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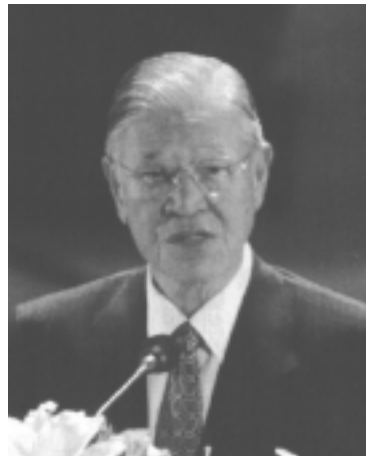
“Nation-to-nation” relations

President Lee states the obvious

In an interview with German *Deutsche Welle* radio on Friday 9 July 1999, Taiwan’s President Lee Teng-hui defined the island’s relations with China as “nation-to-nation relations.” While the fact that Taiwan and China are two distinct nations has been obvious to most keen observers for some time, it evoked xenophobic and hysteric reactions from China, which threatened Taiwan with military attack, and lambasted Mr. Lee for everything evil under the sun.

While China’s temper tantrums were to be expected, the American reaction was a mixture of confusion and a reiteration of the now-demised “One China” concept. In addition, Clinton Administration officials from Mrs. Albright on down berated Mr. Lee in terms varying from “unhelpful” to unprintable. Mr. Clinton should of course realize that he himself was the cause of Taiwan’s anxiety, when he started his slide towards Beijing with his “Three No” pronouncements in Shanghai in July 1998.

The Clinton tilt towards Beijing is exemplified even further by the fact that during the past three years, the dictatorial rulers from Beijing have been red-carpeted and feted at the White House several times. Meanwhile, the democratically-elected President of Taiwan can’t even set foot in the United States without causing a major ruckus. Doesn’t this strike anyone as odd ?



President Lee: “Nation-to-nation”

Mr. Clinton would do well to redress the situation, and come up with a real policy, which treats democratic Taiwan at least as well as communist China. This new policy should also enunciate that the people of Taiwan have the right to determine their own future, and state clearly that Taiwan should be accepted as a full and equal member of the international family of nations.

Anything less would be a betrayal of the basic democratic principles on which the US was founded, and would place Mr. Clinton on the wrong side of history.

China's xenophobia and hysteria

Right after President Lee's remarks, the Chinese authorities started a xenophobic and hysteric campaign against Taiwan, and against Mr. Lee in particular. Chinese official spokesmen accused Taiwan of steering towards a "monumental disaster", and let a plethora of insulting remarks rain down on Mr. Lee.

In addition, a few days after mid-July, China announced it had developed the neutron bomb ("*Is China waving the bomb at Taiwan?*", **New York Times**, 16 July 1999), and on 2 August 1999, it announced it had tested a long-range Dong-fang 31 long-range ballistic missile, aimed at deterring the United States.

Soon, China also spread rumors about military exercises and submarine deployment through the Hong Kong press intended to intimidate Taiwan. By mid-August reports of a planned military attack on some of the Taiwan-held islands were starting to circulate, presumably to take place soon after the 1st October 1999 celebrations of the 50th anniversary of the establishment of the PRC.

However, a different picture emerges from talking to people on the street in China. In a report filed from Beijing on 2 August 1999, **Associated Press** reported that concerns over national sovereignty are for some Chinese overshadowed by problems closer to home, notably China's slowing economic growth and layoffs at bankrupt state factories that are shedding millions of workers. Some quotes:

"Of course we're concerned but we can't get too concerned," said a medicine factory worker who would give only her surname, Zhao. "We've got to watch out for ourselves — layoffs, trying to find work, getting our kid to school."

The government says it wants Taiwan to peacefully reunite with the mainland, along the same lines as Hong Kong, the former British colony that has largely run

itself since it reverted to Chinese sovereignty in 1997.

But some Chinese question whether Taiwanese would want to give up their separate status. "They are very happy," said Ma, the engineer who was preparing to take a cooling dip in a Beijing lake.

Others point to the wide gap between Taiwan, with its strong economy and feisty democracy, and China, with its one-party rule and still widespread poverty, as an obstacle to reunification.

"We have a lot of respect for Taiwan people. Taiwan people are polite and well-educated, not like us Chinese," said a woman who makes her living giving head and shoulder massages in a Beijing park.

"Taiwan has developed well," said the woman, who identified herself as Mrs. Jiang. "We're not qualified to get it back."

Who is "provocative"?

After Taiwan President Lee Teng-hui's statement to *Deutsche Welle*, there were some commentaries in the American press and by some US academics (see below) that Mr. Lee's statements were "provocative."

To the contrary: President Lee simply stated the clear and basic fact that Taiwan and China are two distinct nations, and that they should live in peace next to each other. As the **Boston Herald** said in an editorial on 14 July 1999: "*There is nothing provocative in a recognition of reality.*" Some more "sound-bites" from President Lee's interview:

"In the face of cross-strait developments, we will continue to prudently advance cross-strait exchanges and actively promote dialogue and consultations."

