



TAIWAN COMMUNIQUÉ

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, April 2001

Published 6 times a year

ISSN number: 1027-3999

96

Collision Course

The fighter jet and turbo prop

The collision between the American EP-3 Aries II surveillance aircraft and a Chinese F-8 fighter jet some 65 nautical miles off the coast of Hainan and its aftermath are serving as a wake-up call to the United States and Western Europe. The incident is highlighting the increasingly aggressive stance China has been taking vis-à-vis its neighbors and towards the US role in the region.

The Bush administration tried to defuse the matter, and focused on getting the 21-man and three women crew back to the United States. The Chinese authorities, however, played it up, and tried to wring as many concessions as possible out of the United States – in particular a formal apology and “full responsibility” — before returning the crew.

At the time of this writing the crew had not been released yet, making a full assessment of the cause of the accident impossible. But from all information available through the news media it appeared that the Chinese jet had flown far too close, right under the slow surveillance propeller aircraft. According to a report in the **New York Times** (“*US aides say Chinese pilot reveled in risk*”, 6 April 2001) the Chinese pilot had in recent months flown so recklessly close to American surveillance aircraft



The damaged EP-3 Aries II on the ground at Hainan

that he was clearly recognizable on photographs. On one photograph he was even that he was seen holding a paper with his e-mail address written on it.

As the respected US commentator Jim Hoagland wrote: “...the probability that an American spy plane deliberately rammed a Chinese jet fighter over the South China Sea on Sunday runs as close to a perfect zero as mathematics allows. Imagine a fully loaded moving van trying to ram a Harley-Davidson motorcycle on an open plain and you get the picture” (“Chinese Succession Plays Key Role in Spy Plane Drama”, **International**

Herald Tribune, 7 April 2001).

Copyright: Taipei Times



Rising Chinese nationalism

Mr. Bush stands his ground

The plane collision is the first major foreign policy test of the newly established Bush administration. By all accounts, the new foreign policy team handled the situation well, trying to defuse the issue by expressing “regret” at the loss of the Chinese fighter and its pilot, but at the same time not falling into the “apology” trap. Any concession in that direction would have prompted the Chinese to *up the ante* and demand further concessions from the US.

The Chinese attempt to shift blame to the United States is intended to divert attention from the fact that China itself has significantly increased military tension in the area. It has positioned some 300 missiles on the coast opposite Taiwan, growing at a rate of 50 per year. It has purchased Russian Sukhoi-27 and -30 fighter aircraft and Sovremenny destroyers with the specific intent to threaten and bully a peaceful and democratic neighbor, Taiwan.

It is preventing a free and democratic nation, Taiwan, from being accepted as a full and equal member of the international community, and is threatening it with attack and invasion if it would declare independence.

The American surveillance flights are thus an essential element in preserving peace and stability in East Asia. It is only careful and prudent to keep a close watch on Chinese growing military power. In fact, according to press reports in Taiwan, the EP-3 surveillance flight was monitoring Chinese maneuvers with its newly-purchased Sovremenny destroyers.

For the defense of Taiwan

During the past couple of months — even before the collision of the Chinese fighter aircraft with the US surveillance plane — there has been an increasingly hot debate about the upcoming US decision to sell advanced weaponry to Taiwan. The decision is part of the annual cycle mandated by the 1979 Taiwan Relations Act.

The matter received increasing attention because it would be the first by the new Bush Administration. Mr. Bush and his team had indicated they would be much more firm and forthright than the wishy-washy Clinton Administration. The Chinese thus attempted to pull all strings to try to prevent the sale, in particular of four Aegis destroyers, which would enable Taiwan to set up a potent defense system, in particular against the some 300 missiles set up by China along its coastline opposite Taiwan.

While the 1 April 2001 aircraft accident formally has no bearing on the sale of defensive weapons to Taiwan, it is indeed illustrative of Taiwan's need for those weapons. If China already shows such aggressive and recalcitrant behavior vis-à-vis the United States, what treatment can a small and relative much weaker nation of Taiwan expect?

The accident thus strengthens the case for full support of Taiwan, not only by strengthening the democratic island's capability to defend itself, but also by enhancing its acceptance as a full and equal member of the international community, and by moving towards normalizing diplomatic relations with the island. Leaving a solution to "talks between the two sides" is naïve and incompatible with internationally-accepted principles of democracy and self-determination.

In the following article we first present the case for the sale of the Aegis, and then give a reprint of an article by Mr. Li Thian-hok, titled "*It's time to choose fight or flight.*" At the time of this writing, no decision had been made yet.

Aegis or no Aegis?

The proposed sale of four Arleigh Burke class destroyers equipped with the Aegis radar system, at a cost of some US\$ 1.2 billion each, is a major decision for both the United States and Taiwan. It is part of the present package of military sales to be approved by President Bush. The package does include a broad array of weapon systems, which have been discussed for a number of years, including PAC-3 anti-missile batteries, the P-3 Orion anti-submarine aircraft, diesel submarines, Kidd-class destroyers, and the HARM anti-radiation missile.

The latter systems are important to beef up Taiwan's defenses: the PAC-3 to help defend the population centers and strategic locations against incoming missiles; the P-3 Orion and the diesel submarines against the more than 60 Chinese submarines, including four Kilo-class purchased from Russia.

