to many supporters of the DPP, and a throwback to the four decades of KMT repression and Martial Law.

Another action of the Convention was to pave the way for former Taipei mayor Chen Shui-bian to run in the 2000 presidential elections by approving temporary changes to DPP-party rules which would have prevented him from taking part in polls.

“The DPP has to get ready for 2000,” DPP secretary-general Yu Hsi-kun told reporters at the end of a two-day party congress. He praised the new rules, which require endorsement of 161 out of the 200-member electoral college. “By the time of the party congress, there was a consensus that the charismatic Chen is just the right presidential candidate for the DPP,” DPP legislator Yen Chin-fu said. At the end of May 1999, Mr. Chen was endorsed by 168 out of 199 DPP party and public officials. He accepted the recommendation and will be formally nominated by the DPP as its presidential candidate at a Party meeting in July.



**Four candidates readying themselves for the presidential race**

The endorsement of Mr. Chen Shui-bian by the Party Congress ends a bitter intra-party struggle with former DPP-chairperson Hsu Hsin-liang, who also wanted to be nominated. Mr. Hsu left the Party on Friday, May 7th, and intends to run as an independent. In opinion polls he received less than one percent support.

Political analysts in Taiwan expect Vice President Lien Chan, aided by the patronage of President Lee Teng-hui, to be nominated by the ruling Kuomintang for next year's race.

Former Taiwan provincial governor James Soong, once a supporter President Lee Teng-hui, is expected to run in the elections as an independent candidate. His ties with President Lee turned sour when the authorities decided to downsize the anachronistic “provincial government” last year.



# In memory Cheng Nan-jung

Ten years ago, in the early hours of the morning of Friday, 7 April 1989, a major opposition journalist in Taiwan died. Mr. Cheng Nan-jung, publisher and chief-editor of **Freedom Era Weekly**, set himself on fire rather than be arrested by police, who had cordoned off his office, and who were forcing their way into the office to arrest him on “sedition” charges for publishing a draft-Constitution for a new, democratic and independent Taiwan.

Mr. Cheng had been at the forefront of the democratic movement in Taiwan. In May 1986 he organized the first “Green Ribbon” demonstration against Martial Law, which was still in force in Taiwan. The “Green Ribbon” campaign would last through the summer of 1986, and would eventually lead to the establishment of the opposition DPP-party on 28 September 1986, and to the lifting of Martial Law in July 1987.

Mr. Cheng was born in Taipei in 1947. he was actually half Taiwanese, half mainlander: his father came from Fukien, while his mother was native Taiwanese from Keelung.



**Cheng Nan-jung**

Mr. Cheng majored in philosophy at National Taiwan University, and during his college days was already an innovative entrepreneur. In 1984 he started publishing his **Freedom Era Weekly** Magazine, which became a leading magazine in the budding democratic opposition movement.

It also became a lightning rod for the Kuomintang’s secret police, which started to censor and confiscate the magazine. Until the time of Mr. Cheng’s death, Freedom Era Weekly had published 270 issues. It was the only opposition publication to have succeeded in publishing continuously, in spite of heavy censorship by the Kuomintang authorities. Before the end of Martial Law in July 1987, some 95% of the individual issues published by Mr. Cheng were banned or confiscated by the secret police.

Still, Mr. Cheng never lost a beat, and the following week a new issue would find its way to the readers again. For this, Mr. Cheng did not make use of the postal system or the bookstall along the streets (where the magazines were very susceptible to

confiscation), but a private distribution system. he also had 17 magazine titles registered, so that each time the authorities suspended a title for a year, he would continue with the next title as if it were a spare tire.

Mr. Cheng is survived by his wife Yeh Chu-lan, who is presently a prominent DPP-member of the Legislative Yuan, and his daughter Chu-mei.

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## **Hunger Strike for a Plebiscite**

On Tuesday, 20 April 1999, an 11-day-old hunger strike by some 24 prominent members of the democratic opposition in Taiwan came to an end. The fast started on Saturday, 10 April 1999, and had as its purpose to put pressure on the ruling Kuomintang to allow passage of a Bill in the Legislative Yuan, providing for a referendum on major national issues, such as Taiwan's future.

On the opening day, about 1,000 people marched through Taipei to show support for the hunger strike, according to the Taiwan Association of University Professors, which organized the march. "The issue of Taiwan's national status and controversy over major public policies such as building nuclear power plants need to be resolved by referendum," the association said in a statement. The cheering protesters marched past the President's Office. The two-hour demonstration ended peacefully.

Participants read a statement and sang songs before starting the hunger strike in front of the Legislative Yuan building. They include DPP lawmakers Shen Fu-hsiung, Tsai Ming-hsien and Chang Chun-hsiung, Taiwan Independence Party chairman Hsu Shih-kai and former chairman professor Lee Cheng-yuan and a number of overseas independence leaders, such as World Federation of Taiwanese Associations president James Lee, and World United Formosans for Independence-USA President Ko Sebo.

