

# TAIWAN COMMUNIQUÉ

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# 97

## President Chen's travels

From 21 May through the beginning of June 2001, President Chen and First Lady Wu Shu-chen traveled to a number of countries in Central America on his second trip abroad since assuming office in May 2000. The President and his entourage made state visits to El Salvador, Guatemala, Panama, Paraguay and Honduras.

A major difference with his first trip abroad was that this time during his transit stops in the United States he was warmly welcomed, while in August 2000 the Clinton Administration kept him confined to his hotel (see *Muzzled in LA*, in *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 93, pp. 4-7). On his outbound flight, Mr. Chen landed in New York, where he met with a planeload of members of Congress, who had flown up to New York from DC to greet him, and with Mayor Giuliani, who referred to Taiwan as a *remarkable country*. The Taiwanese President was also given a personal tour of the New York Stock Exchange and made a brief visit to the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Below you find a brief report of this *Welcome to the Big Apple*.

Photo: Associated Press



**Chen welcomed by Taiwanese-Americans in Houston:**  
*"We support you, whatever it takes."*

On his flight back to Taiwan, president Chen visited Houston, where he was welcome by House majority whip Tom Delay (R-TX) who entertained president Chen and his wife at a Texas Steak House, and a Houston Astros baseball game, in a visit reminiscent of Teng hsiao-ping's 1979 visit to Texas after US-China normalization. On page five is a brief report in *Houston, here I come*.

## ***Welcome to the Big Apple***

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

On Monday, 21 May 2001, some 1300 Taiwanese Americans stood in steady pouring rain near the corner of 50th Street and Madison Avenue, patiently waiting to welcome A-bian to New York. They came mostly from the mid-Atlantic states, but some came from as far as Boston, California, Seattle and even Hawaii. They were cold, wet, tired and uncomfortable but cheerful. After a drought of nearly a month, the rain was welcome but most discomfoting on this particular day.

People joked that Chen Shui-bian must have brought the rain. After standing in the drenching rain for several hours, most people didn't even get a glimpse of the Chen's when they finally arrived at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel around 6:30 p.m. because the large crowd was squeezed into a small space and because the Chen's came out only briefly to wave to the welcome party from across Madison Avenue.

As A-bian acknowledged in his remarks at the reception for local Taiwanese Americans Tuesday night, the enthusiastic welcoming party was there not because of A-bian's good looks but because he represents the hope for Taiwan's future and he symbolizes the dignity of the Taiwanese people.

Unlike last year, A-bian and the first lady were treated with courtesy this time. A-bian was able to visit the Metropolitan Museum and the New York Stock Exchange. A-bian met with New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani (who praised Taiwan as a remarkable country), former Vice President Dan Quayle, top U.S. corporate executives, and a delegation of over 20 Congressmen. While this improvement in protocol is gratifying, A-bian should have been entitled to the same freedom of movement and open activity which ordinary foreign visitors to America enjoy.

At Tuesday night's reception and dinner, A-bian appeared full of vigor despite his lack of sleep. His voice was firm and he did thank the Taiwanese American audience for the warm and enthusiastic welcome he received on Monday. He gave a long-winded speech about his New York visit being a diplomatic breakthrough, his accomplishments during his first year in office, and assured the audience that his policies would always be "correct."

However, he could have mentioned the o v e r s e a s Taiwanese's past contribution to the democratization of Taiwan and their ongoing efforts to protect Taiwan's security. He could have



### **Chen supporters in New York: cheering in the rain**

emphasized the foundation of U.S.-Taiwan friendship, namely the shared democratic values. He could have stressed the DPP government's resolve to defend Taiwan's freedom. A-bian could have addressed the Taiwanese audience at least in part in the Taiwanese language. He must have been aware that over 95% of the guests were Taiwanese Americans from the Eastern seaboard. A-bian needs to raise the level of his speeches through better staff work.

In his speech A-bian kept referring to the homeland as the "Republic of China" and the people of Taiwan as Chinese. Although Congressmen Benjamin Gilman and Tom Lantos, both members of the House International Committee, proposed the idea of inviting President Chen to address the U.S. Congress next year, such a visit will never materialize nor is Taiwan likely to ever become a member of the UN, unless A-bian learns to call Taiwan by its right name and refer to the people of Taiwan as Taiwanese, consistent with the language of the Taiwan Relations Act, the cornerstone of US-Taiwan relations. Let us hope A-bian will do better next year.

## *Strengthening ties in Central America*

During his 10-day swing through Central America, president Chen visited to El Salvador, Guatemala, Panama, Paraguay and Honduras. At his first stop, El Salvador, he attended a summit meeting with eight Latin American leaders, who formalized their support for Taiwan's bid to join the United Nations and other international organizations.

