



# TAIWAN COMMUNIQUE

Published by:

*International Committee for Human Rights in Taiwan*

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

**Europe** : P.O. Box 91542, 2509 EC THE HAGUE, The Netherlands

**Canada** : 3636 Steeles Avenue E., Suite 303A, MARKHAM, Ont. L3R 1K9

**U.S.A.** : P.O. Box 15182, CHEVY CHASE, MD 20825

**International edition, May 2000**

**Published 6 times a year**

**ISSN number: 1027-3999**

# 91

## A new beginning for Taiwan

The inauguration of newly-elected president Chen Shui-bian, vice President Annette Lu and a new government on 20 May 2000 heralds a new beginning for Taiwan.

It is a major step away from the old and repressive “Republic of China” of the Kuomintang, which lost the Chinese Civil War on the mainland more than 50 years ago, and came over from China and occupied the Japan-held island.

It is also the culmination of the process of democratization, which saw its first inkling in the late 1970s and early 1980s in the budding “*tangwai*” movement. To those who were involved in the democratic movement, it is fascinating to see how fast the transition took place: the Democratic Progressive Party was founded as recently as September 1986, and it wasn’t until July 1987 that the 38 years of Kuomintang martial law was ended.

The underlying theme of the democratization was the quest of the native Taiwanese majority (85 percent) to have a voice in the political system, which was dominated for so many decades by the Chinese mainlanders who came over with Chiang Kai-shek.



**Chen and Lu's victory walk on election night**

Initially, the Kuomintang had to be pushed every step of the way, but gradually, the party itself was “Taiwanized” and with the ascent of President Lee Teng-hui in 1988, the mainstream of the KMT also became more Taiwan-oriented. There is thus now a convergence between mainstream Kuomintang and the Taiwanese-based DPP, and a solid majority for further evolution of Taiwan to full-fledged membership of the international community.

Still, there is much left to be done at home and abroad: the more than 50 years of Kuomintang rule left Taiwan with some creaky institutions with many people with vested interests, built-in corruption and inefficiencies. These will need to be cleaned up and streamlined. The decision by the superfluous National Assembly on 24 April 2000 to virtually vote itself out of existence is a good beginning.

However, the main challenge is abroad: much of the international community has remained silent in the face of Beijing’s threats and bullying against Taiwan. Few seem to remember the commitments made by the international community at the San Francisco Peace Treaty in 1951-52 that the future of Taiwan be determined in accord with the principles of the United Nations, i.e. through the democratic decisions of the people of Taiwan.

It is thus of essence that principled people around the world stand up, and voice the view that the people of Taiwan need to be able to decide their own future without any threat, intimidation or interference from China.

## *The new line-up in the Cabinet*

On 30 April 2000, President Chen Shui-bian announced the full line-up of the new cabinet. In the preceding weeks, many names had surfaced already, and a picture had emerged of a careful balance of “old” and “new” in the Cabinet.

As he already promised during the election campaign, Mr. Chen did draw people from a broad political spectrum, considerably beyond the DPP itself.

His first choice, to the surprise of many, was the selection of **General Tang Fei**, the Defense Minis-



ter in the outgoing Kuomintang government, as **Prime Minister**. The choice came after it became clear that Nobel price winner Prof. Lee Yuan-tseh, whose support in the final weeks of the campaign had been crucial to the DPP victory, did not want to take the Prime Minister position and wanted to remain as head of the Academia Sinica.

With the selection of Tang Fei, president Chen was able to assure himself of the allegiance of the top echelon of the mainlander-dominated military in Taiwan, and at the same time provide himself with a good point man in the upcoming debates in the Legislative Yuan, where the opposition Kuomintang still has a slight majority. Elections for the Legislative Yuan won't be held until December 2001.

The next important decision was that of **Foreign Minister**, where *Prof. Tien Hung-mao* of the Institute for National Policy Research (INPR) in Taipei was President-elect Chen's choice. Prof. Tien Hung-mao studied and taught for many years in the United States, at the University of Wisconsin.

Two other appointments under the foreign ministry are *Prof. Lo Fu-chen* as representative to **Japan** and Mr. *Chen Chien-jen*, the present foreign minister, as representative to **Washington**. Prof. Lo is a highly respected member of the overseas Taiwanese community, who for many years taught at the United Nations University in Tokyo.



**Foreign Minister-designate  
Tien Hung-mao**

Mr. Chen Chien-jen's appointment is controversial, and caused much resentment in the overseas Taiwanese community, where he is considered a member of the Kuomintang establishment, and not in tune with the foreign policy objectives of the DPP.

Another foreign affairs-related appointment is that of Ms. *Tsai Ying-wen* as head of the **Mainland Affairs Council** (MAC). She played an important role in Taiwan's negotiations for the WTO, and was one of the key people behind President Lee Teng-hui's "state-to-state" initiative in July 1999. The statement gave rise to a heated debate, but remains an important corner-stone of any future discussion with China.

General Tang Fei did promote his former deputy at the **Department of National Defense**, Admiral *Wu Shih-wen*, to be his successor as minister. Admiral Wu is the former

commander of Taiwan's navy, and generally considered a professional military man.