"We believe that consolidating mutual trust through exchanges and fostering stable relations through mutual trust is the most effective way to resolve a crisis."

"All issues between the two sides of the Strait should be resolved by peaceful means."

"Our hope is that both sides will achieve beneficial interaction through exchanges and consultations, promote bilateral relations and thus ensure the security and peace of both sides and the region."

On the other hand, we see that China has let a rain of insulting remarks come down on Mr. Lee, has tested a long-range missile, has announced it has developed the neutron bomb, has spread rumors through the Hong Kong press intended to intimidate Taiwan, and is reportedly planning a military attack on some of the Taiwan-held islands.

We leave it to our readers to decide who is rational and reasonable, and who is “provocative” in this case.

Discarding “One China”

Ending a fiction

President Lee Teng-hui’s statement means that the “One China” concept is history. In the following paragraphs we trace the concept from its origin in the Shanghai Communiqué of 1971, and show how it grew into a monstrous concoction, which was starting to threaten the future of Taiwan as a free and democratic nation.

An examination of the various interpretations of the “One China” policy shows that there were actually four “One China” policies:

1. The policy as it was originally formulated in 1971-72, when the authorities in Beijing were accepted as the representatives of China in the UN - taking the seat held until that time by the Kuomintang regime. At that time, both the Beijing regime and Chiang Kai-shek’s Nationalists considered themselves the rightful rulers of all of China.

The US and other nations at that time thus *acknowledged* (=took note of) the Chinese position that there was but one China, and that the regime in Beijing considered Taiwan part of their China. This “acknowledgement” was never meant to be a permanent policy, but was intended to be a temporary holding position. It was hoped that time would somehow solve the issue.

2. A second “One China” policy is the one which evolved in the minds of some American academics and policymakers over the past 25 years: the original “acknowledged” became fuzzy, and — in a peculiar definition-creep — came to mean “accepted” or “recognized.” This second – degenerated — “One China” policy is much closer to the PRC-position than the original one.

3. The third "One China" policy is the one taken by the PRC-authorities in Beijing themselves: this one bases itself on the mistaken fiction that historically Taiwan is somehow an integral part of China. In fact Taiwan has never been part of the PRC, but was a Japan-held territory, occupied after World War II by the losing side in China's Civil War. According to this distorted PRC view, the issue of Taiwan's future is an "internal, domestic" Chinese matter, and that other nations should stay out of it.
4. The fourth "One China" policy was the one promoted by the Kuomintang authorities in Taiwan until recently, which maintained that there is "One China", but that within this "One China" there are two equal political states, the PRC and their ROC. This policy boils down to a "Two China" policy.



The U.S. knocking President Lee over the head, while James Soong hits him on his toes

Mr. Lee's statement thus means that "Chinese on either side" no

longer agree. In essence, the conclusion is that the people in Taiwan consider the "One China" policy outdated and no longer valid. This present-day reality should lead to a reassessment of US policy. As we have emphasized before, present US policy towards Taiwan — as well as the policies of other Western nations — is ambiguous and confusing, and doesn't reflect the growth of Taiwan into a full-fledged democracy.

The U.S. should thus adopt a "One China, One Taiwan" policy. This one recognizing the reality that Taiwan and China are two separate nations, which can coexist as two friendly neighbors without claiming sovereignty over each other. In this policy, the PRC is recognized as being the sole China, and Taiwan is accepted by the international community as a full, equal and independent member of the family of nations.

We believe strongly that a "One Taiwan, One China" policy is the only realistic, rational and reasonable one. It would mean that both the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communists declare an end to their Civil War, and that the 22 million people of Taiwan are finally welcomed by the international community as a free, democratic, and independent nation.

Needed: “Out-of-the-box thinking”

The abovementioned reassessment of US policy towards China and Taiwan requires some “out-of-the-box” thinking at the State Department and the White House. These two institutions have boxed themselves into a “One China” corner.

It would be helpful if American policymakers and academics, instead of clinging to the “One China” fiction, would help convince the Chinese leadership that it is in China’s own interest if they would accept peaceful coexistence with Taiwan as a friendly neighbor, instead of perpetuating an old Civil War. The Chinese should learn to distinguish between their old enemies (the former Kuomintang) and their possible new friends and neighbors (the Taiwanese).

Coming to terms with the reality of a new and independent Taiwan would bring stability and new prosperity to East Asia. It would enhance trade, cultural and social exchanges between Taiwan and the coastal provinces of China, and would remove an old sore point, which most people on both sides have already long forgotten.

