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Presidential election campaign heats up

On 18 March 2000, Taiwan will hold its second direct presidential elections. The present President, Lee Teng-hui, was elected in 1996 against the background of threatening Chinese missile firings and military exercises. Prior to 1996, the presidential election was determined in a closely-manipulated process by the KMT-controlled National Assembly, and was held for many decades by the repressive Chiang Kai-shek and his son Chiang Ching-kuo.

The March 2000 elections are thus a “coming-of-age” of democracy in Taiwan. They are made all the more exciting by the fact that former Taiwan governor James Soong split off from the Kuomintang this past summer, and decided to run on a separate ticket, thus splitting the Kuomintang-camp in two, and increasing the chances of victory for Mr. Chen Shui-bian, the candidate for the opposition Democratic Progressive Party.

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As of the time of this writing, the three major candidates, Lien Chan for the Kuomintang, Chen Shui-bian for the DPP, and independent candidate James Soong, are running more or less even in the various opinion polls on the island. Below, we take a closer look at each candidate.



**Democratic Progressive Party candidate Chen Shui-bian (R)
and running mate Lü Hsiu-lien (L)**

Chen Shui-bian: new policies and programs

Mr. Chen has for many years been the rising star of the democratic opposition movement. He first became known in the early 1980s as a member of the team of defense lawyers which defended the eight major opposition leaders arrested and imprisoned after the December 1979 Kaohsiung Incident (see our article *“The Kaohsiung Incident remembered”* on page 10). The group of defendants and their lawyers subsequently became the core of the democratic opposition movement: one of the defendants, Ms. Lü Hsiu-lien (see below) is now his vice-presidential running mate.

In the mid-1980s, Mr. Chen was elected as a member of the Taipei City Council and became known as an spirited critic of corruption and mismanagement in City Hall. In November 1985, Mr. Chen and his wife, Wu Shu-chen, paid a high price for their political beliefs: during a campaign trip to Tainan county, Mrs. Chen was run over by a farm vehicle and became paralyzed from the waist down. The driver was never charged.

In the mid-1980s, Mr. Chen was also active in the budding “tangwai magazine” movement: a group of publications associated with the democratic opposition. These publications were banned and confiscated frequently by the ruling KMT authorities. Mr. Chen served eight months in prison on a “libel” conviction for a magazine for which he served as legal counsel.

From 1989 through 1994 he served in the Legislative Yuan, and increased his profile as a hard-hitting opponent of corruption and inefficiency. In 1994 he ran, and won, in the first-ever elections for the position of Taipei mayor. Until then, the position had been an appointive post, traditionally given to KMT stalwarts.

During his term as Taipei mayor he took significant steps to improve traffic in Taipei, and cracked down on the city’s sex industry. He was highly popular, and gained widespread praise for his achievements. However, he lost his re-election bid in 1998 by a slight margin, when the Kuomintang – which had been split in 1994 – united its money-machine behind KMT candidate Ma Ying-jeou.

In the run-up to the present elections, Mr. Chen has focused on both local politics as



Mr. Chen's mascotte for the upcoming elections

well as international policies: he has attacked the “black-gold” connection, and at the same time has issued a number of White Papers, setting out the DPP’s policies, which would be the government’s policies if he is elected on March 18th 2000.

On 10 December 1999, Mr. Chen announced in Taipei that his running mate in the Presidential elections would be Ms. **Annette Lü Hsiu-lien**, who presently serves as County Magistrate for Taoyuan County, just south of Taipei. Taoyuan County is a heavily industrialized area, and is the second most populated county in Taiwan with 1.2 million people.

Ms. Lü became well-known in Taiwan in the late 1970s as a member of the budding democratic opposition and as a leading woman’s rights advocate. She gave a major speech at the now well-known Kaohsiung Incident in December 1979 (see article below) and was subsequently arrested and sentenced to 12 years imprisonment.

She was adopted by Amnesty International as a prisoner of conscience, and was released on medical bail on 28 March 1985, after more than 5 years imprisonment. After her release she spent some time in the United States at Harvard University – where she where she had been a visiting scholar in the mid-1970s. She has a degree in comparative law from the University of Illinois.

In 1992 she returned to Taiwan to become active again in the democratic opposition of the DPP, and ran successfully for a seat in the Legislative Yuan in December 1992. She became one of the driving forces behind the initiative to get Taiwan into the United Nations. In March 1997, Ms. Lü was elected Taoyuan County Magistrate in a by-election.

Lien Chan: making Al Gore look exciting

Mr. **Lien Chan** was selected as the Kuomintang’s presidential candidate in a KMT Party Congress in August 1999. He selected Prime Minister Vincent Siew as his running mate. Both men are able technocrats, and Mr. Siew has a solid background in economics.

The problem with Mr. Lien Chan is that he is a dour politician. The standard joke in Taiwan is that Mr. Lien “...makes US Presidential candidate Al Gore look exciting.”

Another problem with Mr. Lien is that he is exceedingly wealthy. For many in Taiwan this raises the question how his wealth was obtained. While there are no direct indications that Mr. Lien’s wealth was achieved in other than legitimate business

practices, there is a long history of links between the KMT's wealth – “gold” in Taiwan's terminology – and the not insignificant underworld of gangs and triads – “black” in Taiwan's political spectrum.