However, the most important is the sale of the four Arleigh Burke class de-



The Arleigh Burke-class destroyer with Aegis radar

stroyers equipped with Aegis. It has become symbolic for the long-term US commitment to the defense of Taiwan, because the powerful Aegis radar that can track hundreds of targets and defend against aircraft, submarines, surface ships and cruise missiles, and with planned upgrades will be able to stop ballistic missiles as well.

The sale of Aegis destroyers was also considered last year by the Clinton administration, but postponed for a year, because Mr. Clinton didn't want to increased tension with China in his last year in office.

China has objected strenuously against the sale because it would pull the rug from under the Chinese strategy to try to subdue Taiwan with a mixture oral threats, and intimidation with the some 300 missiles deployed along the coast opposite Taiwan and the threat of a blockade of Taiwan's ports with its submarines.

On the US side, objections to the sale fall into two groups: 1) those who argue that the sale would “increase tension” with China, and 2) those who argue that Taiwan’s navy does not have adequate manpower to deal with such a complex warship, and that would be better served by a less complicated system.

The first objection totally disregards the fact that it is China that is increasing tension with its threats and intimidation against Taiwan. Tension could be reduced easily if China would dismantle the some 300 missiles, decommission its submarines, and accept Taiwan as a friendly neighbor instead of perpetuating the 50-years old Civil War.

The second objection can be dealt with over time: it takes some 7 to 8 years for the ships to be built. In the meantime, the US could provide Taiwan with an extensive training program, and could provide the island with a less-complicated system, such as the Kidd-class destroyer, so the men and women of Taiwan’s navy will have adequate preparation for their future tasks.

The arguments in favor of the sale of the four Arleigh Burke-class destroyers equipped with Aegis can be summarized as follows:

1. It is a much-needed defense system against China’s increasing military threats against Taiwan, and in particular the some 300 missiles deployed along the Chinese coast opposite Taiwan.
2. It has become symbolic for the US resolve to help defend Taiwan. Further postponement will only be a signal to China that its bullying is having an effect and can deter the United States from taking this important step.
3. It lays the foundation for a long-term overall defense system under the Theatre Missile Defense Structure (TMD), which would help defend Japan, Korea and Taiwan. The Aegis is an essential building block for this system.
4. Taiwan and its newly-elected DPP government could certainly use a well-deserved practical and moral boost in the continuing struggle to safeguard freedom and democracy, and protect the island from Chinese invasion.
5. A final reason in favor of the arms sales is the fact that China recently announced its largest increase in military spending in 12 years, a rise of US\$17 billion, or 17.7 percent. The Chinese made no secret of the fact that “Taiwan” was one of the most important reasons for the increase.

It's time to choose fight or flight

By Li Thian-hok. Mr. Li is a prominent member of the Taiwanese-American community who lives in Pennsylvania.

Visiting New York on 20 March 2001, Chinese Vice Premier and the gray eminence of China's foreign policy establishment Qian Qichen declared that Sino-U.S. relations would suffer a very serious setback if the U.S. were to sell the Aegis destroyers to Taiwan. "The essence of the issue would change from a peaceful approach to reunification to a military approach," Qian said. Asked if that meant immediate, preemptive attack on Taiwan, he said: "It all depends on the circumstances." While Qian refrained from raising the arms sales issue with President Bush in the Oval Office on 22 March 2001, he again invoked the specter of a great flame of war at a Washington luncheon the next day.

So what are these Aegis destroyers which alarm Beijing so much? Taiwan is seeking to purchase four Arleigh Burke class destroyers equipped with the Aegis battle management system at about \$1 billion each this year. The Aegis' long range radar would give Taiwan early warning for optimal deployments of its forces. The destroyers are equipped with missiles, guns and torpedoes. Its radar system can track and defend against over 100 targets simultaneously. The ship's state-of-the-art command and control capabilities would give Taiwan's military the much needed ability to coordinate the operation of all its forces. If combined with newer submarines and anti-sub aircraft, the Aegis destroyers could help deter a blitzkrieg by air and sea or a naval blockade by China.

China has been aggressively acquiring advanced destroyers, warplanes, submarines and other weaponry from Russia and Europe. It has targeted over 300 missiles on Taiwan. The number of missiles deployed is expected to increase to 1,000 by 2005. While the purchase of four Aegis destroyers by Taiwan will complicate China's plan for a quick military conquest of Taiwan before the U.S. can react, these ships by themselves are not likely to be a decisive factor in a conflict, given China's overwhelming advantage in the size of its forces, and the modernization of the People's Liberation Army (PLA). So why is Beijing so adamant in opposing the sale of the Aegis destroyers?

The Aegis destroyers will take 7 to 8 years to build and deploy. The Aegis could become the platform for a highly effective anti-missile defense system when transferred to Taiwan late in the decade. Such a system will not only undermine China's missile threat but also result in close military cooperation between the U.S. and Taiwan, which China fears may turn into a *de novo* defense alliance.