*"There's a specific paragraph for Taiwan's access to international organizations"* in the summit's final statement, Salvadoran Foreign Minister Maria Eugenia Brizuela said during a briefing on the meeting - the third between Central America and Taiwan.

Photo: Associated Press



**President Chen in Panama, inspecting the honor guard with Panamanian president Mireya Moscoso**

President Chen used to occasion to appeal to the UN to support Taiwan's membership, urging it to

learn from the countries of Central America and their sense of justice. Chen said that the UN should implement the "universal membership" enshrined in its Charter and allow Taiwan to join the world body.

In his subsequent stops to Guatemala, Panama, Paraguay and Honduras, president Chen met with the leaders of those countries and spoke to the respective Parliaments, while First Lady Wu Shu-chen visited hospitals and care centers for the handicapped.

She has been in a wheelchair herself since 1985, when she was hit by a truck during a campaign event in Tainan, in what was widely considered a politically-inspired attack by elements of the then-ruling Kuomintang.

## *Houston, here I come*

Upon his arrival in Houston on Saturday 2 June 2001, Mr. Chen was welcomed warmly by the local Taiwanese community, and by supporters who traveled from as far away as California. Around 3,000 Taiwan supporters toting banners and chanting cheers massed outside Chen's Post Oak Double Tree hotel.

The crowd chanted "we love Taiwan, we love freedom" and waved back to Chen and his wife, eyed by a heavy turnout of US Secret Service agents and police. One supporter, Cheng Y. Chuang, a prominent member of the Taiwanese-American community, said : "*we are here because we want to make clear that Taiwan is not a part of China according to history.*"

On Sunday, President Chen and his entourage were hosted by Tom DeLay, majority whip in the Republican-controlled House of Representatives, who feted them for lunch in a **Taste of Texas** steak house, and attended a Houston Astros – LA Dodgers baseball game before leaving for home.

During the visit President Chen donned Texas boots and a cowboy hat presented to him by Congressman DeLay.



**President Chen showing off his new cowboy boots, accompanied by Congressman DeLay**

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## **“Whatever it took”**

### *The demise of strategic ambiguity*

In a 25 April 2001 interview with ABC's "Good Morning America" President George W. Bush was interviewed on his first 100 days in office. In the context of this interview he was asked whether the US had an obligation to defend the Taiwanese if Taiwan were attacked by China. Mr. Bush responded: "*Yes, we do, and the Chinese must understand that.*"

Prompted by the interviewer, who asked “*With the full force of the American military?*” Mr. Bush emphasized: “*Whatever it took to help Taiwan defend herself.*”

In discussions with reporters after the Bush remarks, National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice noted, “The Taiwan Relations Act makes very clear that the United States has an obligation that Taiwan’s peaceful way of life is not upset by force. What he [Pres. Bush] said clearly is how seriously and resolutely he takes this obligation. A secure Taiwan will be better able to engage in cross-strait dialogue.”

Later, Vice President Dick Cheney added his voice to those trying to clarify U.S. policy on Taiwan, saying, “I think that the appropriate way to look at it is, that the United States clearly has the capacity to come to the assistance of Taiwan should they be threatened by the mainland. What the president has done is to reiterate that very strong determination on our part, that there should not be a resort to force by the mainland in order to try to pull Taiwan closer.”

Critics, including Senators Joseph Biden (D-DE) and John Kerry (D-MA), argued that the Taiwan Relations Act does not specifically oblige the U.S. to intervene on behalf of Taiwan. While criticizing Bush for overstating the obligation to defend Taiwan and not being clear about Congress’ role in sending U.S. forces to war, Senator Biden noted forcefully, “I want to make it clear that I believe the security of Taiwan to be a vital interest of the United States. I remain as committed today as I was then [when the Taiwan Relations Act was passed in 1979] to the peaceful resolution of the Taiwan question.”

***Taiwan Communiqué comment:*** *Mr. Bush’s statement led to a heated debate whether he had shifted US policy towards Taiwan and had gone further than his predecessors.*

*We first want to emphasize that Mr. Bush reiterated what was clearly the spirit and intent of the **Taiwan Relations Act** of 1979, which states in Section 2.b.4 through 2.b.6:*

- (4) .. any effort to determine the future of Taiwan by other than peaceful means, including by boycotts or embargoes, a threat to the peace and security of the Western Pacific area and of grave concern to the United States;*
- (5) to provide Taiwan with arms of a defensive character; and*
- (6) to maintain the capacity of the United States to resist any resort to force or other forms of coercion that would jeopardize the security, or the social or economic system, of the people on Taiwan.*

Secondly, through his clear and firm enunciation of US readiness to help defend Taiwan, Mr. Bush is ensuring that China will not miscalculate and believe that it can attack or blockade Taiwan without the US becoming involved. If it was a shift, it was a much-needed shift in response to China's increasing belligerence, threats and intimidation.