The opposition DPP has long criticized the linkage between “black” and “gold.” A number of well-known figures in the underworld were able to “buy themselves clean” by running for office and even being elected to positions such as the Legislative Yuan and County Magistrate. The Kuomintang has traditionally condoned such activities and has done very little to stem the influence of the underworld and money in politics.

Mr. Lien was able to bolster his position recently, when he came out with a strong position on defense against China, suggesting that Taiwan should develop long-range missiles which could be used to retaliate against China in case of an attack against the island by the PLA.

Mr. Lien Chan also has the formidable KMT party machine behind him, and can count on the active campaigning of the charismatic President Lee Teng-hui. He is thus a strong candidate – but at the time of this writing is running third in the opinion polls.



James Soong's financial scandal

Until mid-December 1999, Mr. Soong was the front runner, scoring significantly ahead of his two rivals in the opinion polls. As governor of “Taiwan Province” from 1994 through 1998 he had been able to build up a wide network of supporters, enhancing his position and creating goodwill – especially in the poorer central and southern counties of the island — by generously dispensing funds for roads, streetlighting and other public infrastructure.

He also had a smooth public relations machine, drawing from the many New Party supporters working in the media. While the New Party did come up with its own candidate, it was public knowledge in Taiwan that the pro-unificationist mainlanders supported their favorite-son, Soong.

Mr. Soong had his fall-out with president Lee Teng-hui earlier in 1998-99, when President Lee decided to honor his agreement with the democratic opposition of the DPP to phase out the anachronistic “Provincial Government”, which happened to be the power-base of Mr. Soong.

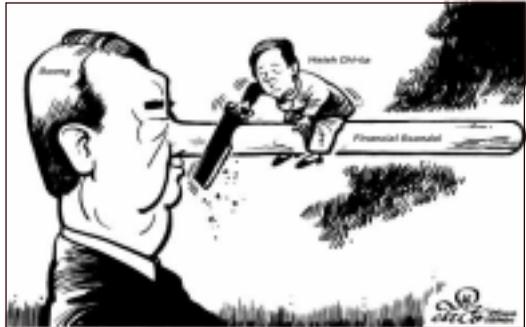
The matter came further to a head in August 1999, when the Kuomintang decided to support the dour vice-President Lien Chan as its candidate for the upcoming elections, sidelining the flamboyant Soong.

From August through December 1999, the situation looked rather grim for the Kuomintang: Soong surged ahead and stayed ahead in the opinion polls. Not that opinion polls are all that reliable in Taiwan: various polls show a difference in support for any of the major candidates of sometimes up to ten percentage points – all within the same week. This led to suspicions that some polling organizations have a hidden agenda – in favor of Mr. Soong.

In mid-December 1999 the situation changed suddenly, when a Kuomintang legislator, Mr. Yang Chi-hsiung, disclosed that he knew of a multi-million dollar fund, stashed away in the bank accounts of Mr. Soong’s son and sister-in-law.

After several days of various explanations, Mr. Soong finally came up with a story that President Lee had directed him to use this money, an amount of some NT\$ 140 million (equivalent to some US\$ 4.6 million) to help support the remaining relative of former President Chiang Ching-kuo. President Lee immediately dismissed the story as “nonsense”, while the remaining relatives of President Chiang said they had no knowledge of such support.

In the following days, further reports of fuzzy funds – up to the amount of some US\$ 36 million — in the accounts of James Soong relatives surfaced. On 27 December 1999, the **United Daily News** even reported that Mr. Soong’s sister-in-law, Chen Pi-yun, had transferred a total of some US\$ 6 million to two accounts in San Francisco. At several lengthy press conferences, Mr. Soong tried to talk himself out of the mess, prompting President Lee to call him a “lying thief.”



Welcome Taiwan into the new millennium

End the “One China” fiction

As we enter the new millennium, we believe it is essential to remind the world of one of the major anachronisms, left over from the last century: the lack of recognition of Taiwan as a full and equal member of the world community.

For a significant time period during the past five decades, this anachronistic situation was due to the outdated policies of the undemocratic rulers of Taiwan, the Kuomintang regime, who perpetuated the notion that they were the legitimate government of China.

In this context, it is important to point out that the large majority of the people of Taiwan had no part in the Chinese Civil War, which was fought on the Chinese mainland between the Communists and Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalists. The Taiwanese unwillingly became a victim of this Civil War, when the United States allowed the defeated Nationalists to occupy Taiwan in 1945-49, from where they perpetuated their claim to the mainland for many decades.

When the United States and other Western nations started to switch their diplomatic ties from Taipei to Beijing in the 1970s, the “One China” doctrine came into being: **acknowledging** (but not **recognizing**) the Chinese position that “...*all Chinese on either side of the Taiwan Strait maintain that there is one China and Taiwan is part of China.*” Of course, this statement doesn't take account of the views of the **Taiwanese**, who happen to be the majority of the people on Taiwan.

As the subsequent debates on the “One China” doctrine have shown, it is highly ambiguous, and has been interpreted in many different ways. John K. Fairbank, the dean of America's China scholars is reported to have stated that the One-China statement “...*is one of those hoary devices for manipulating the unsophisticated barbarian; any teenager can see this is a nonfactual statement*” (June Teufel Dreyer in “**Tangled up with Taiwan**”, **Bulletin of the Atomic Scientist**, December 1999).