Another key appointment was that of four-term legislator **Mrs. Yeh Chu-lan** to be minister of **Transportation and Communication**. Mrs. Yeh has been a forthright and outspoken critic of corruption in the Kuomintang-dominated construction and service industry. She has pledged to make her ministry the first “e-ministry” under the incoming DPP government: data on budget use and progress in each major infrastructure construction project will be posted on the ministry’s website.

Mrs. Yeh stepped into prominence in Taiwan’s political arena in 1989, after her husband – a well-known opposition editor and writer – burned to death when police surrounded and stormed the offices of his news magazine. She ran for a seat in the Legislative Yuan in 1989, and has been re-elected for four terms.



**Transportation Minister  
Mrs. Yeh Chu-lan**

At the **Environmental Protection Administration**, President Chen appointed **Prof. Lin Chung-yi** of Tunghai University. This is a well-deserved appointment: Prof. Lin was a pioneer in the environmental protection movement in Taiwan. In the 1970s and early 1980s, he was one of the very first people in Taiwan who was so courageous to speak up for the environment.

Chia-yi mayor **Chang Po-ya** initially refused, but finally relented and agreed to become **Minister of Interior**, after a considerable amount of persuasion on the part of President-elect Chen Shui-bian.

Another appointment of a woman was **Dr. Chang Fu-mei** as head of the **Overseas Taiwanese Affairs Commission**. Dr. Chang worked for many years at the Hoover Institution at Stanford University in California, and served as the first President of the North American Taiwanese Woman’s Association (NATWA).



**Mrs. Chang Fu-mei**

Former Ilan County magistrate *Chen Ting-nan* will head the **Ministry of Justice**, where he must spearhead the campaign against “black gold” politics. In addition to squeaky cleanness, Chen is famous for his refusal to compromise on principle, a character trait that has even made him something of a maverick within his own party, the DPP, where he has enthusiastically supported disciplining party members who have committed electoral irregularities.

Tainan County Magistrate Dr. *Chen Tang-san* (“Mark”) was appointed chairman of **the National Science Council**, which oversees all science and technology-related R&D at the science parks. Dr. Chen received his Ph.D. from Purdue University, and worked for many years at the US National Oceanographic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) in Washington D.C., where he was also a key founder and a former president of the Formosan Association for Public Affairs (FAPA).

## *Vice-President Annette Lu speaks out*

One of the most colorful persons in the upcoming administration is Vice President Annette Lu Hsu-lien, who until now served 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 on Taiwan’s international status at the now well-known Kaohsiung Incident in December 1979 (for the full text, see the publication **The Kaohsiung Tapes** at <http://www.taiwandc.org/kao-tapes.htm>) and was subsequently arrested on trumped-up “sedition” charges 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 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.

In early April 2000, in an interview to a Hong Kong television station, she commented that she considered China a “remote relative and close neighbor”, indicating that she considered that the future relations between the two nations should be based on peaceful coexistence, and be like e.g. Canada and the United States.

However, the Beijing government-controlled propaganda machine did not take kindly to this overture: on 8 April 2000, the New China News Agency let loose a vicious slander campaign, calling her the “scum of the nation”, “hideous”, “shameless” and a “traitor.” The People’s Daily added further insults a day later, and said that Lu was leading Taiwan into the “abyss of war.”



Copyright: Taipei Times

### Vice President-elect Annette Lu and her China neighbor

Disregarding Beijing’s uncivilized behavior against

her, Ms. Lu continued to speak out, and in interviews with **TIME Magazine**, **Newsweek**, **Associated Press** and the **Washington Post** urged the United States to play a much firmer role in bringing peace to the Taiwan Strait. She also urged other nations such as Japan, the Philippines, and the members of the European Union to press China to stop its military treats and intimidation against Taiwan, and come to a peaceful accommodation.

## *Where did the “status quo” go?*

### Taiwan Communiqué editorial

During the weeks and months before Taiwan’s presidential elections, there were umpteen pundits, particularly from the United States, who reiterated over and over again that the people of Taiwan were in favor of the “status quo”. For sure, the Taiwanese would vote for “stability” – so these wise men said — thinly implying that this meant the Kuomintang’s Mr. Lien Chan.

The implication of these dire warning was that Mr. Chen and the DPP somehow represented a danger of being “radical” and leading towards “instability.” What are these spin-masters now making of the results of these elections? Do we Taiwanese want the “status quo” or do we want change?

It must be obvious that we do want change. A change for the better. In the words of the birth of the American nation some 200 years ago, we want “*life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.*” We want a fair, just and open society. We want an end to the “black-gold” perpetuated by 54 years of Kuomintang rule.

Also in our international relations we want change. We do not want to be treated as second-class world citizens, and international pariah’s. We want to normalize our relations with the rest of the world.

We now live in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. More than 50 years ago, visionary leaders established the United Nations on the basis of the principles of respect for human rights and self-determination. There should thus be no place in this world anymore for 19<sup>th</sup> Century warlordism.