China can thus come to an accommodation with Taiwan in which it recognizes Taiwan and establishes diplomatic ties with the island, just like the United States and Canada live peacefully next to each other. Who nowadays remembers the War of 1812 or the fact that in 1776 thousands of people in the American Colonies didn’t want Independence and fled to the British-held territories in the North?

Press debates the issues

From mid-July until the time this issue of Taiwan Communiqué went to press, there was a large number of articles, analyses and editorials in the U.S. and international press regarding the implications of president Lee’s statements, and about the subsequent threats from the Chinese side.

Most articles were supportive of Taiwan, and were very critical of the Clinton Administration for its tilt towards China. Below we list the analyses and commentaries, which stood out for their clarity, and contributed to a better understanding of the situation:

14 July 1999 Wall Street Journal

Taiwan is a “State”, Get over it
By Ambassador Jim Lilley
and Professor Arthur Waldron

14 July 1999	Washington Post	Editorial <i>Chinese threats</i>
15 July 1999	Wall Street Journal	Editorial <i>Taiwan Speaks Up</i>
17 July 1999	International Herald Tribune	<i>Taipei's semantics are provocative but accurate</i> , by Philip Bowring
18 July 1999	Washington Post	<i>Get Real with China</i> , by Jim Hoagland
19 July 1999	Boston Globe	<i>The end of "One China"</i> by Jeff Jacoby
	International Herald Tribune	<i>High Time for realism in U.S.-China Relations</i> , by Jim Hoagland
20 July 1999	The Weekly Standard	<i>Free Taiwan</i> , by William Kristol and Robert Kagan
	International Herald Tribune	<i>The Logic of Taiwan points towards independence</i> , by Gerald Segal
21 July 1999	Washington Post	Editorial <i>China's nervous rulers</i>
24 July 1999	The Economist	Editorial: <i>The Truth about Taiwan</i>
	Newsweek	<i>Escaping the past</i>
27 July 1999	Wall Street Journal	<i>Taiwan begins to find itself</i>
	Wall Street Journal	<i>China, not Taiwan, threatens peace</i> by Jonathan Mirsky
28 July 1999	Washington Post	<i>USA on the wrong side</i> by Michael Kelly
29 July 1999	Far Eastern Economic Review	Editorial, <i>Semantics and reality; Taiwan states its case</i>
	Sydney Morning Herald	<i>Taiwan makes friends, while Beijing bullies</i>

1 August 1999	Taiwan Perspective	<i>White House again tilts to Beijing</i> by Carl Ford
2 August 1999	The Weekly Standard	<i>Pressuring Taiwan, appeasing Beijing</i> by William Kristol and Robert Kagan
4 August 1999	Washington Post	Editorial <i>Taiwan Tensions</i>
5 August 1999	Wall Street Journal	Editorial <i>China Bill</i>
6 August 1999	Washington Post	<i>Appeasing China doesn't work</i> by Charles Krauthammer
10 August 1999	Wall Street Journal	<i>The Potential for a China-Taiwan War</i> , by George Melloan
11 August 1999	Washington Times	<i>Taiwan Cliffhanger</i> by Professor Amos Perlmutter

American academics add to confusion

During the weeks following president Lee's statements to *Deutsche Welle*, there were also a number of articles in the American press critical of Taiwan's new position. These came primarily from some confusing academics, such as Prof. David Shambaugh of George Washington University ("*Two China's, But only one answer*", **Washington Post**, 18 July 1999), and from former U.S. government officials associated with Henry Kissinger.

The latter category contains people such as Chas Freeman ("*Caught between two China's*", **New York Times**, 2 August 1999) and Brent Scowcroft ("*Taipei Sows Distrust, Not Real Solutions*", **Los Angeles Times**, 30 July 1999), whose main purpose seems to protect what is left of the heritage of their old mentor.

Taiwan Communiqué comment: *As the titles of some of these articles indicate already, these people still live in the framework of the "One China" fiction (or was it two China's?). They haven't adjusted to the reality that the people in Taiwan consider themselves Taiwanese, and that the "One China" concept is dead as a doornail.*

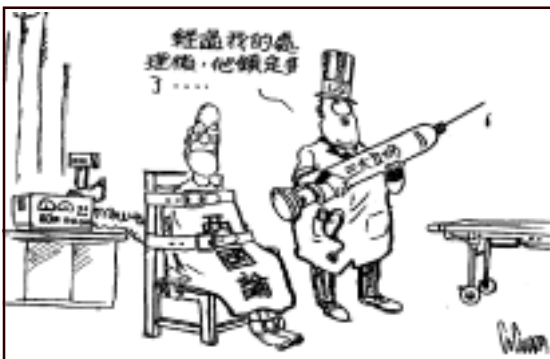
Perpetuating the "One China" confusion serves no purpose. It will only add to instability in the East Asia region, and will strengthen China's repressive hand against a democratic Taiwan.