Even more importantly, the “One China” doctrine was based on the positions of two repressive and corrupt dictatorships (the Chinese Communists and the Chinese Nationalists). Nobody bothered to check with the Taiwanese themselves whether they considered their Taiwan to be part of China.

However, during the 1980s and early 1990s, the people of Taiwan transformed the island from a repressive dictatorship into a blossoming multi-party democracy. This transformation increased the claim for acceptance of Taiwan as a full and equal member in the international community.

Until now, both the United States and Western Europe have given regrettably little thought to – and support for – Taiwan’s attempt to get out of its isolation. Policymakers in Washington and European capitals continue to perceive Taiwan against the background of the old Chinese Civil War, and let themselves be intimidated by – in the words of Gerald Segal — *China’s diplomatic theater*.

If the United States and Europe would like to see democracy and human rights spread in East Asia, it is time for them to stand up for these basic principles. If they fail to do so, their credibility – and faith and confidence in democratic principles – will be set back for decades to come.

The TRA is broke, fix it !

New circumstances require new policies

During the past few months, there has been a debate in Washington about the US position vis-à-vis Taiwan. On the one side, one finds a majority of Republicans and a number of liberal Democrats, who feel that the present policy is inadequate, because it perpetuates Taiwan’s isolation and takes an insufficiently firm stand against China’s threats against Taiwan. They point to the Clinton Administration’s lack of support for Taiwan’s participation in international organizations, and the Administration’s downplaying and even silence in the face of the Chinese missile buildup and overt threats against Taiwan.

On the other side, one finds the Clinton White House, the State Department, and a small group of Republicans (mainly influenced by former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger), who pose that the main policy item should be to “engage” China, and that Taiwan should keep quiet and not rock the boat. They argue that the present framework, the Taiwan Relations Act, “...ain’t broke, so don’t fix it.”

We argue here that the TRA *is broke, so it needs to be fixed*. While it is obvious that the TRA has fulfilled a useful function over the past 20 years, we believe there is no reason for self-congratulatory back-slapping which we witnessed on the occasion of the TRA's twentieth anniversary in April 1999: as we have argued before (see *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 86, pp. 11-13), the TRA falls short on three major points:

1. The TRA was written when Taiwan was ruled by a repressive regime, which claimed to be the rightful ruler of China. Since then the Taiwanese people have transformed the island into a fully-democratic country that wants to be a full and equal member of the international community. The TRA **does not provide a framework** to deal with a fully-democratic Taiwan, and has become a hindrance in that US officials generally hide behind the TRA, saying it provides for “unofficial” relations with Taiwan.

An important side-note on this point: neither the TRA nor any of the associated documents uses the word “unofficial” to describe the relations with Taiwan.

2. The TRA also falls short in helping Taiwan's **membership in international organizations**. While the language of the TRA states that it opposes the exclusion of Taiwan from international organizations, successive administrations have done excruciatingly little to support Taiwan's participation in international organization.

The Clinton Administration even surreptitiously took a step backwards, when in 1994 it added the qualification that it would only support Taiwan's participation in organizations “... *where statehood is not a requirement*.” Neither the TRA nor any other policy document contains such constraint. In the 1970s, de-recognition simply meant that the US – and other Western nations – did not recognize the Kuomintang regime in Taipei *as the government of all of China*. No position was ever taken on Taiwan's position as a nation-state.

3. The third area in which the TRA fall short is in the area of **safety and security**. The language of the TRA is reasonably firm and clear: “*It is the policy of the United States ... to consider any effort to determine the future of Taiwan by other than peaceful means, including by boycotts or embargoes, a threat to the peace and security of the Western Pacific area and of grave concern to the United States*” (Sec 2.b.4).

However, this statement has been undercut time and again, when the Clinton White House and State Department hemmed and hawed when China deployed increasingly large numbers of missiles on the coast facing Taiwan, and remained silent when China threatened Taiwan with military attack and invasion following President Lee Teng-hui's "state-to-state" statement in July 1999.

It is thus necessary for the United States – and for other Western nations — to adjust their policy towards Taiwan to the new circumstances, and move towards normalization of relations with Taiwan. May we thus suggest a new *Normalization of Taiwan Relations Act*?

An American responsibility

During the past few months, a few American academics have started to make a peculiar argument: the United States "should *not be drawn* into a conflict between Taiwan and China". They have also tried to imply that Taiwan – and in particular Mr. Lee Teng-hui — are the source of tension in the Taiwan Strait by "*being provocative.*"

If we may take these points one at a time:

1. It was the **United States** which *drew Taiwan into the conflict* between the Chinese Nationalists and the Communists by allowing the Chiang Kai-shek regime to occupy Japan-held Taiwan in 1945, and by letting Mr. Chiang to position himself on the island in his futile quest to "recover" the mainland.

As we have pointed out earlier: the Taiwanese on the island were not part of the Chinese Civil War, and became unwilling victims when the US condoned forty years of undemocratic martial law. In the 1980s and early 1990s, through their own persistent efforts, the Taiwanese were able to end martial law and make a transition to a democratic political system.

One of the results of this democratic transition is that the Taiwanese want to discard the old structures which were part and parcel of the animosity between the former undemocratic rulers in Taipei and China. At the same time, they wish to maintain their hard-won freedom and democracy, and wish to move towards peaceful coexistence with China as an independent country. However, oddly enough, this is now being portrayed as "provocative".