The Kuomintang’s “status quo”, which was so dear to some of these international commentators, gave a fake sense of “stability”, but in reality it bore the seeds for far greater instability: it gave China the chance to maneuver Taiwan into a corner, putting it for a *fait-accompli* from which it would be sheer impossible to extricate itself.

Real stability only comes from the mutual respect of people and nations for each other’s rights. It is the product of fair and just rules and laws. It does not come about through appeasement of the neighborhood bully.

Real stability only come when major actors, such as the United States, hold firm to the basic principles of human rights and self-determination, and do not let themselves be lulled into concessions in exchange for access to a hot air balloon Chinese market.

Real stability only comes when China accepts Taiwan as a friendly neighbor, and the United States and other democratic nations embrace us as a full member in the international community, and normalize their ties with our beautiful island, *Ilha Formosa*. That should be the new status quo.

# For the defense of Taiwan

## *Mr. Clinton falls short, again*

On Monday, 17 April 2000, the Clinton Administration decided it would *delay* approval of several major weapon systems requested by Taiwan. These postponed requests include the Arleigh Burke-class destroyers equipped with the Aegis battle management system, diesel submarines, and anti-submarine P-3 Orion aircraft.

Instead, the Administration decided on a “comprehensive study”, as well as the sale of an older long range radar, PAVE PAWS, a medium-range AMRAAM air-to-air missile, and an upgraded version of the Maverick air-to-ground missile.

**Taiwan Communiqué comment:** *While these systems are still significant, the postponement of the Arleigh-Burke/Aegis sale is the wrong signal at the wrong time:*

*it is obvious to any person willing to see, that China is increasingly threatening Taiwan, in particular by deploying hundreds of missiles along the coast facing Taiwan.*

*The time for “comprehensive studies” is over. The best response is a firm and principled stance, not the befuddled wishful thinking of the Clinton White House. Mr. Clinton needs to make it excruciatingly clear to the Chinese that ANY move against Taiwan is a move against the United States.*

*Taiwan is willing to defend itself, but if the United States is not providing it with the means to counter the Chinese threats, then the US itself will have to bear the consequences, and will have to send in more troops, ships and aircraft than it would have otherwise.*



**Arleigh Burke class destroyer**



## *Aegis and PAVE PAWS*

The decision to postpone the sale of four Arleigh Burke class destroyers outfitted with Aegis, and to offer Taiwan the PAVE PAWS system instead is peculiar. The Arleigh Burke/AEGIS system is an advanced weapon system that could help Taiwan defend itself against the increasing array of short-range missiles deployed along the Chinese coast facing Taiwan.

According to the US Defense Department's own reports, these missiles now number approximately 200, and are growing at a rate of more than 50 per year, with an expected total of some 650 by the year 2005.

To defend against these missiles, the Arleigh Burke destroyers have a AN/SPY-1 multifunction radar capable of monitoring incoming missiles and aircraft. A Command Decision System (CDS) receives data from the



**The PAVE PAWS long range radar**

ship's and external sensors and provides command, control and threat assessment. A Weapon Control System directs the ship's weapons against the threats in the vicinity of the ship, while it relays information on incoming threats to other friendly ships and aircraft.

While the ships are not yet outfitted with high altitude missile defense, which are under development in the Theatre Missile Defense (TMD) program, the ships are an essential element for such a missile defense, which could be in place around 2007.

Due to their mobility and advanced defenses, the ships are much less vulnerable than PAVE PAWS (Phased Array Warning System) system, which is basically a large, static building, housing a long-range radar system developed by the United States to detect the launch of intercontinental ballistic missiles during the Cold War.

The United States originally erected four of these radar stations, at Beale Air Force Base in California, at El Dorado in Texas, at Cape Cod Air Station in Massachusetts, and at Robins Air Force Base in Georgia. Only the two stations at Cape Cod and Beale are still operational. The other two were closed down in 1995.

The problem with the PAVE PAWS system is thus that they are stationary, are based on outdated technology, and were designed for long-range detection, and not the short-range missiles that Taiwan is faced with. In addition, the system is not designed to be connected to a battle command system, and would thus be of little help in defending Taiwan against the incoming missiles from China.

## *Consultations with Congress ?*

The Clinton Administration's decisions prompted sharp protests from Congress on both the decision itself as well as the procedure. Senator Tim Hutchinson (R-Arkansas) and others criticized the Administration for its failure to consult adequately with Congress, and to give in to pressure from Beijing on this issue.

According to the Taiwan Relations Act, Sec. 3(a), the President and Congress shall determine the nature and quantity of such defense articles and services [to be sold to Taiwan] based *solely* upon their judgement of the needs of Taiwan (emphasis added).