Thirdly, the fact that over the past decade Taiwan has become a blossoming democracy with a fully-functioning democratic political system, also requires that the United States moves away from the nebulous previous formulations and express clear preference for, and support of, a democratic Taiwan over a repressive China. In fact, with his statement, Mr. Bush discarded the "strategic ambiguity", which had received so much emphasis during Mr. Clinton's administration.



**China: "Gosh, there seem to be more and more troublemakers every day. I wonder why?"**

With just these few words, Mr. Bush also redressed the ambiguous slide of Mr. Clinton in the direction of Beijing, and in particular the infamous "Three No's" pronounced by Mr. Clinton during his 1998 China visit.

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# The US arms sale

## A balanced package

On Tuesday, 24 April 2001, the Bush administration announced the long-awaited arms sale package to Taiwan (for our pre-announcement analysis, see *For the defense of Taiwan*, in **Communiqué** no. 96). It was generally considered a robust package, containing four Kidd-class destroyers, twelve P-3C Orion anti-submarine aircraft, eight diesel submarines, the Paladin self-propelled artillery system, MH-53E Sea

Dragon minesweeping helicopters, AAV7A1 amphibious assault vehicles and an assortment of missiles and torpedoes.

The US also offered to give the Taiwan military a technical briefing on the Patriot PAC-3 advanced missile system as part of a possible future decision to sell the system to Taiwan to counter the threat of the some 300 CSS-6 and CSS-7 missiles, which China has deployed on the coast opposite Taiwan. The four Kidd-class destroyers were originally built in the 1970s for the Shah of Iran, but when he was overthrown they went into service in the US navy and were recently decommissioned. They will be upgraded and outfitted with modern electronic equipment, so



**Kidd-class destroyer on maneuver**

they will be a potent force in Taiwan's navy, designed to counter the Sovremenny destroyers China purchased from Russia.

The advantage of the Kidd-class destroyers is that they are available in the relatively short term – two to three years – and will give Taiwan's navy an opportunity to learn to operate a relative large and complex naval system, and prepare for the operation of the even more complex Arleigh Burke class with Aegis at a later date.

The proposed sale of twelve P-3C Orion submarine-hunting aircraft was clearly prompted by the major threat presented by the some 60 Chinese submarines has in operation along the coast, including four Kilo-class subs purchased from Russia. Taiwan at present has only approximately four aging Grumman S-2T Turbo Tracker aircraft in operation.

## *No Aegis .... this time*

While the Bush administration decided not to go ahead with the sale of four Arleigh Burke class destroyers outfitted with Aegis radar at this time, it indicated that it still could do so at a future date.

The Bush team clearly linked the future sale of Aegis and the PAC-3 defensive missile to China's Medium Range Ballistic Missile (MRBM) threat against the island, indicating that if China reduces or dismantles these missiles, then such defensive systems might not be needed, but if China continues the threat, the sales will go ahead in due time.

## *Eight submarines, but who will build them?*

A more puzzling picture was presented by the decision to sell eight diesel submarines: the US at present has no capability to build such submarines, because since the 1960s US shipyards have focused exclusively on the design and construction of nuclear-powered submarines. Press reports following the announcement indicated that the US was contemplating building the subs in the US based on either German or Dutch design, but spokesmen from both those governments indicated that they didn't intend to grant licenses for the export of their respective technologies.

Taiwan at present operates only four submarines, two of which are WW-II vintage Guppy-II class vessels which are used only for training, while the other two are Dutch-built Swordfish-class subs delivered by the Dutch Wilton Fijenoord shipyard in 1986-87. In view of China's 60+



**Taiwan's Dutch-built Seadragon submarine at sea**

(including four Russian Kilo-class) Taiwan's navy is thus faced with overwhelming odds, and clearly needs additional subs to build up its defenses.

**Taiwan Communiqué comment:** *It is hard to understand the Dutch and German refusal to grant a license for their technology to be exported to the United States. The two governments are hiding behind their “One China” policy and are clearly letting themselves be intimidated by China. Just as importantly, they fail to understand that there is now a new and democratic Taiwan, which is totally different from the time when their “One China” policy was devised.*

*By failing to go along with the US proposal, they side with a repressive, Chinese Communist regime against a small, nascent democracy in Taiwan, which is trying to gain its role as a full and equal member in the international community.*

*The Netherlands, Germany and other European nations need to wake up to the fact that their policies are outdated products of half a decade ago, when the Nationalist regime of Chiang Kai-shek still claimed to represent China. The new Taiwan of President Chen Shui-bian simply wants to represent itself and be left alone by its giant neighbor. This new situation requires a new European policy.*

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## Academic integrity and the China issue

**By Jerome F. Keating Ph.D.** *Professor Keating has taught at Chinese Culture University, and is presently transferring to join the faculty of National Taipei University. He has lived in Taiwan over 12 years, and -- together with April C.J. Lin Ph.D. -- has written a book on the history of Taiwan, titled “Island in the Stream”.*

Academic research should always be free of political considerations. Recent pressures are mounting, however, on US and world Sinologists to alter or color their research, findings and judgements to statements that are more favorable to the desired party line proceeding from Beijing. Most prominent among these pressures has been the arrest and/or detainment of several China scholars travelling in China alone or with family. One only has to look at the papers to see the mounting number of cases of “suspected spies.”