2. It should be clear to even the most simple-minded observer that it is *China* which *is being provocative* by aiming missiles at Taiwan, threatening to blockade and even invade Taiwan, and by trying to isolate the island in the international community. Taiwan is not threatening China in any way.

The Clinton Administration has, wittingly or unwittingly, aided China's tactics by making reckless and irresponsible statements such as the "Three No's" in Shanghai in June 1998, and by ritually reciting that it has a "One China" policy, without making clear how its "One China" definition differs from the one held by Beijing.

Any mention of "One China" plays into the cards of the Chinese Communist leaders in Beijing. If Mr. Clinton wants to be scrupulously neutral between Communist China and democratic Taiwan he should simply state that he insists on a peaceful *resolution* of the issue. *Period.*

However, we do believe that – since the United States claims to be the leader of the free world – it should side with a democratic Taiwan and support Taiwan's membership in the international community as a full and equal member.

It should thus be clear that the United States has a distinct responsibility for the safety and security of Taiwan, and that it should hold a firm position vis-à-vis China, precisely to *prevent* a confrontation from taking place. History has shown that appeasement never works.

The Kaohsiung Incident remembered

Turning point in Taiwan's history

The Kaohsiung Incident of 10 December 1979 was a major moment in Taiwan's history. When it took place, it was hardly noticed internationally, but since then it has been recognized as an important turning point in the island's recent transition to democracy. It galvanized both the Taiwanese people in Taiwan as well as the overseas Taiwanese community into political action.

The movement subsequently formed the basis for the democratic opposition of the DPP and its overseas support network of Taiwanese organizations in North America and

Europe. Virtually all leading members of the present-day democratic opposition had a role in the event, either as defendants or as defense lawyers.

Below, we present a summary of the event and its aftermath, while a full account is given in our publication **The Kaohsiung Tapes**, which can be downloaded from our website <http://www.taiwandc.org> (60 pages, 1300 Kbytes, Acrobat PDF-file). The publication carries a translation of sound tapes made during the evening of 10 December 1979. Extensive present-day coverage of the commemorations of the Kaohsiung Incident in Taiwan can be found in the **Taipei Times**.



Military police releasing tear gas at the Kaohsiung Incident

The now well-known event of the evening of 10 December 1979 started out as the first major human rights day celebration on the island. Until that time the authorities had never allowed any public expression of discontent, but in the summer of 1979 a slight thaw had set in, during which two opposition magazines were established: **Formosa Magazine**, headed by veteran opposition Legislative Yuan-member Huang Hsin-chieh, and **The Eighties**, headed by up and coming opposition leader K'ang Ning-hsiang.

Formosa Magazine quickly became the rallying point for the budding democratic movement. During the fall of 1979, it became increasingly vocal, and it was only natural that it would use 10 December as an opportunity to express its views on the lack of democracy and human rights on the island. When the day arrived, the atmosphere had become tense because of increasingly violent attacks by right-wing extremists on offices of the magazine and homes of leading staff members.

What happened on that fateful evening is history: the human rights day celebration ended in chaos after police encircled the peaceful crowd and started using teargas, and pro-government instigators incited violence.

Newspaper reports right after the event reported that in the ensuing confrontations, more than 90 civilians and 40 policemen were injured. However, in an amazing display of magic, the authorities managed to end up with 182 policemen and 1 (!!!) civilian injured. Although most injuries were relatively minor, the authorities quickly played up the injuries on the police side, sending high officials and TV- and film-actresses to the hospitals to comfort the injured policemen.

More seriously, three days later, the KMT authorities used the incident as an excuse to arrest virtually all well-known opposition leaders. They were held *incommunicado* for some two months, during which reports of severe ill-treatment filtered out of the prisons.

The arrested persons were subsequently tried in three separate groups: in March/April 1980, the eight most prominent leaders (the “*Kaohsiung Eight*”) were tried in military court and were sentenced to prison terms ranging from 12 years to life imprisonment. In April/May 1980, a second group of 33 persons, the “*Kaohsiung 33*”, who had taken part in the Human Rights Day gathering were tried in civil court and sentenced to terms ranging from 2 to 6 years.

A third group of 10 persons associated with the *Presbyterian Church* were accused of helping the main organizer of the demonstration, Mr. Shih Ming-teh, when he was in hiding. Most prominent among this group was Dr. Kao Chun-ming, the general-secretary of the Presbyterian Church. Dr. Kao was sentenced to seven years imprisonment. The others received lesser sentences.

The importance of the incident is in the fact that it galvanized both the Taiwanese people in Taiwan as well as the overseas Taiwanese community into political action. The movement which grew out of the incident subsequently formed the core of the present-day democratic opposition of the DPP and its overseas support network of Taiwanese organizations in North America and Europe.

Lessons learned: what has changed?

While it is customary for observers both inside and outside Taiwan to contrast the dark days of the Kuomintang’s repressive martial law of 1979 with the free and open

atmosphere presently prevailing on the island, it is essential to point out that the Taiwanese society of 1999 / 2000 still has a long way to go.