Senator Hutchinson stated: *"Unfortunately, the Administration has followed a two-pronged approach in determining US arms sales to Taiwan -- rewarding threats from Beijing and keeping Congress out of the process -- both in violation of the Taiwan Relations Act."*

Mr. Hutchinson added: *"Congress has already been kept in the dark for too long. This Administration should expect Congress to reassert itself in the arms sales process by passing the Taiwan Security Enhancement Act or other legislation, to restore the intent of the Taiwan Relations Act."*

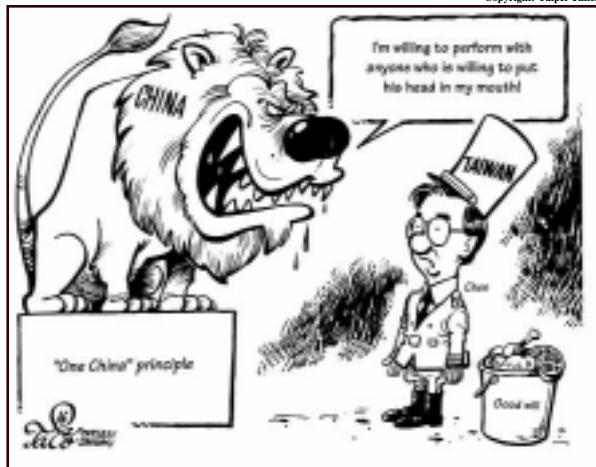
Senator Jesse Helms (R-NC), Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, criticized the package, saying that it sacrificed Taiwan's security in order to appease the dicators in Beijing. He also ridiculed one provision of the package, that AMRAAM air-to-air missiles would be sold to Taiwan, but that they would be stored on US territory, and only be transferred in case of emergency. *"What is Taiwan supposed to do"*, Mr. Helms thundered, *"call FEDEX for its AMRAAMs after China attacks?"*

# The “One China” syndrome

## *Yes, we have No “One China”...*

There are apparently still some people – reportedly primarily in the State Department and the White House – who cling to the “One China” policy. For the benefit of these people, we briefly outline its history, and show why it is an outdated anachronism.

It was devised in the late 1940s, early 1950s, when the Chinese Communists had emerged victorious from the Chinese Civil War, and drove Chiang Kai-shek’s Nationalists off the mainland. As is now well-known, Mr. Chiang and his defeated troops moved over to Taiwan, an island inhabited by some 6 million Taiwanese, who had lived under Japanese colonial rule from 1895 through 1945.



While the Chinese Communists in Beijing claimed sovereignty over the mainland as “People’s Republic of China”, Chiang’s Nationalists settled down in Taiwan, severely repressed the native Taiwanese, all the while continuing to claim sovereignty over China as “Republic of China”. The native Taiwanese thus rolled from a colonial Japanese regime into a repressive occupation by the Chinese nationalists.

The West paid scant attention to the plight of the Taiwanese, but — faced with the dueling claims for sovereignty over China — adopted a “One China” policy, which continued to recognize Chiang’s regime as the legitimate government of all of China, while Mr. Chiang kept the UN seat as the representative of “China.”

However, in the subsequent decades, the newly emerging independent nations of Africa and Asia, were increasingly supportive of the PRC’s claim, and as history shows, in the early 1970s, the PRC took the UN seat as the representative of “China.”

During the subsequent years, the “One China” thus became the “other” China, the PRC, and the Western nations settled in another groove of the record of history. And that is where most of them still find themselves today.

The question is of course, what did this all do to the status of Taiwan?

The first remark which must be made is that during the 1950s and 1960s, “Taiwan” had gradually become synonymous with “Republic of China”, a misconception which is perpetuated by the Kuomintang authorities in Taiwan to this day. This of course overlooks the fact that from 1911 through 1945+ these two were totally different entities: Taiwan was a Japanese colony, while the “ROC” was the government ruling mainland China – *sans* Taiwan.

The second important point, which is often overlooked in the present debate, is that at the San Francisco Peace Treaty of 1951-52 – when Japan formally ceded sovereignty over Taiwan – *no beneficiary was named*, and it was decided that the sovereignty issue would be decided in due time in accord with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. Back in those days, this could only have one meaning: independence.

The third important point is that UN Resolution 2758 of 1971 did *not state anything* about Taiwan’s status: it only recognized the representatives of the PRC Government as the legitimate representatives of China to the United Nations, and expelled “...forthwith the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek.”

In the subsequent years the world still paid scant attention to the plight of the native Taiwanese, and nations started to “acknowledge” China’s claims to Taiwan, while – according to two recent works – Jim Mann’s **About Face** and Patrick Tyler’s **A Great Wall** – Henry Kissinger even went further in his secret talks with the Chinese and promised no US support for Taiwan independence and other configurations.

The problem with those “acknowledgements” and Kissinger’s distorted permutations is of course that they totally disregarded the views of the Taiwanese themselves. The people of Taiwan had no say in them: they were suffering repression under Chiang’s regime, and were hardly able to voice their views on the important issue of their island’s future.

This has now changed, and the democratization of Taiwan in the 1980s and 1990s ensures that the people of Taiwan will speak up. However, in order for democracy to run its full course, it is essential for the United States and the rest of the world to distance

themselves from the anachronistic policies of the yesteryear, and move squarely into the 21<sup>st</sup> Century with a policy that takes account of the monumental transformation which Taiwan has undergone, and recognizes the country for what it has become: a free, democratic and independent nation.