It was with this background that I recently read with dismay an article entitled “Courting the People of China” by Ezra F. Vogel of Harvard University. The article was originally printed on 14 May 2001 in the *Washington Post* and later reprinted in the *China Post* (Taiwan) “U.S. needs to learn more about the people of mainland China.”

Vogel begins by stating how he finds that the students he has lectured to in China and the States have “increasing access to outside information.” This suggests a free flow of information from the world to China; that the Chinese are open to democracy and it is only a matter of time before rationalists on both sides will iron out any perceived problems. What is alarming about this and other of Vogel’s statements is not what he says so much as what he omits or does not say.

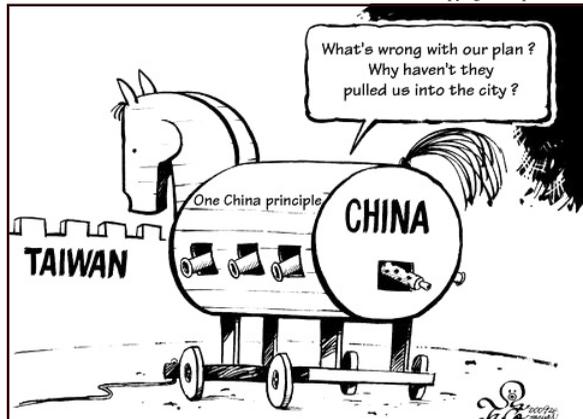
Let us look at this free flow of information. While the small group of academics that Vogel lectures to may have greater access to outside information, my experience has been that there are several hundred millions who do not. Friends of mine in China complain regularly how internet access to outside papers is repeatedly blocked. I personally happened to be in Xi’an when the US spy (surveillance?) plane incident broke. I had to wait until I got to Hong

Kong before I could get a decent read on what was happening. The Chinese papers, English and Chinese, abounded with statements on how the imperialist US propeller-driven plane somehow caught up with and knocked the defending Chinese jet from the skies. That it all happened some 65 miles off the coast of China was also omitted.

At the time, I was also watching how the mainland Chinese papers described the Dalai Lama’s recent visit to Taiwan in early April. The only news was that over one hundred people turned out at the Taiwan airport to protest the visit of the “splittist villain who wants to tear the motherland apart.”

Part of this report was true; the local communist party did manage to rally 100 to show up at the airport. What was noticeably missing was any report of the crowds of 20,000 and more who attended the talks of the Dalai Lama and his generous reception by most everyone else except those 100.

Copyright: Taipei Times



**China's Trojan Horse: "What's wrong with our plan? Why haven't they pulled us into the city?"**

Vogel's article continues with a rosy tone, and affirms supposed non-imperialist intentions of China. "Beijing shows no signs of wanting to occupy territory outside Taiwan, some South Sea Islands and its current boundaries." While this has a familiar ring like another country's claim in the 1930's that it had no territorial claims beyond occupying the Sudetenland, what again is Vogel omitting?

Even if Vogel's claim were true, it glosses over the fact that Taiwan represents 23 million people. Who can object to giving them to China? The South Sea Islands are presumably the Paracels and Spratleys. These potentially oil and mineral rich islands happen to be claimed by five other countries but who says they should have a say in the matter? To give them to China would effectively make the South China Sea, China's "Mare Nostrum" since they claim a 200 mile zone of "economic influence" from their territory. And who could object to China charging a "reasonable toll" for any shipping passing through their sea?

The clincher in the statement however is that China does not wish to go beyond "its current boundaries." One can only assume that by this Vogel is acknowledging the occupation of the small territory of Tibet and a few other places. But, Tibet has only some two million plus people, so all these disputed territories should be simply given to China. It will make world trade flow more easily.

Vogel continues, stating that the detained crew members of the US plane stayed in an "air conditioned hotel" in Hainan so they really should not complain on how their plane was being rifled and pillaged of its latest technology and information. Further they should not even have entered into China's 200 mile zone of "economic influence."