Let Taiwan be Taiwan

Editorial

We want to emphasize that the Taiwanese people were never consulted in the formulation of the "One China" policy, which presently prevents Taiwan from being accepted as a full and equal member in the international community.

While it may have been a convenient fiction, devised by Mr. Kissinger at the behest of the equally repressive Messrs. Mao Tse-tung and Chiang Kai-shek, it was a running time bomb, because it failed to incorporate the aspirations of the people of Taiwan to be accepted as a free and democratic nation.



Furthermore, while the U.S. — and the Clinton Administration in particular — always speaks

"Doctor" USA trying to tranquilize President Lee

highly of the principles of freedom and democracy, in practice the U.S. has isolated a democratic Taiwan and pushed it into an inferior negotiating position. It "engaged" Communist China, and relegated Taiwan to second-class international citizenship.

The conflict between the two countries can only be resolved if China accepts Taiwan as a friendly neighbor, and ends the Civil War they fought against the Kuomintang 50 years ago. We Taiwanese were not a part of that Civil War and do not want the future of our homeland to be held hostage to it.

Taiwan is a shining example of the fact that Asian people do want freedom and full democracy. We urge the US and other Western nations to support democratically-

elected President Lee and the people of Taiwan in their search for greater international status, instead of sidelining Taiwan, and relegating the Taiwanese people to second-class citizenship in the family of nations.

In order to come to fruitful discussions or *detente* between China and Taiwan it is essential that China ceases its threats to use military force against Taiwan. The Clinton Administration has done very little to achieve this, but has condoned a missile buildup along the Chinese coast, which is presently ten times as large as the missile force in Cuba during the 1962 missile crisis.

The US should applaud Mr. Lee's step, and urge China to accept the reality that Taiwan and China are two neighboring states. The US should also emphasize that the people of Taiwan have the right to determine their own future, as was stated so eloquently in the Washington Post editorial of 14 July 1999 ("*Chinese Threats*").

* * * * *

Chen Shui-bian: "*Let Taiwan decide its own future*"

On 28 July 1999, Mr. Chen Shui-bian, the DPP party's candidate in Taiwan's upcoming presidential elections, said the island should be left alone to decide its political future and appealed to the world to respect whichever path it chooses.

"The people of Taiwan have chosen to pursue a democratic system, to live in a democratic way of life," he said. "I believe all decisions based on democratic process should be respected. Only the people of Taiwan have the right to choose Taiwan's future and destiny."

Chen and his party, whose founding principles seek a sovereign Republic of Taiwan, supported President Lee Teng-hui's discarding of the ambiguous "one China" doctrine that has been the source of tension with China for decades.

Chen also made clear that Taiwan and the mainland were two separate and independent nations, which should develop a "special international relationship." Unlike Lee, who still espouses an eventual union with



**Presidential candidate
Chen Shui-bian**

the mainland — albeit under a mutually acceptable democracy — Chen said the issue should be settled by a referendum.

“Whether the two different countries across the Taiwan Strait should be unified into a single country in the future needs to be decided by Taiwan’s 22 million residents through a referendum”, he stated. “Neither China’s communist leaders nor its 1.2 billion people should have any say over the island’s future and destiny”, Chen said.

Chen, who served as Taipei’s mayor from 1994 through 1998, said he would try to maintain peaceful co-existence with the mainland and boost economic links. “Relations across the Taiwan Strait should be better, not worse,” he said.

Asked whether Beijing’s communist leaders would accept his victory, Chen responded: “It’s not the Chinese communists who are electing the national leader of Taiwan. It’s Taiwan’s 22 million people who are choosing their own national leader. It’s up to Taiwan’s people, not China or its people, to decide.”

Presbyterian Church: an affirmation and an appeal

At the end of July 1999, the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan issued the following *Affirmation and Appeal* in response to President Lee Teng-hui’s statement on “nation-to-nation” relations with China:

**An affirmation and an appeal
regarding President Lee Teng-hui’s statement on
“The Two-Nation policy”**

The Presbyterian Church in Taiwan, based on her understanding and viewpoint of the Christian faith, is deeply concerned about the future of Taiwan. In a public statement on “The Sovereignty of Taiwan” on August 20, 1991 we stated that “we firmly proclaim that:

1. Taiwan is a sovereign country. Taiwan’s sovereignty and land belong to the people of Taiwan.
2. Taiwan and China are two different sovereign countries.”

We are pleased to see that President Lee Teng-hui has publicly declared recently that:

1. Taiwan is a sovereign, independent nation.
2. The two sides of the Taiwan Strait have special “state-to-state (kok tui kok) relations.
3. “One China” does not include Taiwan.