China will bristle and threaten for some time to come, but if faced with a principled and determined United States and Western Europe, it will eventually tone down and come to accept Taiwan as a friendly neighbor.

***Required readings:***

Mr. William Shawcross in **Newsweek** on 6 March 2000: “The Myth of “one China.”

Prof. Elliot A. Cohen in the **Wall Street Journal** on 21 March 2000: “One China” policy is obsolete.

Flora Lewis in the **International Herald Tribune** of 24 March 2000 talks about “One China” in terms of “hypocrisy” and “fiction”.

Prof. June Teufel Dreyer in the **New York Times** of 27 March 2000, refers to “One China” as “false”, a “convenient ruse of Mr. Kissinger” and a “dangerous myth.”

## ***Lowering the “One China” rhetoric***

In the aftermath of Chen Shui-bian’s election victory, the United States has been urging both China and Taiwan to “lower the rhetoric” and to refrain from “provocative” statements.

These urgings were certainly justified in the case of China, which had been sending a rain of bellicose and threatening statements across the Taiwan Strait, and continues to threaten Taiwan with military attack to this day.

US pressure was totally unjustified in the case of the DPP, since the party and its leaders have bent over backwards to be friendly and accommodating. In any case, what is “provocative” about advocating peaceful coexistence between China and Taiwan as friendly neighbors?

In fact, “lowering the rhetoric” should also be applied to the United States. Indeed, it is the ceaseless and careless use of “One China” rhetoric by the Clinton administration,

which has led Taiwan into the present hot waters. The slide of Mr. Clinton towards Beijing and his apparent acceptance of China's definitions and phraseology are a major reason for China's present adventurism.

In view of the new situation in Taiwan it would thus be wise for the Clinton Administration, and other Western nations, to lower the "One China" rhetoric. The perpetual recitations of "One China" by US officials is only playing the Chinese Communists into the cards.

If the new leaders in Taiwan should be "flexible", then shouldn't the US be even more flexible, and start to think a bit more "out-of-the-box"? Shouldn't the United States – and other Western nations — start to remove their respective feet from the "One-China" concrete and start to think a bit more creatively about Taiwan's future options?

The basic principles of democracy, human rights, and self-determination state clearly that the people of Taiwan have the right to determine their own future. This is enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. The United States – and other Western nations – should help and nurture this process instead of inhibiting it.

## ***Democratic Taiwan versus "One China"***

***The election of Chen Shui-bian as Taiwan's next president has sent a clear signal to the international community that the nation's once-budding democracy is now in full bloom — and that it doesn't want to kowtow to China.***

***By Prof. Chen Wen-yen, President, Formosan Association for Public Affairs***

If you listened carefully to recent statements made by U.S. policy makers, you would hear one message about the U.S. "one-China policy" – democracy in Taiwan has changed the issue dramatically.

Senator Frank Murkowski (R-AK) put it forthrightly in a March 29th speech at the Center for Strategic and International Studies: "The Taiwan issue is fraught with ambiguity. Congress, however, is fond of simple truths. The simple truth is that the people of Taiwan, with whom we have traded, worked, studied and lived for 50 years have developed a free, democratic and prosperous society worthy of emulation and respect. This society stands in sharp contrast to that of the Mainland with which, for better or worse, we must work to develop a positive relationship."

In a major speech at the Woodrow Wilson Center on 3/30, Senator John Kerry (D-MA) acknowledged that Taiwan was “a very different place than it was in 1972” when the Shanghai Communiqué laid out the “cornerstone of American policy on the question of Taiwan.” Stated Kerry forcefully, “Let me be clear: the United States will never accept a rollback of democracy and freedom in Taiwan.”

Forty House of Representatives’ Members sent a letter to Chen Shui-bian on 4/10 congratulating him on his election “as President and the people of Taiwan for their historic vote to strengthen democracy in Taiwan.” Addressing the cross-strait issue, the Members wrote, “Taiwan should not be compelled to accept Beijing’s ‘one country, two systems’ formulation that presupposes the final results of any negotiations and is not in accordance with the will of the Taiwanese people.”



American Institute in Taiwan’s Chair Richard Bush also gave a speech at CSIS on the same day as Senator Murkowski that was an important marker for the Clinton Administration. Bush noted that, given Taiwan’s democratic development, fundamental issues concerning Taiwan’s future must “be shaped with public views in mind” and “time will be needed to build a broad consensus and to fashion approaches that command a majority.”

“All political forces on Taiwan,” Bush continued, “agree that the people of the island should have a say in those choices.” Then Bush added that the Administration agrees that its own one-China policy also must allow for the Taiwanese people’s voice, noting, “President Clinton has said that the Taiwan Strait issue should be resolved peacefully and with the assent of the people of Taiwan.”

Lest the implications be missed by China, Bush made them clear to Chinese officials at the conference, stating, “Beijing should understand the larger message of these elections, that Taiwan’s democratization has transformed the cross-Strait equation in a rather profound way. Taiwan’s willingness to move forward on cross-Strait relations is no longer a function of the views of Taiwan’s top leaders; it is also a function of the views of the public at large, the press, members of the legislature, and the leadership of the opposition parties. The people of the island themselves will have to be convinced that any arrangements reached in cross-Strait dialogue are in their fundamental interests.”