Finally Vogel complains that the American public does not have an up-to-date image of China and that their opinion is shaped by such 'ancient history' as the 1989 Tiananmen incident. That the American public may not always have a most up-to-date image of China I grant. But I have talked to and listened to leaders of that ancient incident in Tiananmen and somehow they don't feel they will be welcomed back with loving arms to the PRC. I had forgotten, what was the death count of that incident anyway?

What am I getting at? There is a growing pressure on American and other Sinologists to curry to the meal ticket and not quite tell the whole story, not quite give a full interpretation of what they find.

Why? If one's research or presentations could be interpreted as being too harsh or contrary to the expected party line of Beijing, somehow these academics won't get their

return invitations to lecture at Chinese universities; they won't be given access to documents and materials needed to fulfill their research or worse yet, when they return to China they will be "detained as spies." What choices are open to them? They can of course look through "rose-colored glasses," as Vogel, but I think that academics and Sinologists can no longer avoid putting this issue on the table and discussing it.

Is research going to be research or simply a meal ticket? I invite academics and other involved parties to state their views on this matter.

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## The wrangling over Lee Teng-hui's Japan visit

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

On 22 April 2001, Lee Teng-hui, Taiwan's former president flew to Japan on a 5-day visit for a medical checkup of his clogged arteries. Lee underwent an operation in Taiwan last November. Five stents devices to dilate narrowed arteries — were placed in his coronary arteries.

As it turned out, Lee's heart surgeon, Kazuaki Mitsudo, of the Kurashiki Central Hospital in western Japan found a couple more narrowed arteries which required corrective procedures. Due to this minor operation, Lee's scheduled visit to Cornell University has now been postponed till late May.

Lee's seemingly routine medical trip became a tale of imbroglio in Japan. Faced with vehement objections from Beijing, Japan's Foreign Ministry went through 10 days of agonizing contortions before it granted Lee a visa. Lee applied for a visa to visit Japan on April 10. On the same day, Japan's top representative to Taipei visited Lee to persuade him to withdraw his application, without success.

On April 12, Senior Deputy Foreign Minister Eto verified that Lee had applied for a visa but said "the documents were merely entrusted to the office and not accepted." Chief Cabinet Secretary Yasuo Fukuda then contradicted Eto. "Neither application nor acceptance was made," Fukuda said, adding that the government's stance of denying the visa remained unchanged. The next day Foreign Minister Yohei Kono repeated Fukuda's assertion of non-receipt of the visa application.

On April 13, Kono met with Prime Minister Mori and Fukuda to discuss the visa issue. Their conclusion: Japan would “tend” not to issue Lee a visa to avoid Beijing’s anger. On April 15, Lee said his trip was not politically motivated. He criticized Tokyo for tip-toeing around the issue, calling the Japanese “more timid than a mouse.”

Copyright: Taipei Times

On April 17, China’s Foreign Ministry spokeswoman Zhang Qiyue stated: “China firmly opposes Lee Teng-hui visiting Japan in any capacity.... The trip was aimed at shattering the framework of Sino-Japanese ties and seeking support in Japan for Taiwan independence.”



**Japanese government official: "He is openly testing our diplomatic defense line. Should I send out a fighter jet to bump him?"**

On April 18, Mori deferred decision on Lee’s visit in a press conference, after Kono threatened to resign over the issue. On April 19, Japan asked Lee to sign an agreement with two conditions, that Lee would be confined to Kurashiki City and that Lee would refrain from any political activity during his stay in Japan.

Lee, however, refused to sign the pledge. “If forced to accept such humiliating demands, I would rather not go,” Lee was quoted as saying. Japanese officials later denied that they ever demanded that Lee sign a written agreement to restrict his activity.

In contrast to the disarray of the Foreign Ministry, Japan’s four major newspapers all supported Lee’s visit in their editorials. Three out of the four cabinet members running to replace outgoing Prime Minister Mori also supported Lee, including Junichiro Koizumi, the popular reformer who has now become Japan’s new prime minister. 63 members of the Diet issued an appeal in support of the Lee visit. Dozens of Japanese citizens demonstrated in front of the Foreign Ministry to show support for Lee who is widely admired in Japan for his contribution to the democratization of Taiwan.

Taiwan's government officials also urged Japan to grant Lee a visa. Taiwan Vice President Annette Lu said "we hope the Japanese government will ... demonstrate moral courage and do the right thing."

Late in the evening of April 20, Kono announced that Japan has issued a visa to Lee on the condition that he refrain from any political activity during his visit. Kono told reporters: "The Japanese government has decided to proceed with issuing a visa for humanitarian reasons." On the same day, the U.S. Department of State issued an unrestricted tourist visa to Lee, for his U.S. visit in May. Explaining the decision, spokesman Philip Reeker said "we consider Lee to be a private individual."