China is also drawing a red line on the Aegis sale to test the resolve of the Bush administration early. Because of the 36-day stalemate in the Florida election, the administration is behind schedule in assembling its foreign policy staff at State, the Pentagon and the White House. The administration hasn't had adequate time to develop its own policy on China, Taiwan and arms sales to Taiwan. Beijing may calculate this is a good time to try its intimidation tactic, which has worked so well during the Clinton years, on the new Bush team.

Copyright: Taipei Times

On the U.S. side, there are those who feel that avoiding a rift in relations with Beijing should be our priority, arguing that no amount of arms will preserve Taiwan's security in any event. We should not sell the Aegis ships to Taiwan, some even assert, lest these advanced weapons fall into PLA hands should Taiwan elect to capitulate.



On the other hand, there are persuasive reasons for authorizing the Aegis sale. Under the Taiwan Relations Act,

United States keeping China at bay with the "One China" policy?

which was affirmed by President Bush, the U.S. is obligated to sell Taiwan sufficient defense articles and services for its defense needs. The decisions on such arms sales are to be made without prior consultation with China and based solely on consideration of the military balance between Taiwan and China. There is strong support in Congress for the Aegis sale, including Senators Jesse Helms and Trent Lott. Over 70 U.S. lawmakers have signed letters to President Bush, urging full consideration to sell Taiwan the Aegis destroyers. The U.S. navy and defense contractors are lobbying for the Aegis sales.

Inside the beltway, a number of compromise solutions have been proposed. While the details differ, the key elements are, first a deferral of the sale decision for another year, contingent on certain Chinese behavior, including freezing or reduction of the number of missiles deployed against Taiwan, and resumption of dialog with Taiwan without the precondition that Taipei forfeit its sovereignty first.

Second, the construction of the ships is to commence right away so they can be delivered in a timely manner if the sale is approved. Otherwise, the ships can be sold to other countries or retained for the U.S. navy. Actually, Beijing has already rejected the contingent conditions so there are no valid reasons for delaying the building of the ships. Avoidance of Beijing's anger is not a proper reason for delaying a decision. However, giving the Bush administration time to develop a shared world strategic view and a set of strategic goals in East Asia before it acts on the Aegis sale would be a sensible ground for delay. Taiwan's navy could also use the time to train qualified sailors in sufficient number, in anticipation of the acquisition of the Aegis' platforms. The Kidd destroyers could serve as stepping stones in this process.

Taiwan's more immediate needs include the PAC-3 anti-missile batteries, the P-3 anti-sub aircraft, diesel submarines, and the HARM anti-radiation missiles. Beyond the weaponry, Taiwan urgently needs assistance from the U.S. military in defense planning and training. The Chen government needs to convey to the Bush administration its determination to defend Taiwan's democracy, both in words and deeds.

Actions which need to be taken include an increase in Taiwan's defense budget, hardening of hangars and warehouses to protect aircraft, ammunition and other military assets, conducting more frequent joint-force exercises, building shelters to minimize casualties in case of conflict, implementing passive and civil defense, and above all, prepare the Taiwanese people psychologically for the looming military conflict.

Escalating concessions to China has not changed Beijing's bellicose stance and the PLA continues to build up its capability to quickly overwhelm Taiwan. Under these circumstances, strengthening national defense should be Taiwan's urgent priority. Failure to do so will tempt China to attack.

A great majority of the 23 million Taiwanese people prefer the status quo. The people should be made aware that preservation of the status quo requires courage, sacrifice and high resolve to defend the homeland against Chinese aggression. By constantly threatening Taiwan and actively preparing for war, China has abrogated the basic premise of the three joint communiqués that no coercion will be used to settle Taiwan's future status. For Taiwan as well as the U.S., now is the time to choose between "fight or flee." The Aegis decision is the litmus test. Will Washington make the right decision in time?

*This article was first published in the **Taipei Times** on 3 April 2001. Reprinted with permission.*

Nuclear Four raises its head -- again

A sorry compromise

In our *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 94 (December 2000) we described the events surrounding the cancellation of Taiwan's Fourth Nuclear Power Plant project at the end of October 2000 by Chen Shui-bian's DPP administration. In the aftermath, old guard KMT politicians and the PFP and New Party opposition members in the Legislative Yuan launched a recall campaign against President Chen Shui-bian, leading to a stand-off between the Executive Yuan and the KMT-dominated Legislative Yuan.

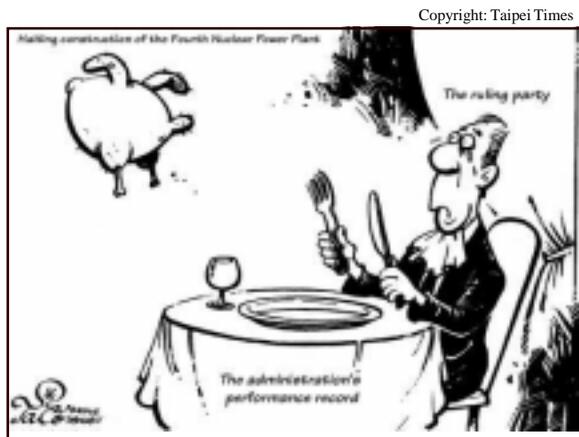
The political battle raged through November, December 2000 and January 2001, and brought virtually all other political decision-making to a halt.