The hunger strikers succeeded in calling attention to the failure of the ruling Kuomintang to enact such a bill since its first reading on March 16, 1994. Their effort received wide attention in Taiwan and was reported by the London-based BBC.

"The KMT did not guarantee the passage of a plebiscite law in the parliament, and we should have persisted," said a statement released by the Taiwan Plebiscite Action

Committee. “But we’re afraid that if we continued with the fast someone will die.”

Three participants were forced to drop out due to physical weakness. Dozens of supporters of the referendum, including parliamentarians from the pro-independence Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) and college students took part in the hunger strike.

As a concession to end the hunger strike, the majority KMT allowed debate on the plebiscite in the legislature, but indicated it did not want passage of the bill.

The bill allowing the holding of referendums on national issues ranging from nuclear power plants to Taiwan’s future, proposed by DPP legislator Trong Chai, passed its first reading in parliament in March 1994 but was blocked by the KMT.



**Leading opposition members on hunger strike**

The plebiscite bill was discussed again in the Legislative Yuan on Tuesday, 20 April 1999, and will be pursued at a later date, when the members of the Legislative Yuan participating in the hunger strike will have recuperated.

The campaign organizers said that they had to call off the hunger strike for the sake of the 23 strikers’ lives, but stressed that their determination and resolve has not softened. In a joint statement, they reiterated the need for a plebiscite law to ensure the right of the people of Taiwan to self-determination, and said they will take further action in the future to achieve their end.

Legislator Trong Chai from the opposition Democratic Progressive Party, who coordinated the hunger strike, said at the beginning of the fast on 10 April 1999 that they are convinced “a plebiscite can be the best solution to problem of Taiwan’s sovereignty,” and would give the people of Taiwan a voice in major policy decisions in the country.

In an opinion poll conducted in mid-May 1999 by the Cultural and Educational Foundation in Taipei, 55 percent supported the proposal to add a referendum to Taiwan's Constitution, while only 17 percent opposed the idea.

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# **Report from Washington**

## ***The Taiwan Security Enhancement Act***

On 18 May 1999, a bi-partisan group of members of the U.S. House of Representatives, including Majority Whip Tom Delay (R-TX), Christopher Cox (R-CA), Peter Deutsch (D-FL), Robert Andrews (D-NJ) and Nita Lowey (D-NY) introduced H.R-1838.

It is the House-version of the Taiwan Security Enhancement Act, which was introduced in the U.S. Senate on 24 March 1999 by Senators Robert Torricelli (D-NJ) and Jesse Helms (R-NC). The Act is a major piece of legislation, which proposes a number of specific measures to safeguard Taiwan's security against any military threat by China.

It emphasizes that Taiwan has undergone a major political transformation, and states that Taiwan today is a true multi-party democracy. It also emphasizes that the US has not adopted any formal position as to the ultimate status of Taiwan, other than to state that this status must be decided by peaceful means. It also states that the determination of the ultimate status must have the express consent of the people of Taiwan.

The Act specifies a broad array of defensive articles, which should be authorized for sale to Taiwan, including missile defense systems, satellite early warning data, diesel-powered submarines, naval anti-missile systems including Aegis destroyers, and advanced air-to-air missiles.

It also authorizes an increase of staff at the American Institute in Taiwan, specifically for military liaison purposes, and requires the Administration to report to Congress annually on requests of defense equipment from Taiwan and to justify any rejections.

The Act also provides for increased military exchanges and communication between US and Taiwan military at all levels, and for joint training exercises.

## *Taiwan into the World Health Organization*

During the past months, further efforts were made in the campaign to get Taiwan represented in the World Health Organization. Prominent in this campaign was U.S. Congressman Sherrod Brown (D-OH), who last year introduced a Sense of Congress resolution in the House in support of Taiwan's membership in the WHO.

In October 1998, the US House of Representatives overwhelmingly approved the resolution, H.CON.RES. 334, by a vote of 418 to 0. Rep. Brown said that the deadly enterovirus epidemic that killed scores of Taiwan children last summer further illustrated the importance of Taiwan's membership in the WHO. "Denying Taiwan the knowledge and expertise of the World Health Organization is a fundamental violation of its human rights," he said.

In mid-May 1999, Congressman Brown introduced another resolution, H.R. 1794, which urges Taiwan's membership in the World Health Organization (WHO) and requires Secretary of State Madeleine Albright to report to the Congress, not later than 21 September 1999, on the efforts of the Secretary to fulfill the commitment made in the 1994 Taiwan Policy Review to more actively support Taiwan's participation in international organizations, in particular the World Health Organization (WHO).