Our church appreciates the emphasis of President Lee Teng-hui that Taiwan is a sovereign and independent country, and we strongly affirm and support this stance. We expect all the people in Taiwan will recognize, accept, and experience this fact. We expect and hope that the government and people can cooperate hand-in-hand together to confirm this status as a nation, including:

1. Forming a new constitution, which clearly defines and affirms that our land includes Taiwan, the Pescadores, Kinmen, Matsu, and other related islands, and framing new laws as necessary to reflect this reality.
2. Quickly pass a law or amend the Constitution so that in case of any threat to or deprivation of the sovereignty of Taiwan, the people may express their determination to maintain their dignity and the sovereignty of Taiwan through a plebiscite.
3. Our government should use “Taiwan” as the name of our nation and should positively apply for membership in the United Nations and other international organizations so that we can vigorously pursue diplomatic relations with other nations and improve our international status. Then we can have a new and good relationship with China as well as other countries in the Asia-Pacific region — based on justice and peace — respecting and helping each other.



Reverend William K. Lo

Our Church appeals to the people of Taiwan, if we are faced with threat or conflict from without or within, to confirm our confidence and our will to the end that we might bravely create a bright future for Taiwan — protecting the lives, safety, and freedom of the people of Taiwan. At the same time, we sincerely appeal to the ecumenical church and to international societies to accept and respect our struggle and effort for self-determination as a human right.

Your kingdom is founded on righteousness and justice; love and faithfulness are shown in all you do.

Psalms 89:14

T.H. Hsu
Moderator of the 46th General Assembly

William J.K. Lo
General Secretary

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Taiwan discovers itself

One of the results of the heated debates regarding Taiwan's status during July/August 1999, was that several international publications took a welcome closer look at developments in Taiwan itself. Two good examples were **Newsweek**, which printed an excellent article titled "*Escaping the past*" in the end of July 1999 issue of its international edition, and the **Wall Street Journal**, which published a good article by Matt Forney on 27 July 1999, titled "*Taiwan finally begins to find itself, and overcome its China syndrome*". Some quotes from both articles:

Newsweek: "Escaping the past"

"Every thing Taiwanese is cool. Lee Teng-hui is leading the race away from mainland China."

"Chiang Kai-shek has seen better days. At the National Teachers College in Taipei, students are lobbying to pull down his statue."

"But in Taiwan, now a vibrant democracy, the connection to China is looking less and less appealing."

“These days, Taiwan’s history begins not 5,000 years ago on the mainland, but with Australasian tribes that inhabited Taiwan when Chinese migrants began arriving 400 years ago.”

“Independent thinking, in tune with Taiwan’s new political freedoms, is replacing obedience in the classrooms. Courses on old Confucian values like discipline and respect, preached for decades to students by mainland Chinese who used to dominate the political scene, are being phased out in favor of “Understanding Taiwan”, a new class that teaches 12- and 13-year-olds to be independent, cosmopolitan citizens of the new Taiwan.”

“Until recently, Taiwanese students grew up knowing more about the provinces in mainland China than they did about their own island.”

“...President Lee ... is trying to end the “civil-war mentality” so that Taiwan can move on socially and politically. It’s clear Beijing doesn’t like it: each step he takes to distance the island from China will surely be met by new threats.”

Wall Street Journal: “Overcoming the China syndrome”

“This island is part of China in Beijing’s eyes, but it has become its own place in the eyes of many of the 22 million people who live here. In a convergence of the political and the cultural, Taiwan is rediscovering its roots after 50 years of competing with the mainland for status as the true soul of China.”

“Books about Taiwanese history and culture are flying off the shelves.”

“The local language too, has a newfound cachet. Though spoken by nine out of ten people here, the Taiwanese language long took a back seat in politics and culture to Mandarin, the official language of both the mainland and Taiwan. Indeed, until five years ago, the use of Taiwanese in school was a punishable offense. Now, it’s used as a selling point.”

“For decades, the only culture allowed in Taiwan was that brought by Gen. Chiang Kai-shek and the two million Nationalist troops who fled to the island from mainland China in 1949 after losing the Chinese Civil War to Mao Tse-tung’s Communists. To bolster their claims as the sole government of all of China, the nationalists decreed that their (implicitly superior) language, culture, and history

would replace those of the people who had settled here generations earlier.

That remained the status quo until this decade, when Mr. Lee, Taiwan's first native-born president, started shedding the trappings of authoritarian rule and nurturing American-style democracy, slowly dropping Taipei's pretense to rule all of China, and lately, its claims to be part of China at all."

Taiwan - U.S. - China Relations

A Historical Perspective

by Doris Chang

In July 1999, Taiwan's President, Lee Teng-hui, announced that his government was abolishing the "One-China Policy" that had regarded Taiwan and China as parts of the same country. The Taiwan government also stated that any diplomatic contact between the People's Republic of China (PRC) on the mainland and Taiwan would henceforth be between two separate and equal states. President Lee's change of policy was in response to the PRC government's attempts to isolate Taiwan internationally by trapping Taiwan within the "One-China" framework.