This episode shows that Japan's Foreign Ministry under Kono was quite willing to forfeit control of its visa policy in deference to the rulers of the Middle Kingdom. If Japan is unable to resist foreign interference in the conduct of its domestic affairs, does Japan deserve the respect of the international community? Is Japan ready to assume the responsibility as a permanent member of an expanded UN Security Council? It is also questionable whether a feckless Japan can be a reliable ally in the event of a Sino-American confrontation.

In view of China's growing military prowess, the Bush administration urgently needs to bolster both Japan's self-confidence and the U.S.-Japan security alliance. The government of Japan needs to firmly assert Japan's independent sovereignty and uphold the dignity of the Japanese people.

This brings to mind the discourteous manner in which the Clinton administration had treated Taiwan President Chen Shui-bian during his stopover in Los Angeles last year. To placate an irate Beijing, Chen was confined to his hotel, forbidden to meet members of Congress and even local Taiwanese Americans. This year President Chen is scheduled to stop in New York on his way to Central America in May and to visit Houston on his return trip.

Hopefully the Bush administration will treat President Chen with the respect and courtesy due the chief of state of a democratic ally and important trade partner. By duly recognizing the political and economic achievements of the 23 million Taiwanese people, Washington can also uphold the dignity and civility of the United States as the leader of the free world.

# Taiwan into the WHO

## *WHO caves in to Chinese pressure, again*

During the past few months, the Taiwan government and various Taiwanese organizations, such as the North American Taiwanese Medical Association (NATMA) and Formosan Association for Public Affairs (FAPA) put a major effort in the campaign to gain Taiwan's entry into the Geneva-based World Health Organization.

The campaign resulted in the passage by the US Congress of a Taiwan-into-the-WHO Resolution, which was passed unanimously by the House and Senate, and signed by President Bush in early May 2001. The bill would have the United States initiate a plan to "endorse and obtain" observer status for Taiwan at the annual week-long summit of the World Health Assembly.

The bill's authors note that WHO has allowed observers to participate in its activities.

Among such observers of WHO activities have been the Palestine Liberation Organization in 1974, as well as the Order of Malta and the Holy See in the early 1950s. Taiwan, with a population of more than 23 million, has more people than 75 percent of the member states in the WHO.

However, on 15 May 2001, the World Health Assembly caved in to Chinese pressure, and prevented the issue of Taiwan's membership from being put on the agenda. The matter prompted the following editorial in the Taipei Times.



### **WHO gatekeeper to Chen government:**

*"Sorry, I'm afraid I have to ask China if it is okay to give you a humanitarian visa."*

## *Hippocrates would be ashamed*

*This editorial appeared in the Taipei Times on 16 May 2001.  
Reprinted with permission.*

Once again, the World Health Organization (WHO) has voted to reject a proposal to allow Taiwan into the organization. The WHO's Constitution says in its preamble, "The enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of health is one of the fundamental rights of every human being without distinction of race, religion, political belief, economic or social condition."

How could an organization whose main objective is supposed to be "health for all" find any justification in excluding Taiwan for five years in a row despite annual requests for entry? How could the WHO completely ignore the rights of Taiwan's 23 million people to basic health? How could the WHO's lofty objectives be seen as anything but hollow rhetoric in the light of such an act?

The vectors of disease know no boundaries, neither should the prevention of diseases. For the international community, to shut Taiwan out of the WHO is to leave a major loophole in the global monitoring of contagious diseases. Such a loophole leaves the people of Taiwan vulnerable to the threat of serious diseases — such as the Ebola virus and the emergence of drug-resistant strains of tuberculosis. During the enterovirus outbreak in 1998, disease control work was hindered by the inadequacy of virus testing resources — due to the lack of contact with the WHO. The deaths of several children during the outbreak, perhaps, could have been prevented. Similarly, the damage from foot-and-mouth epidemics that have ravaged Taiwan's pig farms could have been mitigated.

An act that causes such extensive harm — in total contravention of human welfare — is simply an affront to basic standards of human decency. And the harm works both ways. With Taiwan excluded from the WHO, the international health community is unable to share the country's recent achievements in health work — such as its experience in the promotion of family planning, the prevention of hepatitis B, the elimination of malaria and polio, and the implementation of its National Health Insurance program. These resources will have to remain in the freezer, due to political interference.

Taiwan is not asking for much from the WHO. Over the past five years, the country has only hoped to enter the organization as an observer — joining the ranks of the Holy See, the Palestine Authority, the Sovereign Military Order of Malta (better known as the Hospitallers of St John of St John’s ambulance fame) and the International Committee of the Red Cross. Obviously, the observer status was created to avoid unnecessary disputes over sovereignty issues. That would seem to make Taiwan a prime candidate for such status. In terms of population and land mass, Taiwan far exceeds Vatican City’s 44 hectares.