In an excellent editorial on the day of the Kaohsiung commemoration, 10 December 1999, the **Taipei Times** outlined the shortcoming of Taiwan of 1999 as compared to the aspirations of the democratic opposition of 1979: It stated that the Kaohsiung marchers “*got the democratic institutions they demanded*” but that in these present-day institutions “*...seats can be bought .. and gangsters launder their past to become respectable pillars of establishment.*”

The Taipei Times also said that the marchers did gain an end to martial law, but that the civil legal system is “*...widely seen as corrupt and inefficient*” and often “*manipulated for political ends*” by the ruling Kuomintang. Another gain in Taiwan is that there is now the right to form political parties, but the Times emphasizes that there is still no level playing field, because of the Kuomintang’s access to billions of dollars worth of dubiously acquired assets.

The pressure from the democratic opposition also led to more freedom of the press, but the Taipei Times points out that the three biggest TV channels are still controlled either by the Kuomintang or the government, and that two of the three largest newspapers are “*profoundly conservative and generally un-supportive of the island’s democratic change in even its current half-accomplished version.*”

The Taipei Times wonders why the change in Taiwan was so inadequate, so half-done. It concludes that change in Taiwan was done by the political establishment “*for its own preservation*”, and that it was based on a strategy of “*...providing a minimum of superficial reform to draw the sting from demands for deeper, more fundamental change.*”

The editorial contrasts the Kaohsiung Eight defendants and their lawyers who went on to become the leaders of the present-day opposition, and people like presidential candidates James Soong and Lien Chan, who “*...to their shame, (were) cogs of the establishment machine then and ... today.*”

The Taipei Times concludes by expressing the hope that the 20th anniversary of the Kaohsiung Incident would **not** be a time for “*...congratulatory back-slapping but for finding renewed energy to try to complete the tasks the Kaohsiung protesters set out to perform a generation ago.*”

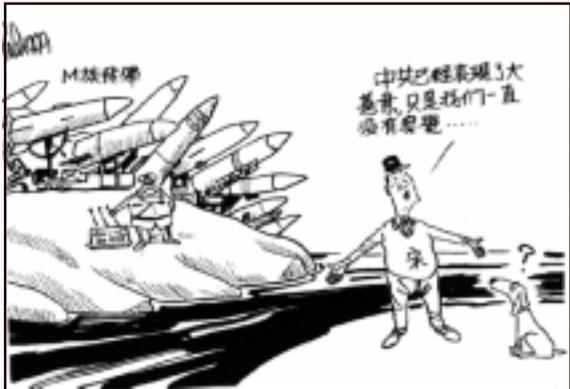
China building new missile sites and submarines

During the months of November and December 1999, the **Washington Times** published several reports, all based on US intelligence sources, that China is building two new missiles based, designed for missiles aimed at Taiwan.

New missile sites discovered

On 23 November 1999, **Washington Times**' writer Bill Gertz reported that US spy-satellites had detected construction of a major new missile base at the town of Yongan, which was reportedly intended for the deployment of a brigade of advanced CSS-7 Mod 2 missiles. The new missile was shown for the first time at the October 1st military parade in Beijing on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the founding of the PRC.

According to Pentagon officials, the new missile will be armed with conventional high-explosive warheads, but can also be outfitted with advanced high-tech payloads, such as deep-penetrating warheads for use against concrete facilities, exotic electromagnetic-pulse warheads that disrupt electronic devices, or even small nuclear warheads.



The **Washington Times** report quoted US Admiral Dennis Blair as saying that the Chinese missile buildup forces the United States to help Taiwan develop advanced missile defense systems.

“We’re talking about a balance here, and a count of 500 or 600 [missiles] to very few defenses [on the Taiwan side] doesn’t seem like a very good balance,” the admiral is quoted as saying.

James Soong: *"China has done its very best to express some goodwill, but we simply haven't noticed it yet ..."*

Another US government official, who is an expert on the Chinese military, is quoted as saying that the Clinton Administration has tried to ignore Beijing’s missile buildup. “Both Beijing and the State Department are in agreement that Taiwan doesn’t deserve adequate missile defenses while both are also in agreement that the U.S. and Taiwan should ignore Beijing’s blossoming ballistic missiles”, he said.

In a second article, dated 8 December 1999, the *Washington Times* reported the construction of another missile base at Xiyou, only 135 miles from Taiwan. This base is reportedly also intended for the deployment of a brigade with 16 truck launchers and 96 CSS-7 Mod 2 missiles. The layout of the base was reportedly similar to a base at Leping, from where China launched its missiles during the missile crisis in February-March 1996, preceding the first Taiwanese direct presidential elections.

Submarines with long-range missiles

In a further article, dated 6 December 1999, the **Washington Times** reported that China was starting construction of a new type of strategic submarine, that would be able to carry 12 to 16 long-range missiles which could be aimed at “any place in the United States.”

The submarine, titled Type 094, is expected to be deployed around 2005 or 2006, and would carry the JL-2 missile, a smaller version of the new DF-31 intercontinental ballistic missile, which has a range of 7,400 miles. According to Pentagon sources, the JL-2 and the DF-31 are the first Chinese missiles which will contain guidance and warhead technology stolen from the United States.

Officially, the Clinton Administration has maintained that there is no evidence that China is using technology of U.S. origin in its strategic weapon systems. That view is now contradicted by these new reports.