There was a glimmer of hope for a solution, when in mid-January 2001 the Council of Grand Justices – a faint equivalent of the US Supreme Court – were to pronounce themselves on the legality of the October 2000 decision by the Cabinet to cancel the

project. However, the Council showed the courage of a weasel, and didn't get beyond making some mumbling statement that the Cabinet had made a "procedural flaw" by not consulting the Legislative Yuan before making the decision to cancel the construction.

In the end, the Executive Yuan led by Premier Chang Chun-hsiung, decided in early February 2001 that continuation of the stand-off was not in Taiwan's best interest, and agreed to a resumption of the construction of the plant.

Oddly enough, the language of the compromise between the Executive Yuan and the Legislative Yuan included an expression of support for a "nuclear-free Taiwan." How Taiwan is to become nuclear-free by going ahead with a nuclear power plant was not explained. The language also included a reference to the mechanism of a public



The "Nuclear Four chicken" flying away again.

referendum in resolving future issues, but it remained vague on how and when this would be incorporated into law.

The move to restart construction of the nuclear plant soothed the nerves of the opposition parties in the Legislative Yuan, but caused major dissent among the DPP's faithful, who had been campaigning against the plant for so many years. A major demonstration by some 10,000 people was held on 24 February 2001 to demand a public referendum on the Fourth Nuclear Power Plant before the end of the year.

No Substitute for Taiwan Independence

*By Edward I. Chen, Professor Emeritus of History
Bowling Green State University, Ohio.*

It might be understandable that most of the people of Taiwan, while aspiring to be independent deep in their heart, support the "Republic of China" as a substitute for independence. Rightly or not, they reason that independence would invite an instant attack from China, while peace, however precarious, can be preserved under ROC, which would allow them to go on living business as usual. After all, one of their own, Chen Shui-bian, was elected last year as the president of ROC and his entire administration is built on the legitimacy of the ROC constitution. It makes sense to support A-bian by supporting ROC.

Sadly, in their eagerness to avoid confrontation with China, the people in Taiwan are willing to ignore the fact that ROC, like PRC, regards Taiwan as a part of China. It does not matter which China Taiwan belongs to. As long as Taiwanese themselves are willing to accept the notion that their home island is a part of China, the ultimate unification with PRC would be an inevitable consequence. Taiwan under ROC is like a bird in a cage. The bird may be shielded from an outside attack for a while; but it remains a captive always. When the cage collapses, the bird belongs to PRC! Consider the following facts which explain why the Taiwanese support of ROC would eventually lead our home island down the path of unification with China:

First, to support ROC is to give up the right of self-determination. The essence of self-determination is the ability to choose whatever future Taiwanese desire, including independence. But the ROC constitution clearly stipulates that Taiwan is a part of

China. Independence is thus precluded. True, all political parties, including KMT, PFP and the New Party, all of which advocate ultimate unification, give lip service to Taiwanese self-determination. "Taiwan's future must be decided by all the people of Taiwan," they proclaim. But if independence is precluded, what else is there for Taiwanese to choose from? Timing and conditions of unification?

Self-determination is a precious right to freedom officially recognized in the UN Charter. In the post World War II world, millions of people fought with their blood to free themselves from their colonial masters in the name of self-determination. But Taiwanese are lucky. Living in a democracy, they already have that right. It must be safeguarded until such time when China is ready to negotiate with Taiwan on the equal basis. Why give up the precious right even before the negotiation begins? For Taiwan to have the option of independence is the strength, not liability, in dealing with China.

Second, by supporting ROC the Taiwanese have unwittingly transformed their home island into a breeding ground of the unification movement allied with Beijing. First came the "mainland fever." Team after team, Taiwan politicians went for a pilgrimage to Beijing to receive blessing from the Chinese leaders. Then, there is the so-called "small three links," initiated unilaterally by Taiwan in preparation for the "big three links" slated to begin in June 2001, even though China has made it clear that any direct shipping between China and Taiwan will be regarded as "domestic routes under special management." In June, too, Taiwan will open its door to up to 500,000 tourists annually from China. Some politicians also propose to hold the 2008 Olympics jointly with China as one country!

Taiwan's political landscape has drastically changed in the last eight months or so. Then, Taiwan's relation with China was "special state-to-state." Today, Taiwan is a part of "one China based on the ROC constitution." Then, the political catch-phrase was "Taiwanization."

Copyright: Taipei Times



China to the US: "No, you need to saw off the barrel of his gun."

Today, it is “de-Taiwanization.” Taiwanese politicians are afraid to admit that they are Taiwanese! Few are willing to support Taiwan independence openly for fear that they will be the targets of smear campaign by the unification forces.

The third fact that Taiwanese must consider is that by supporting ROC they severely restrict Taiwan’s living space in the international stage. To be sure, Taiwan commands a great deal of respect and admiration all over the world for its economic success and the peaceful transformation from one of world’s most corrupt dictatorships to a democracy. Yet, with the exception of the United States, no one country is willing to help Taiwan’s struggle to remain free from China. Beijing’s threat of retaliation is, of course, the major factor for the reluctance. But Taiwan’s insistence to be regarded as ROC also contributes to its isolation.