Of course, the Beijing regime, which masterminded this puerile act, is not known for its humanity, sense of fairness or respect for human rights. Beijing’s fictitious claim that “the PRC already represents Taiwan within the WHO,” is anything but the truth.

Since its inception in 1949, the PRC has never ruled Taiwan for a single day. Much less has the Beijing government provided any meaningful help to Taiwan during epidemic outbreaks and disasters. This makes Beijing’s claims of “brotherhood” with the people of Taiwan even more ludicrous.

But the biggest outrage so far has got to be the fact that none of Taiwan’s numerous Quisling politicians, who have gone on numerous pilgrimages to Beijing, have come out to speak up on Taiwan’s behalf.

Despite being shot down for the fifth time, Taiwan has to continue to fight for its rights. Not to do so would be a sad admission that justice really is unattainable in the international community.

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# **Report from Washington**

## ***The new U.S. Senate and Taiwan***

***By Li Thian-hok***

On May 24 Vermont Senator James Jeffords quit the Grand Old Party (GOP), claiming alienation from President Bush’s conservative policies. Jeffords announced he would become an independent but vote with the Democratic caucus on procedural matters. As a result, effective June 5, the chairmanships of all 20 Senate committees

passed to Democratic Senators who will now control the flow of legislation in committees and on the Senate floor. The Democrats will also have the power to conduct investigations and Senate hearings.

More shifts of party allegiance are possible. Another moderate Republican Senator Lincoln Chafee of Rhode Island is uncomfortable with a GOP increasingly dominated by Southern conservatives. Despite Senator John McCain's denial, rumors persist that he may bolt the GOP and run as a third party Presidential candidate in 2004.

On the other hand, two Democratic Senators (Ben Nelson of Nebraska and Zell Miller of Georgia) have been mentioned as possible party switchers. Then there is Republican Senator Strom Thurmond who at age 98 is in frail health. His resignation would further erode the GOP's strength in the Senate.



What remains unchanged are the same 100 Senators with the same ideological make-ups. With the close 50-49-1 split, neither party can advance its agenda without the cooperation of the other. It takes just 41 Senators to block legislation offered by the other side. The Democrats will find it difficult to override President Bush's veto.

How will the tectonic change in the Senate impact U.S. policy towards Taiwan? Senator Carl Levin of Michigan has taken over the Armed Services Committee.

Senator Levin is highly skeptical about the merits of anti-ballistic missile defense. President Bush's plan to advance national missile defense (NMD) as well as theater missile defense (TMD) is expected to be slowed if not completely stalled. The long range effect on Taiwan's security are two-fold. In the absence of NMD, the U.S. may be more reluctant to actively assist in the defense of Taiwan. The U.S. has to weigh China's threat to use nuclear weapons against its homeland. Taiwan may also be denied an opportunity to go under the protective umbrella of TMD in a timely manner.

In the short term, the largest negative impact will come from the shift of leadership in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Former Chairman Senator Jesse Helms is an ardent supporter of Taiwan's security. We cannot expect the same level of zeal from the new chairman, Senator Joe Biden of Delaware, who is against the passage of the Taiwan Security Enhancement Act (TSEA) by the Senate and who has reservations about President Bush's vow to do whatever it takes to help defend Taiwan. On the other hand, the urgency for the enactment of TSEA has been lessened by the robust package of arms sales to Taiwan announced by President Bush on April 24 and the improved cooperation between the U.S. and Taiwan militaries.

Senator Biden is considering running for the White House. He may use the pulpit as chairman of the FRC to stake out an active policy of engagement with China, stressing the need to accommodate China's rise.

On the positive side, Democratic control of the Senate will force the Bush administration to move to the political center to advance its legislative program. With the country so evenly divided between the right and the left, such a move may actually strengthen the Bush administration and enhance President Bush's prospects for winning a second term. The Bush administration has a better grasp of geopolitical strategy and is attentive to the shifting strategic balance in Asia. Thus a more successful Bush presidency would tend to bolster Taiwan's security as well.

Foreign policy is also controlled by and large by the executive branch of government. Although the Senate can "advise and consent," its ability to influence policy is limited, especially when faced by the experienced and competent Bush foreign policy team.

Whether Taiwan can preserve the status quo, namely its status as a de facto independent nation, in the face of growing military, economic and political pressures from China depends primarily on the resolve of the Taipei government and the people of Taiwan to defend their hard-won freedom. Given the strong support of the Bush administration, Taiwan has a window of opportunity to keep its democracy but only if the government takes timely actions to prepare for potential Chinese military aggression and to build up the people's morale to defend the homeland.

For Taiwanese Americans concerned about Taiwan's future, the restructuring of the U.S. Senate means that they must redouble their efforts to convince all U.S. Senators, especially Democratic Senators in the Foreign Relations Committee, that the security of Taiwan is not only critical to peace and stability of East Asia but will also ultimately impinge on the security of America's homeland.