Clear as mud, Mr. Clinton

While the above reports on missile deployment and submarine construction are worrying enough, the attitude of the Clinton Administration is even more worrying: when asked about this Chinese missile buildup on 8 December 1999, Mr. Clinton responded by saying: “*China is modernizing its military in a lot of ways*” as if he was condoning the missile buildup.

It is peculiar that Mr. Clinton didn't say that he considered the missiles to be totally unacceptable!! If only half a dozen of these missiles were aimed at the United States, all hell would break loose and the US would provoke a major crisis to get China to dismantle them (remember Cuba 1962). However, having some 200 (two hundred) of them aimed at a small island-nation that is trying to become a free and democratic member of the international community seems to evoke only whitewashing-talk from Mr. Clinton.

To make matters even more confusing, Mr. Clinton added: *“But our policy on China is crystal clear. We believe there is one China. We think it has to be resolved through a cross-strait dialogue.”*

Taiwan Communiqué comment: *The main thing that has been clear, is that since Mr. Clinton’s infamous “Three No” statement in Shanghai, the US policy has had all the appearance of acceptance of the position of the communists dictators in Beijing, while “not supporting” the views of the free and democratic people of Taiwan.*

Should Taiwan remain a free, democratic and independent country, or should it negotiate its future with a belligerent, communist China? We believe it would be right, rational and reasonable if the United States and other Western nations expressed their clear support for a free and democratic Taiwan and stop kowtowing to Beijing.

The DPP issues new policy papers

In mid-November 1999, the Democratic progressive Party started issuing a series of White Papers, outlining the policies it would initiate if its candidate in the March 2000 Presidential elections, Mr. Chen Shui-bian, would be elected. Below is a brief summary of each of the three initial White Papers:

White Paper on China Policy

In a White Paper on China Policy, the DPP outlined its proposed policies towards its giant neighbor. The policy is based on promoting the normalization of cross-strait relations. However, the paper states, *“...the hostility from China toward Taiwan is a reality that influences national security. How to cope with the challenge from China should be a major concern for various political parties in Taiwan.”*

The Democratic Progressive Party advocates four pillars for the security of Taiwan:

1. Clear national status
2. Normalization of across-strait relations
3. Strong national defense force
4. Stable economic development

It states that these four pillars are all essential to Taiwan. A clear national status defines our national interest and enables the formation of our defense and diplomatic strategy.

The strength of national defense relies on economic power, and economic development requires the protection of national defense. Taiwan's economy is significantly affected by cross-strait trade, yet the trade relationship depends on a harmonious environment.

The Democratic Progressive Party believes that a proper China policy should consider these four pillars and the cause-and-effect relationship therein. Only through a comprehensive, diversified strategy can the security of Taiwan be ensured, only then will Taiwan be able to fulfill its obligations as a member of the global community in the 21st century.

White Paper on Defense Policy

Also in November 1999, the DPP issued a White Paper on its Defense Policy. It stated that the fundamental principle of the policy of the DPP and its Presidential candidate Chen Shui-bian is aimed at deterring the outbreak of war and maintaining the peace and security in the region.

The military strategy focuses on defending Taiwan's territory and population against coercive threats and invasion from China. The primary objectives of Taiwan's armed forces are to safeguard the country's democracy and prosperity, and to preserve the regional stability.

Facing the challenges in the twenty-first century, Taiwan needs to establish a comprehensive security strategy, which may include, but not limited to, engaging China with dignity and enhancing overall national military capabilities persistently.

The defense policy then goes on to develop a set of twelve specific proposals, which can be found on our website at <http://www.taiwandc.org/dpp-pol2.htm>

White Paper on Foreign Policy for the 21st Century

In a third White Paper, the DPP outlined its foreign policy for the 21st Century. It stated that Taiwan's leader of the next century should have the courage to reform, to get rid of the conservative, short-sighted, tradition in Taiwan's mainlander-dominated diplomatic culture, and to reconfigure new diplomatic strategies.

Taiwan's leader of the new century should build a more energetic and visionary government in order to deal with global affairs by pragmatic and long-range operations.

It stated that “We are not satisfied with the existing government that embraces “the contest of the number of countries with diplomatic relationships” or “leadership diplomacy” as the key strategies to breakthrough Taiwan’s diplomatic space. The main reason why Taiwan’s foreign policy has been in regress is that the leaders and the decision-makers embrace a very biased and narrow perspective. The design of foreign policy should consider long-term effectiveness and sustainability.”

The leader of the new century is obliged to give an open and responsible explanation to the people about the importance of reforming foreign policy. The DPP’s alternative is a new Middle Way based on new internationalism and premised on the balance between “sovereign independence”, and the advancement of interests. The implementation of “democratic diplomacy”, “economic and trade diplomacy,” “citizen’s diplomacy,” “humanitarian diplomacy” and “environmental diplomacy” will be key.

The conflicts and contradictions in the world system constitute challenges for the development of the international society in the new century. Through patience and hard work, the DPP strives to transform these challenges into opportunities for Taiwan’s pursuit of broader international space.

A New Taiwan history

Edited by Murray A. Rubinstein

Until very recently, Taiwan did not have a history: under the Kuomintang authorities – most of whom came from China after World War II and had little affinity with Taiwan itself — Taiwan’s students had to memorize quaint facts about China’s geography and history, while they learned very little about Taiwan, its geography or history.