The United States is committed to help Taiwan defend itself. Yet nowhere in the Taiwan Relations Act is mentioned a single word of ROC. America’s commitment is to the people of Taiwan! When President Clinton decided to accept China’s “One-China” doctrine and enunciated the “Three-No” policy regarding Taiwan, he did not believe he did injustice to Taiwan, because he assumed that Taiwan considered itself to be a part of China.

We complain the shabby treatment the United States accorded to President Chen Shui-bian when he was in Los Angeles en route to Latin America last year. But A-bian came as the president of the “ROC”, with which the US has severed diplomatic tie for more than 20 years. He has to make up his mind whether he is the president of ROC or Taiwan. In the United States, he cannot be both at the same time.

Similarly, the ROC cannot be admitted to the United Nations, from which it was expelled some 30 years ago. The only chance for Taiwan’s UN membership is to be admitted as a new state. But is Taiwan willing to drop the ROC title? There is no guarantee the UN would accept Taiwan; but that is the very first step Taiwan must take, if Taiwan is serious about a UN membership.

What can we, as overseas Taiwanese, do for our native island at this crucial but very confusing time? Three suggestions:

First, let us support the Formosan Association for Public Affairs (FAPA), the prime organized lobby of Taiwanese in Washington. It has done excellent job in enlisting the support of many Congress-persons who speak up for the Taiwanese right of self-

determination. A favorable change in America's Taiwan policy may be the most effective way to persuade the people of Taiwan to support independence.

Second, the year-end election of the Legislative Yuan is crucial. We, of course, want to see more DPP members elected to break the near-monopoly of power of this body by unificationist forces. But, more importantly, we should help elect candidates — irrespective of their party affiliation — who would speak up fearlessly for the course of independence.

Third, let us lobby the A-bian Administration to implement Taiwanization programs, especially in the fields of education and diplomacy. We must not let A-bian and his DPP take for granted the support of overseas Taiwanese. We support him not just because he is a Taiwanese, but because we know he believes in his heart that independence is best for Taiwan. There is no reason A-bian cannot do what former president Lee Teng-hui did so successfully - Taiwanization.

The present ROC is no substitute for Taiwan independence. But we can use it as the vehicle to pave the foundation for an independent Taiwan without provoking China by carefully and selectively implementing a series of Taiwanization programs.

The “integration” flap

In a New Year's Eve speech, president Chen Shui-bian apparently launched a new concept, which in the eyes of some observers might be an opening, leading to an resolution of the conflict between Taiwan and China. He expressed his hope that “...economic and cultural integration of China and Taiwan will gradually result in political integration.”

However, to his key supporters, the statement was seen as a further softening on the part of the president, while it was picked up immediately as a “good idea” by a host of pro-unificationist commentators on the island.

Below, we first give our own commentary, and then present a more extensive article by Mr. Li Thian-hok, a prominent member of the Taiwanese-American community.

“Integration” shortsighted and misguided

Mr. Chen’s attempt at using European integration as a model for Taiwan’s relation with China doesn’t fly. It is shortsighted and misguided.

The first important point is that European integration started from a position of full sovereignty of all the partners. Each of the nations constituting the European Union are fully-recognized nation states with membership in the United Nations. Such a position of equality is essential if there is to be a fair and equitable process.

The second important point is that the European nations are not giving up their sovereignty in the process, but are sharing resources, harmonizing policies, and reducing barriers to the efficient flow of people and goods. This works well if the partners are —more or less — equal in size.

A third point is that in the European integration process, there is special attention for the rights of smaller partners and minorities. Nations like The Netherlands, Belgium and Portugal can be sure that their rights and interests are protected.



Independence supporters to Chen: *“You are getting too close to the other side.”*

On all three points, any “balance” between China and Taiwan is sadly lacking. 1) China does not recognize Taiwan as a sovereign nation, 2) because China’s population is some 52 times Taiwan’s population, and because Taiwan’s per capita income is approx. 25 times that of China, any reduction of the barriers along European lines would immediately result in a total flooding of Taiwan by China’s hungry and poor masses, and 3) China doesn’t pay any attention to smaller partners and minorities, just witness the repression in Tibet and Turkestan. Could Taiwan expect to fare any better?

Taiwan would do well to gain international recognition as a full and equal member of the international community first. Only if and when that is accepted - by China, the

US and other nations in the UN - could one even start thinking whether “integration” is desirable, and whether anything like a fair and equitable integration process is even possible.

Chen sent Beijing the wrong message

By Li Thian-hok. Mr. Li is a prominent member of the Taiwanese-American community who lives in Pennsylvania.

US President-elect George W. Bush gave an important foreign policy speech at the Reagan Library in November 1999, in which he stated: “China is a competitor, not a strategic partner.” Bush also said that the US must honor its promise to the people of Taiwan to deny the right of Beijing to impose rule on a free people and to help Taiwan to defend itself.

In its Dec. 18 report to Congress, the Pentagon said that helping Taiwan to maintain a self-defense capability is in the US interest. On Dec. 14, General Henry H. Shelton, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, warned that China may emerge as a new Soviet Union and a threat to regional stability. Writing on the editorial page of the Washington Times (“Defending Taiwan,” Jan. 9), Senator Jesse Helms, chairman of the foreign relations committee, urged early implementation of the provisions of the Taiwan Security Enhancement Act to deter a military conflict in the Taiwan Strait.