Some American foreign policy-makers and academics interpreted President Lee's change of policy as Taiwan's attempt to provoke the PRC. Contrary to this misconception, President Lee has expressed his goodwill toward the PRC and would welcome a constructive dialogue between the two states in the spirit of mutual respect.

In contrast to the PRC's one-party dictatorship, Taiwan has been a vibrant democracy throughout the 1990s. According to a public-opinion poll in Taiwan released on May 3, 1999, 89% of respondents indicated that Taiwan is not a part of the PRC. Over 94% of the respondents indicated that Taiwan is already an independent country.

As it is in the American democracy, it is the moral obligation of a popularly elected president to formulate foreign policies that would reflect the popular will of a nation's citizenry. Based on the result of the poll indicated above, it is evident that President Lee had decided to revise the Taiwanese government's policy vis-à-vis the PRC, in order to reflect the will of the Taiwanese people.

In 1997, The **Wall Street Journal** conducted an opinion poll to survey American public opinion toward Taiwan's national question. The result shows that 60 percent of Americans believe that Taiwan is an independent country, and only 30 percent believe that Taiwan is part of China. Evidently, the public opinion in both Taiwan and the U.S. strongly indicate that Taiwan is already an independent country.

Yet, the U.S. government still acknowledges that there is only one China and Taiwan is part of China. Contrary to this outdated and unrealistic "One-China" concept, Taiwan has had its own military forces, jurisdiction, population, territory, and democratic political system that are totally independent from its PRC counterpart. If the U.S. were to continue to support Communist China's claim that Taiwan is part of the PRC, the U.S. might unintentionally embolden Communist China to take over Taiwan by force.

Conversely, if the U.S. were to recognize the PRC and Taiwan as two separate and equal states, the PRC would think twice before attacking Taiwan, knowing that the U.S. might take military actions against its aggression toward another sovereign state.

For the past few years, the PRC's aggressive behavior has contributed to the instability in the Asia-Pacific Region. Rather than peacefully coexisting with Taiwan, the PRC conducted missile tests off the coast of Taiwan to disrupt the island's first-ever democratic presidential election in 1996. Since then, the PRC has repeatedly threatened to attack Taiwan if the island were to declare its independence from China.

To deter the PRC's possible aggression against Taiwan, the international community should take its military threat seriously and know its implication for Taiwanese people's human rights. Since the PRC invaded and occupied Tibet in 1950, it is estimated that 1.2 million Tibetans have been killed. In addition, many more are imprisoned or dispersed worldwide as the result of the Chinese Communist government's cultural genocide and religious persecution in Tibet. With this human rights record, it should not come as a surprise that most Taiwanese are committed to Taiwan's independence.

Historically, Taiwan and China have been under the jurisdiction of different governments for the past century. Hence, there is no logical reason to support Chinese Communist government's assertion that Taiwan is part of the PRC. In 1895, Taiwan was annexed into the Japanese Empire after China was defeated in the First Sino-Japanese War. When Japan was defeated at the end of WWII in 1945, Chinese

Nationalist government (KMT) incorporated Taiwan into the Chinese Republic. By 1949, the Chinese Communist government won the Civil War in China and the KMT then fled to the island of Taiwan.

Thus, for more than a century, Taiwan and China were under the jurisdiction of the same government only for less than five years, i.e. from 1945 to 1949. According to P'eng Ming-min, Professor of International Law, the legal backing which supported Taiwanese people's self-determination was evident in the terms of the San Francisco Peace Treaty in 1952; with the United States as one of its important signatories.

Based on the terms of the treaty, Japan relinquished her control over Taiwan without naming a beneficiary. The fact that neither the KMT government on Taiwan nor the communist government on China (PRC) was named the beneficiary meant that the Taiwanese people should have the legal rights to

national self-determination on the basis of international law.

Currently, China presumes that Taiwan should be part of China on the premise that the Taiwanese people are culturally and ethnically Chinese. Yet, Singapore has been an independent country for decades, notwithstanding the majority of her citizenry is culturally and ethnically Chinese. Likewise, the U.S. declared her independence from Britain, even though the break-away republic was by and large linguistically and culturally English in the 18th century. Ample historical precedence has demonstrated that people of the same cultural origin ought to have the right to forge separate countries, if they choose to do so.

Even though there is some truism in considering most Taiwanese as ethnically and culturally Chinese, Taiwan's unique historical development as an immigrant society has also set the Taiwanese people apart from the people in China. In the 17th century,



President Clinton: "Yup -- it looks like One China to me"

most of the Chinese immigrants who had settled in Taiwan were young males. Consequently, many of them intermarried with Taiwan's indigenous women, who were Pacific islanders of Malayo-Polynesian stock. Based on a genetic study conducted by a group of Taiwanese doctors, around 70 percent of Taiwan's ethnic-Chinese population could trace part of their racial heritage to their Malayo-Polynesian ancestry.