Also, internationally, there was very little academic attention for Taiwan. Most sinologists focused on China. This is now changing with the recent publication of **Taiwan, A New History** edited by Murray A. Rubinstein of the Baruch College of the City University of New York.

Prof. Rubinstein pulled together an excellent team of scholars to present a new and diverse view of the many aspects of the colorful history of the island, from its beginnings as an outpost inhabited by Malayo-Polynesian aborigines, through its “discovery” as

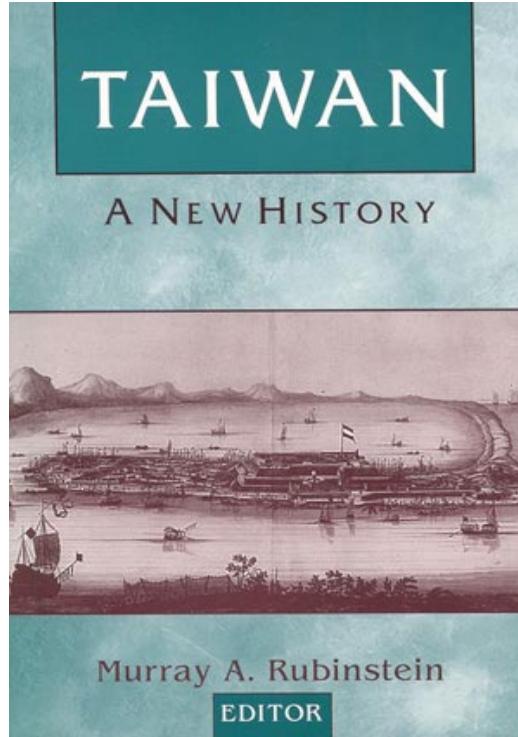
Ilha Formosa (“The Beautiful Island”) by the Portuguese, the Dutch period of agricultural cultivation and influx of Chinese laborers, and on through the Koxinga period to the time of Japanese rule, and the island’s occupation by Chiang Kai-shek’s troops following World War II.

The book also gives a solid and balanced description of recent history: from the dark days of the February 28th 1947 massacre of some 30,000 Taiwanese by the Chinese Nationalist troops, to the recent transition from a repressive one-party dictatorship to a blossoming diverse democracy. In particular, the book focuses on the key roles played by the *tangwai* democratic opposition (the fore-runner of the present-day DPP) and the Presbyterian Church in initiating and pushing forward the process of democratization.

The book thus disproves other recent books about the democratic transition, which looked at the process through rosy-colored KMT glasses, and presented it as a process initiated by “benevolent” leaders, such as former President Chiang

Ching-kuo – who started his career as head of the KMT’s dreaded secret police. This book shows that Chiang may have stood at the beginning of the road towards democratization, but that he only reluctantly set the first steps because of the strong pressure from the democratic opposition.

In short, **Taiwan, A New History** is a very valuable addition to the increasing valuable trove of knowledge about Taiwan, the beautiful island. It is published in the East Gate series by M.E. Sharpe Publishers, Armonk, NY.



Report from Washington

Taiwan's Security Needs Bolstering

*By Jay Loo. Mr. Loo is a board member of the Formosan Association for Public Affairs (FAPA), and an active member of the Taiwanese-American community. His articles have appeared in Foreign Affairs, the New Republic, World Affairs, and in numerous Taiwanese-language publications. The present article is a response to an OpEd regarding the Taiwan Security Enhancement Act by David Lampton in the **Washington Post** of 30 October 1999.*

Sinologist David Lampton's arguments against the Taiwan Security Enhancement Act (TSEA) are misleading and disingenuous. The TSEA needs to be enacted for five solid reasons:

1. The Act is urgently needed. Washington has failed to implement the Taiwan Relations Act (TRA) which requires the U.S. to sell to Taiwan weapons and services adequate for the island's defense. For example, China has 55 submarines including four advanced Kilo class submarines purchased from Russia. Taiwan has four submarines. The Department of Defense (DOD) said in its February 1999 report to the Congress on Taiwan's security that submarines represent a critical defense need of Taiwan. Yet Taipei has been trying in vain for over 10 years to purchase submarines from the U. S.
2. The framework of the TRA and the three joint U. S.-PRC communiqués are no longer adequate to keep the peace due to three recent developments. First, China is rapidly modernizing its armed forces with a focused aim of coercing Taiwan into submission in the next few years. Second, Taiwan has evolved into a thriving free-market economy and multiparty democracy. The Taiwanese will not readily give up their hard-won political and economic achievements. Third, instead of deterring the looming military conflict, President Clinton has encouraged Chinese adventurism by his enunciation of the three no's. Passage of the TSEA will pull the pendulum back toward peace in the Taiwan strait.
3. Section 2(a) of the TRA states that any effort to determine the future of Taiwan by other than peaceful means will be deemed "*a threat to the peace and security of the Western Pacific area and of grave concern to the United States.*" In order to preserve the option of going to Taiwan's aid in a crisis, a secure line of

communications with Taiwan's military is indispensable. So are closer military ties, so each side can become familiar with the other's military doctrine, strategy and preparedness. These provisions of the TSEA will give substance to our policy that any dispute between Taiwan and China must be resolved peacefully. Failure to establish the military links will invite PRC miscalculation.