Bush then laid out six elements of U.S. policy concerning Taiwan, with clear emphasis on the democratic process in Taiwan. “Taken together,” Bush stated, “these policy elements are designed to foster an environment in the Taiwan Strait region that is conducive to our fundamental interests in peace and stability and are therefore good for the PRC and Taiwan as well.”

Bush’s first three policy elements repeated past statements: a one-China policy as defined by the three communiqués and the Taiwan Relations Act; peaceful resolution of the Taiwan Strait issue; and no mediator role for the U.S.

Bush then concluded with these three policy statements:

1. “We understand that any arrangements between Beijing and Taipei should be on a mutually acceptable basis, and not be imposed on one side by the other. How specifically to define the “one-China” principle and how concretely to realize it are best left to the two sides of the Strait on a mutually acceptable basis.
2. We understand that because Taiwan is a democracy, any arrangements between the two sides ultimately have to be acceptable to the Taiwan public.
3. We are willing to support any outcome voluntarily agreed to by both sides of the Taiwan Strait.”

Bush’s stress on “mutually acceptable” arrangements that are not imposed “on one side by the other” parallels Chen Shui-bian’s insistence that “one-China” be considered as an issue, not as a principle defined by China.

“If the one-China principle means that Taiwan is part of the P.R.C., or that Taiwan is a province of the P.R.C., then never mind that Chen Shui-bian couldn’t accept it, the overwhelming majority of Taiwanese people also couldn’t accept it,” Chen told the



Asian Wall Street Journal on 4/11. “Therefore, the principles for talks or negotiations must be founded on certain common beliefs. But at the moment there aren’t any. That is why I have suggested that the one-China principle be a topic for discussion, but the outcome shouldn’t be decided ahead of time, or discussion precluded.”

Chen also has picked up on Clinton’s statement concerning “the assent of the people of Taiwan.” In the AWSJ interview, Chen stated, “This sentence of Clinton’s is extremely important. Clearly, according to all the opinion polls, Taiwanese people will not accept being a province of China, or the one country, two systems formula, or becoming a second Hong Kong. If the cross-strait problem is to be resolved with the consent of the Taiwanese people as Clinton said, then any effort to force Taiwanese people to accept the one-China principle is a very serious subject.”

Congress and Richard Bush couldn’t agree more. There may be those in the U.S. State Department who still don’t accept the policy echoes converging here. But the echoes are getting louder. You can be sure that Messrs. Al Gore and George W. Bush are listening. Are Jiang Zemin and Zhu Rongji?

---

\*\*\*\*\*

---

## **No to PNTR for China**

In March / April 2000, the Clinton administration and business interests initiated a major publicity campaign to secure passage through Congress of the “Permanent Normal Trade Relations” (PNTR) legislation, granting China permanent “normal” trade status with the United States. Under previous legislation, China could only be granted “Most Favored Nation” status on an annual basis after a mandatory review by Congress.

The PNTR was one of China’s demands in the deal brokered between the US and China in November 1999, as part of the negotiations on China’s accession to the World Trade Organization, WTO. A vote on the issue is foreseen in the week of 22 May 2000.

### ***A rosy, cosy picture...***

Mr. Clinton and the business interests are trying to argue the case on economic and national security grounds, saying that it will “dramatically expand US exports to China”, and that it will “encourage China’s evolution to a more open, democratic and market-oriented system.” Mr. Clinton has sent a whole array of Administration

officials, such as Agriculture Secretary Dan Glickman, former economic advisor Laura D'Andrea Tyson, and even US ambassador to China Joseph Prueher on the road for rosy portrayals of the benefits which would befall the US if this legislation passes.

The rosy snapshots are accompanied by dire warnings of what would come about if the legislation fails to pass: Laura Tyson intoned in an article in **Business Week** (*"The Most Important Vote Congress will Cast this year"*, 1 May 2000) that in that case "...the concessions made to join the WTO will only apply to the US's competitors." Admiral Prueher, in an interview with the **Washington Post** went even further, saying that



**Mr. Democracy to Three-No Clinton: "Why do you have to push for a reunion with China?"**

"...there are just a whole spate of issues in the downside category that are ugly." He then went on to say that US business would suffer, the non-proliferation dialogue wouldn't resume, and (note this) "...the US will be perceived as an unreliable partner."

**Taiwan Communiqué comment:** Ms. Tyson of course overlooks the fact that it is generally US business interests, which pushes to rush headlong into unreliable and unstable markets such as China's. Certainly European companies are much more cautious, and tread much more gingerly. In any case, it is unconscionable of Ms. Tyson to try to play off US business interests against those of other Western nations.

Mr. Prueher's scare tactics are equally objectionable: as a military man he should be aware of the dangers of a large and powerful, but undemocratic and highly nationalistic nation. China itself is showing itself to be an unreliable – and highly aggressive – partner. Failure to try to restrain it now will have unimaginable consequences in the future.