Today, 85 percent of Taiwan's population are descendants of the Old immigrants who settled in Taiwan to escape poverty and persecution in China in the 17th century and thereafter. This experience was similar to that of the English immigrants who had settled in America to escape persecution and poverty in Europe during the 17th century.

By contrast, Taiwan's New immigrants who fled to the island with Chiang Kai-shek's KMT government in 1949 amounts to 15 percent of Taiwan's current population. As permanent settlers in Taiwan since 1949, many New Immigrants have increasingly identify themselves as "New Taiwanese." Just as the U.S. was a nation founded by immigrants who had identified with their newly settled land, Taiwan is a country of immigrants who have claimed the island to be their home.

Contrary to the PRC's assertion that people of the same ethnic and cultural origins ought to belong to the same country, Taiwan's vision of statehood would include all the immigrants and indigenous peoples of Taiwan who would consider the island as their home, regardless of their cultural or racial origin.

From a historical perspective, Taiwan had been a maritime commercial island since the Dutch colonized it in the 17th century. Due to Japan's colonial legacy on Taiwan in the first half of 20th century, Japan's cultural influence on Taiwan is still deeply felt in Taiwan today.

Thus, what sets Taiwan apart from China's historical experiences has been Taiwan's colonial experiences and her island status. Some say that Taiwanese people's cosmopolitan world view and maritime commercial culture have contributed to her rapid economic growth in the post-WWII era. In short, Taiwan's culture has been a creative synthesis of the cultures of Taiwan's indigenous peoples, ethnic Chinese immigrants, Japan, and Western influences.

Just as the U.S. achieved her independence from Britain in 1776, the Taiwanese people also aspire to determine their own national identity and political future. Without the French government's military and moral support during the American Revolution, it would have been more difficult for the U.S. to achieve her independence from Britain in the late 18th century.

As the world's leading democracy at the dawn of the 21st century, the U.S. has the moral obligation and the military resources to support Taiwanese people's rights to enjoy democracy and self-determination.

Report from Washington

“One China, One Taiwan” Resolution introduced in the House

On 27 July 1999, a resolution was introduced in the U.S. House of Representatives, urging that the United States should recognize Taiwan's independence if the people of Taiwan opt for such status through a democratic mechanism. It also stated that the United States should immediately adopt a “One China, One Taiwan Policy” which reflects the present day reality that Taiwan and China are two separate nations.

House Resolution 166 was co-sponsored by a bi-partisan group of Representatives, including Sherrod Brown (D-OH) and Steve Chabot (R-OH). In the operative part, it states:

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

1. The United States should commend the people of Taiwan for having established a democracy on Taiwan over the past decades and for repeatedly reaffirming its dedication to democratic ideals; and
2. the United States should recognize Taiwan's independence if the people of Taiwan opt for such status through a democratic mechanism, including a plebiscite; and



**Congressman Sherrod Brown
(D-OH)**

3. in the interim, the United States should immediately adopt a “One China, One Taiwan Policy” which reflects the present day reality that Taiwan and China are two separate nations.

House Passes Taiwan Safety and Security Amendment

On Thursday, 22 July 1999, the U.S. House of Representatives passed an amendment to House Resolution 2415, the Embassy Security Act, which is part of the State Department Authorization process.

The amendment commends Taiwan for its tradition of democracy, and expresses the sense of the Congress that the President should publicly urge China to renounce the use of military force against Taiwan, and that the US should help defend Taiwan in case of threats or a military attack by China.

The Resolution was introduced by a bi-partisan group of Congressmen led by Representative Robert Andrews (D-NJ).



**Congressman Robert
Andrews (D-NJ)**

Hearing on the Taiwan Security Enhancement Act

On Wednesday, 4 August 1999, a hearing was held in the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee regarding the Taiwan Security Enhancement Act (S. 693) introduced by Senators Jesse Helms (R-NC) and Robert Torricelli (D-NJ) at the end of March 1999.

Senator Helms said that the Act is aimed to ensure that Taiwan will have the essential self-defense capabilities, and to accomplish this he and Senator Torricelli had proposed to bolster the process for defense sales to Taiwan and help Taiwan achieve and maintain an adequate military readiness.

Several witnesses, including former U.S. ambassador Jim Lilley and former CIA Director James Woolsey spoke in favor of the legislation.

However, the legislation was opposed by the Clinton Administration. Both Stanley Roth, Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian Affairs, and Kurt Campbell, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense, voiced their opposition. The main argument seemed to be that the Administration is already providing Taiwan with sufficient arms, in accordance with the provisions of the Taiwan Relations Act.