4. China has deployed more than 150 ballistic missiles across the Taiwan Strait. The number is estimated to increase to 650 by 2005. Taiwan has no effective defense against these missiles. If the only recourse is to attack China's missile launching pads, any conflict will escalate into a full-scale war. If China cannot be persuaded to dismantle these offensive missiles, then inclusion of Taiwan in a U.S.-sponsored theater missile defense system should be considered.
5. There is no question Taiwan is an issue in U.S.-PRC relations due to China's strategic ambitions and its bellicosity. In engaging China, however, we should not lose sight of our basic policy goals: to maintain peace and stability in East Asia and to steer China towards the path of democracy. Preserving Taiwan's democracy and ensuring the 22 million Taiwanese's rights to determine their future without outside military or political pressure is consistent with such policy objectives.

Clinton signs "Taiwan into the WHO" Bill

On 7 December 1999, President Clinton signed HR 1794, a bill calling for Taiwan's "appropriate and meaningful participation in the World Health Organization" and requiring a report to the Congress from the Secretary of State not later than January 1, 2000 regarding "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" into law.

"I'm extremely pleased the President signed this measure," said Rep. Sherrod Brown (D-OH), the sponsor of this legislation. *"Denying Taiwan's participation in the WHO is an unjustifiable violation of its people's fundamental human rights. The Cold War is over. Instead of worrying about offending China, our government should help Taiwan gain its rightful place in the WHO and other international organizations. This law is a step in the right direction."*

"With both this bill and HR 3427, requiring semiannual reports on US support for membership or participation of Taiwan in international organizations, the Adminis-

tration is finally moving to implement its own Taiwan Policy Review,” stated Chen Wen-yen, FAPA’s President. “After six years of inaction, we are pleased to see these first steps toward full recognition of Taiwan as a state among equals.”

On 30 November 1999, Mr. Clinton also signed HR 3427, the Foreign Relations Authorization Act, which included Section 704, requiring a semi-annual report detailing:

- a. a comprehensive list of the international organizations in which the United States Government supports the membership or participation of Taiwan;
- b. the efforts of the United States Government to achieve the membership or participation of Taiwan in each organization listed; and
- c. the obstacles to the membership or participation of Taiwan in each organization listed, including a list of any governments that do not support the membership or participation of Taiwan in each such organization.

Notes

In memoriam Gerald Segal

On 2 November 1999, Dr. Gerald Segal of the London-based International Institute for Strategic Studies passed away. The people of Taiwan and the overseas Taiwanese community lost a great friend. Over the past year, he spoke out forcefully and frequently on the issue of Taiwan’s safety and security, and about the rising China threat.

This past summer, during the stormy debate about President Lee Teng-hui’s “state-to-state” relationship, Dr. Segal wrote “*The Logic of Taiwan Independence*” in the Paris-based **International Herald Tribune**, and “*China’s Options against Taiwan are Limited*” in the **Wall Street Journal**. Both titles speak for themselves.

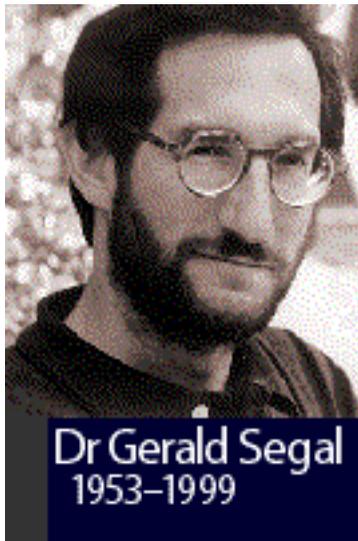
Dr. Segal was a very straightforward man. In an earlier article about the American “engagement policy” (“*We can shape China as a Congenial Superpower*” **Los Angeles Times**, 7 August 1995), Mr. Segal stated: “Tying China into the international system has elements of both “containment” and “engagement,” and it is not worth feigning that we cannot use either term in our debates.”

Even as he was losing the battle against cancer, he continued to write articles. His last article, “*Does China Matter?*” (**Foreign Affairs**, Sept/Oct 1999) was a major contribution to the political debate about China, and a must-read for anyone dealing with East Asia.

We extend our deep condolences to Dr. Segal’s wife and daughter.

For a list of tributes, and a link to Dr. Segal’s own website, please go to: <http://segal.org/g/>

Israeli sale of long-range radar to China



In the beginning of November 1999, both the **New York Times** and **Aviation Week and Space Technology** reported that Israel was preparing to sell an advanced airborne radar system, Phalcon, to China. The system was being built into a Russian-built aircraft, which had arrived in Israel at the end of October 1999.

We have always highly regarded Israel, and considered it a friendly nation. However, this sale to China — a nation which has repeatedly threatened our homeland Taiwan with military attack and invasion — threatens to undermine the warmth and friendship we feel for Israel.

Israel’s proposed sale to China will strengthen China’s repressive hand against a democratic Taiwan, and therefore seriously threatens peace and stability in the Taiwan Strait. We hope Israel realizes that such a sale is equivalent to other nations’ proposing a sale of advanced military equipment to belligerent neighbors, such as Syria or Iraq.

Being a small nation surrounded by hostile neighbors, Israel should display solidarity with Taiwan, instead of assisting the aggressor. With the proposed radar sale, it would be helping Goliath defeat David. We assume this is not Israel’s intention. We therefore strongly urge Israel to withdraw the offer to China.

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