## *... and the harsh reality*

On the other side of the fence, a coalition of major labor organizations and human rights groups argue against passage of the NPTR on the grounds that it will mean the disappearance of large numbers of U.S. jobs to low-wage China, and that it would deprive the United States of the annual debate as a leverage to urge China to abide by international human rights and labor standards.

This coalition is supported on the side of the liberal wing of the Democratic Party by such prominent figures as House Democratic leader Richard A. Gephardt (D-MO), Nancy Pelosi (D-CA) and Sherrod Brown (D-OH), and on the side of the conservative wing of the Republican Party by leading Republicans such as Senate Foreign Affairs Committee chairman Jesse Helms (R-NC), and Congressman Frank R. Wolf (R-VA).

In an excellent OpEd article in the Washington Post (*"The Chinese Gulags"*, 29 April 2000), Congressman Wolf outlined his arguments against passage of PNTR. He started by referring to Dietrich Bonhoeffer, a well-known German theologian who spoke out against Hitler's nazi practices during World War II, and who was arrested in 1943 and hanged just a few weeks before the end of the war.

Congressman Wolf then compared Bonhoeffer to several Chinese religious leaders, who refused to be silenced by the Beijing government, and who were imprisoned, tortured, physically abused, and in some cases killed. Mr. Wolf stated that there are more Gulag prisons in China today than there were in the former Soviet Union when Solzhenitsyn wrote his **Gulag Archipelago**.

Mr. Wolf then referred to the national security threat that China poses, the high-tech espionage by the Chinese, and China's use of cyber terrorism. He concludes that this vote is indeed one of the most important the Congress will make this year, and that Congress should vote "*no*".

## *A no-brainer ?*

In various statements, Mr. Clinton and his administration have termed the upcoming PNTR vote a "no-brainer". The US business community is also using this term left and right (see article in the **International Herald Tribune**, 24 April 2000).

**Taiwan Communiqué comment:** *It would seem advisable if Mr. Clinton and US business would start using their brains. While everyone agrees that in the long-term, it would indeed be beneficial to have “normal” trade (and other) relations with China, it is China itself, which is behaving very abnormally: it is severely violating the human and religious rights of its own population; it is occupying a small neighboring country, Tibet, and repressing its people; it is militarily threatening another nation, Taiwan, which just achieved a major democratic victory by voting an opposition party into power. And the list goes on.*

*To grant “normal” trade relations to China now would reward its repressive rulers. It would be equivalent to establishing “normal” relations with nazi-Germany in the 1930s. With the benefit of hindsight, nobody now says that they would do such a thing. Why are these same people and companies so eager to jump on the Chinese bandwagon while the Chinese leaders are fanning the flames of nationalism in very much the same way as Hitler was in the 1930s?*

---

\*\*\*\*\*

## Israel's AWACS sale to China

### *Jerusalem should know better*

Israel is a small country, surrounded by hostile neighbors. In many ways, it is in a similar position as Taiwan. That is why it is so incredulous that Israel is now proceeding with the sale of AWACS type radar aircraft to China, an Israeli-designed Phalcon radar installed in a Russian-made Ilyushin-76, modified as an A-50.

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 is helping a giant Goliath threaten and intimidate a small David.

The proposed sale will strengthen China's repressive hand against a democratic Taiwan, and therefore seriously threatens peace and stability in the Taiwan Strait. It will also endanger US ships and aircraft in the region.

During the past weeks, United States' Secretary of Defense Cohen and even President Clinton himself exerted strong pressure on Israel not to go ahead with the sale.

**Taiwan Communiqué comment:** *It seems Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak and his government are not willing to listen. That's why we fully support the suggestions in Congress to suspend US funding for military aid to Israel, and delay US sales of weapons and advanced military technology until Israel cancels the China deal.*

*Israel, we respect your country for its courage in the face of adversity, but this move is simply shortsighted and outrageous. We hope you realize that such a sale to China is equivalent to other nations' selling advanced military equipment to belligerent neighbors of yours, such as Syria or Iraq.*

## ***Caught between principle and greed***

In the **Washington Times** of 20 April 2000, the well-known scholar Amos Perlmutter wrote an article about the AWACS sale titled "*Caught between the United States and China*". While we of course highly respect Professor Perlmutter, we disagree with him that Israel should try to "defuse the controversy" and work towards a "partial arms deal with China" simply because of the critical position of the US Congress and American public opinion.

Even if the US had not said a word about the deal, Israel should not go ahead: it is caught between principle and greed. The principle is that Israel should align with like-minded nations like Taiwan, which hold the same value of democracy and human rights. Instead, it is putting profit before principle, and is selling an advanced radar system to a China, which is highly repressive and violates human rights.

Professor Perlmutter rightly points out that there is a smell of hypocrisy in the position of the Clinton Administration, in that it itself is exporting military and high-tech equipment to China, and that it has closed its eyes in cases of theft of high-technology by China.