In April, the Pentagon will decide on Taiwan’s request for the purchase of arms. It is likely the new Bush administration will review and adjust US policy towards Taiwan. This is the time for the Taipei government to solidify its friendship with the US by emphasizing the democratic values shared by the two and Taiwan’s commitment to defend its freedom.

From this perspective, President Chen Shui-bian’s New Year’s Eve message was counter-productive. Chen expressed his hope that economic and cultural integration of China and Taiwan will gradually result in political integration. Integration can easily be interpreted as synonymous with unification. Taken together with Chen’s plan to relax the “no haste, be patient” policy and his administration’s eagerness to implement direct trade, transportation and communications links with China as quickly as possible, the message can be considered a policy of speedy and peaceful unification with China.

Indefinite preservation of the status quo, de facto independence, for example, has seemingly been ruled out. Chen's message is contrary to the will of the people because a vast majority of the Taiwanese reject rule by the repressive Chinese Communist Party. It is also against democratic principles to deny people their right to self-determination by pre-judging their choice. At a time when Taipei needs to build up the people's morale, such a message destroys self-confidence and fans China fever. After all, if the best thing the Taiwanese can hope for is peaceful surrender of their freedom and personal property, then what good is the Chen administration?

Chen's message also cuts down international support for Taiwan by promoting the perception that the Taiwanese lack the courage to defend their freedom. William Kirby, director of the Harvard University Asia Center, says that Taiwan is falling inexorably into the grip of Chinese power. He argues that Taiwan can do little more than descend slowly into that grip.

China will not have the military capability to successfully invade Taiwan for another 4 to 5 years. It is futile to try to placate China with progressively greater concessions. China can be satisfied only with immediate, total surrender of Taiwan's sovereignty. Until there is a clear consensus among an informed citizenry regarding Taiwan's future and until China irrevocably commits itself to the path of democratization so that Beijing's promises become more credible, it is not prudent for the government to rush into a substantive dialog with Beijing. The Chen government's foremost tasks should be to bolster national defense, develop a Taiwan-centric economy and combat "black-gold" politics. It is high time relations with China took a back seat.

*This article was first published in the **Taipei Times** on 16 January 2001. Reprinted with permission.*

Remembering February 28th

This year marked the first time that the February 28th Incident of 1947 was commemorated under the auspices of the administration of the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP). During the years of its evolution and the transition towards a democratic political system on the island, the 1947 Incident was an important rallying call, and a reminder of the repressiveness of the mainlander-dominated Kuomintang, which came over from China after World War II.

During the 1950s through the mid-1980s, the period of Taiwan's repressive martial law, the Kuomintang didn't even allow any discussion of the incident, and any people trying to raise the issue were arrested and imprisoned.

In the period from the second half of the 1980s through the mid-1990s, the native Taiwanese democratic opposition was able to bring the issue to the forefront through demonstrations and annual commemorations, finally prompting President Lee Teng-hui's government to acknowledge that the massacre had occurred and initiating compensation for the families of the victims. In 1998, the day was formally declared a public holiday, 228 Memorial Day.

Earlier this year, the DPP government took a peculiar step backwards when it decided to change the status of the day from formal public holiday to memorial day. The discussion took place in the context of the implementation of a shorter work-week. Under pressure from business and industry was reviewing existing public holidays which could be "downgraded."



Fortunately, the decision to change the status of public holidays does require legislative action. However, the cabinet was late in notifying the Legislative Yuan, and the Kuomintang-dominated legislature was too busy trying to impeach the President in the Nuclear Four power plant case. So, this year 228 was still an official public holiday, but if the Taiwanese people don't speak up, next year it won't.

Taiwan Communiqué comment: We fully agree with the Taipei Times when it wrote in an editorial on 26 February 2001:

The 228 incident is, quite simply, the most significant historical event in modern Taiwanese history. The repercussions of this tragic defining moment haunt Taiwan to this day and have been hugely important in creating a Taiwanese national identity, a Taiwanese sense of nationhood. To get this day acknowledged at all under the previous KMT regime took tremendous effort. Now, ironically it is a DPP government that wants

to downgrade this landmark in the raising of Taiwanese consciousness to a status as peripheral to this society as Opium Suppression Movement Day (June 3, by the way).

What adds insult to injury is that 228 memorial day is the only national holiday in Taiwan that marks something that actually happened here. Even National Day on Oct. 10 marks something that happened in another country to another people.

The significance of the 228 Incident was also put into words most eloquently in the following article.

The 228 Incident and Tiananmen Square

By Li Thian-hok. Mr. Li is a prominent member of the Taiwanese-American community who lives in Pennsylvania.

Taiwan's 228 Incident and the Tiananmen Square Incident share a number of similarities. Both derived from movements for reform, rather than outright revolts. In the former, the Settlement Committee, consisting of community leaders from all major cities in Taiwan, had asked for an end to official corruption and the establishment of local autonomy. In the latter, the students in the square merely petitioned for the elimination of corruption and freedom of the press, speech and assembly.