On 17 May 1999, the issue of Taiwan's membership in the WHO was brought up at a meeting of the WHO steering committee in Geneva by five nations, the Solomon Islands, Liberia, St. Vincent and Grenadines, Senegal and Honduras. However, under pressure from the Beijing regime, the WHO steering committee did not adopt the proposal.

At the General Assembly of the WHO Congress itself, two other nations — Nicaragua and Dominica — questioned the steering committee's decision not to list Taiwan's application on the annual WHO congress' agenda.

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## Notes

### *President Lee's book: perpetuating confusion*

Recently, President Lee Teng-hui published a new book. At this point we can only judge it from the news reports from Taiwan, and certainly would be interested in reading it.

On the one hand, the book seems to take a tough stand against China, which is good. Mr. Lee is quoted as saying: “Taiwan’s democracy and its economic achievement were the sole efforts of Taiwanese,” Lee writes. “The Chinese Communists have made no contributions, and of course have no right to make any claims on Taiwan.” This is an improvement over his earlier claims that the 1996 elections were the first “democratic election of a president in China’s 5000 years of history.”

However, Mr. Lee becomes confusing when he calls on Chinese leaders to “give autonomy” to Taiwan, Tibet, Xinjiang, Mongolia and a separate northeast region. What is Taiwan doing in this list? We thought Mr. Lee had earlier emphasized that Taiwan has an “independent sovereignty.” Isn’t it a bit inconsistent to ask China to “give” it autonomy ???

It appears that Mr. Lee’s book was “edited”: the book was originally written in Japanese, and there are several discrepancies between the Japanese version and the Chinese version.

The most notably is that there is **no** reference of Taiwan as a part of China in the original Japanese version. It says only “As Taiwan establishes(d) its own identity, so could Tibet, Xinjiang, Mongolia, and Manchuria ...” In the Chinese version this became “China should let Taiwan, Tibet, Xinjiang, Mongolia, Manchuria, etc. develop into seven autonomous regions ....”

Another important discrepancy is that a phrase in the original Japanese version “**Many** people in Taiwan vow for establishing Republic of Taiwan ...” is changed into “**Some** people in Taiwan ...” Apparently, Mr. Lee’s handlers censored the book before it was published in the Chinese-language version.

Mr. Lee is also confusing when he reportedly writes that “there is no need for Taiwan to declare independence from China. A formal declaration along with the adoption of a new name would endanger Taiwan’s de facto independence”.

Mr. Lee apparently fails to see that it is the Kuomintang’s perpetuation of the claim to be the so-called “Republic of China” which is confusing and perpetuating Taiwan’s international isolation and its lack of diplomatic recognition. Only when the government on Taiwan discards the outdated “ROC” title and presents itself internationally as “Taiwan” will it be possible to expand international recognition and work for membership in international organizations.

## *Mr. Carter in Taiwan*

At the end of March 1999, former US president Jimmy Carter visited Taiwan. We briefly discuss his visit here, because he left with a number of misconceptions, which need to be cleared up. In a speech in Taipei, Mr. Carter defended his 1979 decision to de-recognize the Kuomintang regime, and said that it had contributed to the development of democracy in Taiwan. Mr. Carter also claimed credit for writing the Taiwan Relations Act, which was passed by Congress in April 1979. It is generally known that Congress wrote the TRA after it received a vague and inadequate draft from the Carter Administration.

***Taiwan Communiqué comment:*** *while democratization in Taiwan indeed started in the early 1980s, there is no causal link between Mr. Carter's de-recognition and the birth of democracy on the island. Democratization was primarily due to the persistent efforts of the people in the "tangwai" (outside-the-party) movement, the predecessor of the present-day DPP.*

*Democratization in Taiwan was aided to a considerable extent by the tireless efforts of four members of the US Congress and their staff: Senators Claiborne Pell (D-RI), Edward Kennedy (D-MA) and Congressmen Jim Leach (R-IA) and Stephen Solarz (D-NY). If Mr. Carter wishes to give credit to anyone on the American side, these are the people who should be recognized.*

*Going back to the de-recognition decision: it could be argued that Mr. Carter's decision to recognize the Beijing's PRC regime instead of the Kuomintang's ROC regime may have solved a short-term problem in the late 1970s, but sowed the seeds for a much more difficult long-term problem in the late 1990s: how to bring about recognition of a new and democratic Taiwan.*

*Perhaps Mr. Carter should have held out for dual recognition, and should have brought stronger pressure to bear on the Kuomintang authorities to respect the basic principles of human rights and democracy. In the late 1970s, there were still thousands of political prisoners in Taiwan, but there was nary a word from the Carter Administration.*

*We thus suggest that we might have had even earlier democratization in Taiwan, and we might have had dual recognition with Taiwan and China, and a peaceful coexistence between those two nations, instead of the coming conflict with China (apologies to Messrs. Bernstein and Munro).*

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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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