Weapon sales are generally not a problem if the recipient is a democratic nation, but China's practices against its own people and against its neighbors border on those of Nazi-Germany. Would Israel (if it had existed at that time) sold weapons to Germany in the late 1930s, when Hitler was threatening Czechoslovakia, Poland and the Netherlands? Of course not. So, why is it delivering high-tech arms to China now?

As the columnist Jeff Jacoby wrote in an excellent editorial in the **Boston Globe** ("*A costly sale by Israel*", 13 April 2000):

*“Israel’s 20-year history of arming the Chinese is a blot on its reputation. A nation built on the ashes of the Holocaust ought to hold itself to a higher standard. China is governed by thugs. The ruling party has committed savage violence against millions of innocent victims. Does Israel think it enhances its own reputation by making common cause with such a regime?”*

*Israelis have no greater moral asset than their status as an oasis of enlightenment and liberty in a desert of autocracy and intolerance. That is why they are so admired by so many. If they are willing to sacrifice that asset just to make a profit, they will have lost something worth a lot more than \$250 million.”*

\*\*\*\*\*

## Report from Washington

### *The TSEA moves (a bit) in the Senate*

On 1 February 2000, the US House of Representatives passed the Taiwan Security Enhancement Act (TSEA) with an overwhelming majority of 341 to 70. In our previous issue we presented the arguments in favor of the TSEA (see “*Why the TSEA is needed*”, *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 90, pp. 21-23).

Since then, it has been waiting for an opportune moment to be put on the agenda of the Senate. Leading senators have held back in order to avoid giving China an excuse to kick up yet another storm, while at the same time having the legislation ready to go, just in case China would initiate threatening military exercises or missile firings at the time of Taiwan's presidential elections.

In mid-April 2000, Senate Majority leader Trent Lott (R-Miss) formally put the bill on the Senate's agenda, after twelve prominent Senators wrote him a letter, urging him to move the legislation forward. In the letter, the senators referred to China's purchase of Sovremenny-class destroyers equipped with Sunburn missiles and Kilo-class submarines equipped with evasive torpedoes, as well as China's continued deployment of short and medium range ballistic missiles across from Taiwan.

The senators stated that these military developments have been matched by indications of an intent to use force against Taiwan. They added that China has consistently refused to renounce the use of force against Taiwan and that they believed that China's threats will only increase as Taiwan progresses down the path of democracy.

The twelve senators, who were led by Tim Hutchinson (R-Arkansas) and included Democrats Robert Torricelli (D-NJ) and Russ Feingold (D-Wisconsin) as well as prominent figures like Frank Murkowski (R-Alaska) and Slade Gordon (R-Washington) also referred

to recent reports that a study by the US Department of Defense has indicated that the Taiwanese military faces a multitude of problems stemming from technological shortcomings, including an inability to adequately defend against air attacks, ballistic missiles, and cruise missiles. These deficiencies can be attributed, at least in part, to the military's isolation.



**Congress helping the TSEA along**

However, fearing that the TSEA passage would somehow interfere with the efforts of the Clinton Administration to pass "Normal Permanent Trade Relations" (NPTR for China, senator Max Baucus (D-Montana) -- a strong pro-trade advocate -- put a "hold" on the measure, meaning that senator Lott will have to muster 60% of the votes to overcome a possible filibuster.

To complicate matter further, Alaska Republican senator Frank Murkowski -- a proponent of the bill -- travelled to Taiwan in the second half of April, and, in a meeting with President-elect Chen Shui-bian, urged Mr. Chen to agree to a postponing of the legislation until after the Presidential inauguration on 20 May 2000.

FROM:  
TAIWAN COMMUNIQUE  
P.O. Box 15182  
CHEVY CHASE, MD 20825

Non profit org.  
U.S. Postage  
PAID  
Bethesda, MD  
Permit no. 4362

ISSN Number: 1027-3999

CONTENTS

Taiwan Communiqué no. 91  
May 2000

A new beginning for Taiwan	
<i>The new line-up in the Cabinet</i> .....	2
<i>Vice-President Annette Lu speaks out</i> .....	5
<i>Where did the "status quo" go?</i> .....	6
For the defense of Taiwan	
<i>Clinton falls short, again</i> .....	8
<i>Aegis and PAVE PAWS</i> .....	9
<i>Consultations with Congress</i> .....	10
The "One China" syndrome	
<i>Yes we have no "One China"</i> .....	11
<i>Lowering the "One China" rhetoric</i> .....	13
<i>Democratic Taiwan vs. "One China"</i> .....	14
No to PNTR for China	
<i>A rosy, cosy picture...and the harsh reality</i> .....	17
<i>A no-brainer ?</i> .....	19
Israel's AWACS sale to China	
<i>Israel should know better</i> .....	20
<i>Caught between greed and principle</i> .....	21
Report from Washington	
<i>The TSEA moves (a bit) in the Senate</i> .....	22

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.  
Please support our activities with your contributions.  
Internet homepage: <http://www.taiwandc.org>

SUBSCRIPTIONS:	USA (third class bulk mail)	US\$ 21.-
	USA (first class mail)	US\$ 25.-
	Other Countries (airmail)	US\$ 30.-