In both cases, however, the government deliberately misrepresented the nature of the protest. General Chen Yi said the Taiwan disturbance was the handiwork of a small group of hooligans and communist agitators. In China, Bo Yibo said: "The people with ulterior motives who are behind this student movement have support from the US and Europe and from the KMT reactionaries in Taiwan."

Both protests were terminated by brute force and the widespread killing of unarmed citizens. The KMT soldiers massacred 28,000 citizens, first indiscriminately and then systematically targeting community leaders. The PLA killed some 3,000 students and civilians in and around Tiananmen Square.

Both events are significant because of the effect they had on the destiny of Taiwan and China. In Taiwan, the massacre after the incident forced Taiwanese to realize that they were quite distinct from the "mainland" Chinese in their value systems and their political culture.

The incident sowed the seeds of the Taiwan independence movement. Given a free choice, without the threat of military invasion by China, a great majority of the people on Taiwan would opt for independence any day. The Communist Party of China (CPC) has lost the mandate of heaven. The Tiananmen massacre marked the beginning of the end for the CPC's monopoly of power.

The regime is unpopular and plagued with endemic corruption and expanding official abuse of power, including the widespread torture of dissidents and religious practitioners. China's environment is deteriorating quickly and thousands of riots and demonstrations involving disgruntled workers and farmers take place across China each year. The Beijing government is clinging to power with brute force.

What lessons can people in Taiwan learn from these two events?

While the CPC regime may be doomed in the long run, it is trying to legitimize its rule by fanning expansionist nationalism and by diverting its people's passion to the "sacred" national goal of liberating Taiwan. A calamity similar to the 1947 massacre could befall the people of Taiwan again, unless they can demonstrate their courage and resolve to defend their hard-won freedom, and thereby win the support of fellow democracies.

On the 54th anniversary of the 228 Incident, it is prudent to ponder the consequences of "political integration with China." First, Taiwan's democracy will be dismantled, just as the Goddess of Freedom was quickly toppled in Beijing. Freedom of expression, religion and assembly will be suppressed. Second, all private property will be confiscated. The standard of living will plunge to the level of the Chinese people. Finally, life under CPC rule will be devoid of dignity. The life of every citizen will be at the mercy of the CPC's coercion.

If Taiwan were to fall into China's grasp, peacefully or otherwise, Beijing's ambitions for hegemony over East Asia and beyond would get a hefty boost. PLA strategists are already openly discussing a war with the US. In such a conflict, Taiwanese youth will be drafted into the PLA and forced to fight on the wrong side of history. Do the people of Taiwan really wish to fight for the hegemony of China and against the forces of democracy and freedom?

If the people of Taiwan want a bright future, then the goal should *not* be "a future 'one China.'" A bright future can only come from an independent existence apart from

China. The Chen Shui-bian government's strategy should be to maintain the status quo indefinitely while preserving free choice based on the principle of self-determination. This requires courage, wisdom and fortitude. Active preparation to resist Chinese military aggression is also vital. Failure to adopt such a policy portends a disastrous and dark future for Taiwan.

The people of Taiwan can best honor the memory of the fallen heroes of 228 by resolutely defending their sovereignty and democracy. By doing so, they can also hasten the day that the dreams of the Tiananmen victims are realized in China.

This article was first published in the Taipei Times on 28 February 2001. Reprinted with permission.

Report from Washington

Taiwan-into-WHO Resolution passes Congressional Committee

On 28 March 2001, the House International Relations Committee unanimously passed legislation (HR-428) mandating that the U.S. Secretary of State “*initiate a United States plan to endorse and obtain observer status for Taiwan at the annual week-long summit of the World Health Assembly in May 2001 in Geneva, Switzerland,*” and “*instruct the United States delegation to Geneva to implement such plan.*”

With a forceful bipartisan group of 93 co-sponsors, the bill introduced by Rep. Sherrod Brown (D-OH) – a liberal Democrat, who is a strong supporter of Taiwan — presses the Bush Administration to put some teeth into the effort to obtain meaningful participation by Taiwan in international organizations.

The bill was originally introduced in early 2000, due to Congressional frustration with the Clinton State Department's unwillingness to implement the 1994 Taiwan Policy Review and with the department's totally insufficient report of 4 January 2000, which was supposed to list the Administration's efforts to support Taiwan's participation in international organizations, in particular the WHO.

At the 28 March 2001 hearing, Congressman Brown stated, “Taiwan deserves observer status in the World Health Assembly. It is the first step for us to fulfill the commitment we made in the 1994 Taiwan Policy Review to support Taiwan’s participation in the international organizations, such as the UN and the WHO.”

Rep. Benjamin Gilman (R-NY) added, “Colin Powell has stated that there should be ways for Taiwan to participate without belonging to these international organizations. Many of our colleagues are disappointed that Taiwan is not a full member of the UN or other international organizations.”

Copyright: Taipei Times

Asian Subcommittee chair Jim Leach (R-IA) declared, “The greatest issue of world health might be disease control. What WHO symbolizes is people are concerned about the control of disease. This resolution is very symbolic. It’s a very modest resolution.”



Rep. Tom Lantos (D-CA) noted, “Today Taiwan is a prosperous democracy. This is a symbolic move but also a substantive move. We are thinking: WHO capability should be available for the people of Taiwan and we are thinking: Taiwan’s resources and technology that should be available for the rest of the world. I strongly recommend it.”