## ***House passes welcome-president-Chen Resolution***

On 17 May 2001, the House unanimously passed HCR135 which had been introduced on May 15, welcoming Taiwan’s President Chen Shui-bian to the United States. When it went to the floor, the resolution enjoyed the co-sponsorship of 42 Representatives. It requests that President *Chen* “*communicate to the people of Taiwan the support of the U.S. Congress and of the American people,*” and recognizing the visit as a “*significant step towards broadening and deepening the friendship and cooperation between the United States and Taiwan.*”

Rep. Bob Schaffer (R-CO), the main mover behind the resolution, stated: “*This resolution is about standing beside Taiwan at a critical juncture. It is about showing support for this important Asian democracy and its free-market system. Simply put, a democratic and independent Taiwan bolsters the cause of freedom around the world and provides stability to other countries in the region fighting their own systems of democracy.*” Rep. Schaffer concluded: “*This resolution is about acknowledging our friends. Taiwan is an important friend.*”



**Congressman Bob Schaffer**

Following the passage, FAPA President Wen-yen Chen stated: “*This resolution having passed is a world of difference from the way*

*President Chen’s visit last August took place. Hopefully, before not too long, President Chen will be able to visit Washington DC and address both Houses of Congress in a joint session, just like other democratically elected presidents of foreign friendly nations do. He can then directly thank Members of Congress for their support and enable them to hear firsthand from President Chen about issues important to Taiwan.*”

# Notes

## *2008 Olympics: anywhere but in Beijing*

*By David Kuan-Wei Chen. David just completed his education at the International School in The Hague, and will be starting college at the London School of Oriental and African Studies this Fall.*

To think that the International Olympic Committee can actually contemplate holding the 2008 Games in a country ruled by a regime that infamous for its violations of international conduct!

The Olympic game is about celebrating the strength of human achievement in the field of athletics, about fair and transparent competition. This is probably the only event that brings the world together and where we forget our differences, and (temporarily) set aside political and cultural conflicts.



### **Beijing's plan to bring the Olympic torch to Taiwan...**

But no! Beijing insists on dragging politics into the games. Taiwan is forced to participate under the ridiculous name “Chinese Taipei” and can’t even use its own flag, while the national anthem (OK, maybe not a “national” anthem, but still...) is not even allowed to be played when Taiwan wins medals! Now China is suggesting to “co-host” the Games with Taiwan, a country that is not even officially recognized!

How can Beijing compare with great cities like Paris and Toronto? Or even Osaka, deemed one of the most hospitable cities in Asia? Beijing only has a few sketchy plans, some dodgy artists’ impression of the venue to show! At least other cities have the necessary infrastructure and something concrete and solid to impress the IOC!

Remember back in the 1936 where the Olympic Games were held? Nazi Germany. The world saw the “pride and joy” of the Third Reich, while all the discriminating policies

and signs against minorities were nicely and temporarily removed. The world flooded into Germany, seeing the illusive might and power of a repressive and authoritarian regime and gawked at the glitter and glamour of staged state parades and propaganda. What the government did not want to show, the world did not see. This was the height of appeasement and kowtowing to the whims of a dictatorship.

Is history about to boomerang with astounding accuracy?

Will the IOC once again endorse a repressive regime that cracks down on individual, religious and political freedoms and rights of man/woman? This is after all the same government that has not renounced the use of force to invade and continues to threaten its democratic and peaceful neighbors. This is the very government which treasures face value and keeps up appearances and abusively foregoes the principles of the international community to maintain its dignity and sovereignty. What the Beijing government does not want to show, the world will undoubtedly not see.

Whatever decision is made at Lausanne, it will be a test of the ability and willingness of the new world order to live up to the expectations of universal values of freedom and justices it preaches.

## *President Chen to receive Freedom Price*

Liberal International, the international organization of Liberal parties, will award this year's Freedom Price to Taiwan president Chen Shui-bian. The organization announced that it had unanimously decided to select the Taiwanese president from a list of ten candidates because of his special contribution to human rights and political freedom.

Mr. Chen was nominated by the Dutch liberal party, VVD, supported by the British Liberal Democrats, in recognition of his contribution to the Taiwanese struggle for freedom and democracy, and his personal dedication to human rights and democracy on the island. Liberal International mentioned in particular Mr. Chen's role as a defense lawyer in the 1980 Kaohsiung Incident trial, and his role in the mid-1980s as an advocate of press freedom and political freedom on the island.

Previous recipients of the Freedom Price include Corazon Aquino of the Philippines (1987), Benazir Bhutto of Pakistan (1989), Vaclav Havel of the Czech Republic (1990), and Daw Aung San Suu Kyi of Birma (1995).

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