Taiwan Communiqué comment: *We wish we could trust the Clinton Administration. However, time and again over the past years, it has shown an increasing tilt towards China to the detriment of Taiwan. A truly balanced position would be one in which the U.S. would treat a democratic Taiwan at least as well as communist China.*

Senator Joseph R. Biden (D-DE) took the position that the bill was not necessary, since the Administration "...already has all the authority it needs under the TRA to sell such defensive weapons" to Taiwan. However, he warned the Administration to have closer consultations with Congress on weapon sales to Taiwan. He chided Mr. Roth, saying "You better get smart. The chairman (Jesse Helms) will get his way, unless you get smart." Mr. Biden added: "China should have no doubt that our commitment (to Taiwan's security) remains firm."

U.S. Senator Robert Torricelli, who did not attend the hearing, stressed in a separate written statement that bill S.693 will ensure that Taiwan's security needs are adequately met. Recent events make it necessary for the United States to continue its support for Taiwan, Torricelli indicated in his statement released on 6 August 1999.

He added: "The four principles of the Taiwan Relations Act have guided this relationship (between the US and Taiwan) by recognizing the right of the Taiwanese people to determine their own future through peaceful means, and affirming our commitment to support human rights in Taiwan. The TRA also commits us to oppose Taiwan's exclusion from membership in any international organizations, and sell defensive articles and services to Taiwan".

He stated: "The Taiwan Security Enhancement Act is designed to ensure Taiwan's ability to meet its defensive security needs. It authorizes, but does not mandate, the sale of theater missile defense equipment, satellite early warning data, and specific air and naval defense systems."

Notes

Mrs. Albright doesn't quite get it

On 26 July 1999, U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, attending the ASEAN meeting in Singapore, met with Communist Chinese foreign minister Tang Jiaxuan to discuss a range of issues.

One topic, which was reportedly discussed was the rising tension generated by the renewed Chinese threats against Taiwan, which followed President Lee Teng-hui's statements that the relations with China should be considered "state-to-state" relations.

When asked about the discussions on this topic, Mrs. Albright reportedly reiterated the U.S. commitment to "One China", direct dialogue between Taiwan and Communist China, and peaceful resolution of their dispute. She added that the explanations given by the Taiwan authorities "...thus far don't quite do it."

Taiwan Communiqué comment: *We must suggest that thus far, Mrs. Albright doesn't quite seem to get it: with her reiteration of the outdated and anachronistic "One China" policy, Mrs. Albright is taking sides with a Communist dictatorship against a free, democratic, and independent Taiwan. In effect Mrs. Albright is saying that the Taiwanese people don't have the right to determine their own future.*

To Taiwanese-Americans, saying that the "One China" policy has contributed to peace and stability in the region, is as outrageous as saying that Hitler's Third Reich helped bring about peace and stability in Europe in the 1930s.

To the contrary, the "One China" fiction has been a destabilizing time bomb under East Asia in the same way "Gross Deutschland" was under Europe in the 1930s. China's claims to Taiwan are about as legitimate as Hitler's designs for Czechoslovakia. Mrs. Albright should remember what the consequences were of Mr. Neville Chamberlain giving in to those claims.

Taiwan applying to the UN, again

On 13 August 1999, twelve of Taiwan's allies in Central America and Africa wrote to UN Secretary Kofi Annan, requesting that the United Nations discuss their proposal on Taiwan's membership in the UN during its 54th session which opens in the middle

of September. This is the seventh consecutive year that Taiwan has taken action to join the world body through the help of friendly countries.

Accompanied with the proposal is an explanatory memorandum indicating that each side of the Taiwan Strait has been ruled by a distinct and separate government since 1949 as well as a draft resolution urging the UN establish a working group on the issue.

This year, the proposal was signed by Burkina Faso, Gambia, Swaziland, Liberia, Senegal, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Grenada, the Marshall Islands, the Solomon Islands, Nicaragua, El Salvador and Honduras.

Taiwan Communiqué comment: *While we wholeheartedly support Taiwan's membership in the United Nations, the proposal of the 12 Central American and African nations is still based on Taiwan's membership under the fallacious "Republic of China" name.*

As long as the Taiwan authorities cling to this outdated title, it will be impossible for the island to join the UN, since it perpetuates the decades-old conflict about the "real" China. This issue was resolved in the 1970s, when most nations in the world recognized Beijing.

Taiwan should present itself as a free and democratic "Taiwan" and let the Chinese Civil War be distant history. Only then can Taiwan gain acceptance in the international community as a distinct and independent nation.

New Taiwan, Ilha Formosa website

In January 1996 we pioneered our ***Taiwan, Ilha Formosa*** website. Over the past few years, it has grown into a major source of information for students, scholars, newsmedia and governments as well as parliaments.

The traffic to the site has grown to a level of some 70,000 hits per month, and we have attempted to make the site both accessible and comprehensive. With the increasing amount of information, this is not an easy task.

Within the next few weeks, we will give our front page a new face lift, and we hope this will make it even more attractive and accessible. Our basic goal remains to be a user-friendly source of accurate and up-to-date information about Taiwan.

Visit us at: **<http://www.taiwandc.org>**

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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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