The US to Taiwan (in front of the WHO restaurant):
“I can ask them to let you in, but you can't sit at the table and eat with the others.”

Other members who spoke out in support of the bill included Reps. Gregory Meeks (D-NY), Robert Wexler (D-FL) and Joseph Crowley (D-NY).

Thirty-one Senators signed a letter earlier this month which called on President Bush to “stand up and take the lead” on Taiwan’s participation in the WHO as an observer during the next World Health Assembly in Geneva.

Notes

World Taiwanese Congress established

In *Communiqué* issue no. 95, we briefly reported on the preparatory meeting for a major new overseas Taiwanese organization, the World Taiwanese Congress, which was held in the beginning of December 2000 in Alexandria, Virginia.

In mid-March 2001, the organizations met again in Taipei, Taiwan and formally established the new organization. At the opening ceremony, President Chen Shui-bian urged all participants to help him boost Taiwan's international stature under the banner of "dignity and security." "Let all Taiwanese stand up and join forces in boosting the island's international stature."

He lauded WTC members for their unbending effort over the years to safeguard Taiwan's interests, saying: "Overseas Taiwanese have made important contributions to Taiwan's democratic reform." He added: "Whatever our backgrounds and wherever we are, let's strive hand-in-hand for the good of our common mother – Taiwan."

The meeting was also attended by Tokyo-based Alice King, who had been in the news earlier in the month for coming to the defense of Japanese writer Yoshinori Kobayashi, whose comic book *On Taiwan* caused a heated debate in Taiwan. Ms. King openly referred to the ROC (which is still being kept as Taiwan's "official" name) as "extinct."

As Ms. King holds the position of National Policy Adviser to President Chen, the statement caused a heated outcry from pro-unificationist opposition members, who want to cling to the outdated ROC title.

On 18 March 2001, the first anniversary of the DPP victory in the 2000 presidential election, a large demonstration was held in Taipei, calling for support from Taiwanese people worldwide for President Chen Shui-bian and the establishment of the **Republic of Taiwan**. Cheering "*Say yes Taiwan, say no to China*," some 5,000 advocates of

Photo: Taipei Times



**President Chen addressing
the WTC Convention**

Taiwan independence marched to the Presidential Office. Before the event started, some also declared their position by obtaining a “Republic of Taiwan” passport.

Carrying DPP flags and signboards reading “support Taiwan independence,” those who joined the march blamed the pro-unificationist opposition parties (the KMT, PFP, and New Party) for having caused chaos in Taiwan’s society by thinking only of their own parties’ interest. The march called for a joint effort by all Taiwanese people to strengthen the country’s resolve to resist China’s threats and intimidation.

The case against James Soong

During the Taiwan Presidential election campaign of early 2000, several key persons in the then-ruling Kuomintang charged that former secretary-general James Soong had pocketed large sums of money – by some accounts up to US\$ 36 million — in KMT Party funds and election campaign donations. Part of the funds apparently found its way to the United States, where Soong’s family had purchase real estate. Part of the money – some US\$ 12 million -- was supposedly entrusted to Soong to take care of the family of the late President Chiang Ching-kuo -- a claim denied by family members. These funds were found in accounts of the Soong family in the Chung Hsing bank.

While the election campaign was going on, no formal charges were filed. After the 18 March 2000 election victory of President Chen Shui-bian – and the loss of Mr. Soong and his People’s First Party and Mr. Lien Chan of the KMT – the Taipei District Prosecutor’s Office started to investigate the case, involving allegations of misappropriating KMT funds, forgery, fraud, breach of trust, money laundering and tax evasion.

However, during the past three months, the case took several peculiar twists and turns: first, on 20 January 2001, the prosecutor in charge of the case decided not to indict Soong. This led to accusations of political favoritism on the part of the prosecutor, who was said to be a political supporter of Soong.

The Kuomintang Party, which was just attempting to establish a political coalition with Soong’s People’s First Party (PFP) for the December 2001 Legislative Yuan elections, decided not to appeal the case.

Then, on 3 April 2001, the Taiwan High Court Prosecutors’ Office said that, through petitions, prosecutors had been informed of new facts and evidence, and that it had asked the Taipei District Prosecutors’ Office to re-open the case.

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. 96
April 2001

Collision course	
<i>The fighter jet and turbo prop</i>	1
<i>Mr. Bush stands his ground</i>	2
For the defense of Taiwan	
<i>Aegis or no Aegis?</i>	4
<i>It's time to choose fight or flight</i>	6
Nuclear Four rears its head -- again	
<i>A sorry compromise</i>	9
No substitute for Taiwan independence	
<i>By professor Edward I. Chen</i>	10
The "integration" flap	
<i>Shortsighted and misguided</i>	13
<i>Chen sent Beijing the wrong message</i>	15
Remembering February 28th	
<i>The 228 Incident and Tienanmen Square</i>	16
Report from Washington	
<i>WHO resolution passes Congressional Committee</i>	20
Notes	
<i>World Taiwanese Congress established</i>	22
<i>The case against James Soong</i>	23

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.-