



# Taiwan Communiqué

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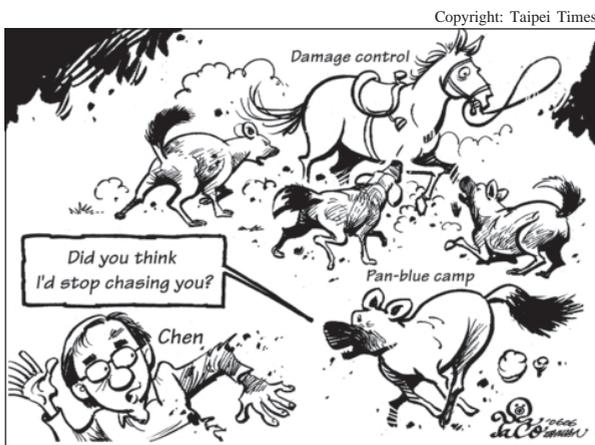
## Opposition motion to recall President Chen *Drifting into a Constitutional crisis*

On May 31 2006, the opposition KMT and People First Party (PFP) caucuses in the Legislative Yuan initiated a recall motion against President Chen Shui-bian, causing Taiwan to drift further into a Constitutional crisis.

The two pro-China opposition parties were taking advantage of the fact that the President was in political trouble due to the fact that his son-in-law, Mr. Chao Chien-ming, had been arrested at the end of May on accusations of inside trading. At the present time, no formal charges have been brought against Mr. Chao yet, and there are no indications President Chen knew about the matter.

However, in their relentless campaign to undermine the democratically-elected President, the pro-China "pan-blue" legislators and sensationalist press have worked overtime to hound Chen and his family.

It is ironic to see that PFP Chairman James Soong is one of those leading the charge: in the 1990s he was implicated in embezzling some US\$ 400 mln in the Lafayette frigate purchase



**Pan-blue hound to President Chen: "Did you think I would stop chasing you?"**

from France, but the judicial branch -- which is primarily dominated by KMT and PFP followers -- has yet to file charges against him.

The recall motion reportedly received some 113 signatures from the KMT and PFP members in the legislature, but has no chance of succeeding, because it requires approval of 2/3 of the 225-member Legislative Yuan.

***Taiwan Communiqué comment:*** *The recall move seems to be part of a deliberate campaign by the pro-China opposition to destabilize Taiwan and undermine the DPP government. One should not be surprised if at some time in the future it turns out that the Communist regime in China had a hand in it.*

*It shows that at the present time, Taiwan's democracy is being hollowed out from the inside by destructive elements of the old repressive Kuomintang regime, who never came to terms with the fact that they lost the 2000 and 2004 Presidential elections.*

*It also shows the dire need for the United States to be much more supportive of the democratic forces on the island, and reach out to Taiwan instead of sidelining and cold-shouldering this fragile democracy.*

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## President Chen's travels

### *Around the world in 8 days*

From the third until the tenth of May 2006, President Chen Shui-bian engaged in an unparalleled globetrotting trip, that took him half-way around the world and back. The purpose of the trip was to pay a state visit to Paraguay and to attend the inauguration of President Oscar Arias in Costa Rica.

As is customary for trips to Latin America, Taiwan intended President Chen to make stopovers in the United States on the way over and back. On previous occasions, stopovers were made in major cities such as Los Angeles, New York, Miami, Houston, San Francisco and Seattle. Although the plans were communicated to the US State Department earlier, the formal request was not submitted until 21 April, the day after the visit to Washington of China's leader Hu Jintao.

However, as the departure date of the second of May got closer, Washington still had not made a decision. When the word finally came on May 1st, it turned out to be a dud: the Bush Administration only granted a refueling stopover of a few hours in Anchorage, Alaska or Honolulu, Hawaii.



### **President Chen addressing the Legislature in Paraguay**

In Paraguay, President Chen had good meetings with his counterpart, President Nicanor Duarte, while in Costa Rica he was part of the festivities surrounding the inauguration of President Oscar Arias, one of the most prominent peacemakers in Central America – who received the Nobel Peace price in 1987. Interestingly, during the celebrations, he met US First Lady Laura Bush, who – together with a Congressional delegation – was representing the United States.

When time came to make the return flight to Taiwan, suspense rose again:

was President Chen going to take up the US refueling offer or not? In the end he decided to fly East instead of Northwest, made a stopover in Libya, and then on to Indonesia, where he stayed at the island of Bantam in the Moluccas.

President Chen postponed his trip by a day, and eventually decided to fly around the world in the other direction, stopping in Abu Dhabi and Amsterdam. The itinerary had to be kept a secret in order to avoid that China bully the host authorities into refusing landing rights to President Chen's plane. This did happen in the case of Lebanon, where the Chinese ambassador pressured the local authorities to deny a request for a landing.



### **President Chen meeting US First Lady Laura Bush**

The pan-blue press in Taiwan tried to put the Libya visit into a negative light, but without success: a few days later the US normalized its relations with the Libyan government in recognition of its cooperation in countering international terrorism.

## *What prompted the American cold-shoulder?*

Pundits in and outside Washington have given a variety of explanations for the American cold-shouldering of President Chen in this stopover saga. The first one is that the White House wanted to have the stopover as low-profile as possible in view of China's ruffled feathers about the two gaffes that took place during Hu Jintao's April 20 visit to Washington: a) the interruption in the welcoming ceremony by Falung Gong reporter Dr. Wenyi Wang, and b) the announcement by the White House announcer of the Chinese national anthem as being from the "Republic of China" (Taiwan's anachronistic name, to which Taiwan's opposition Kuomintang still clings).



The second reason given, was that the US wanted to get China to agree to a stronger resolution

### **Taiwan stop-over diplomat to the US: "You seem to have your hands full."**

in the UN Security Council, mandating Article VII sanctions against Iran for its nuclear program. Reportedly, China had given some indications to this effect during Hu Jintao's visit. The US didn't want to give China any excuse to back out of its promises. As it was, China reneged on its commitments, and didn't support a stronger resolution, but only a very weak expression of concern without any teeth.

The third explanation, mentioned particularly by the extremist partisan pan-blue press and KMT/PFP politicians in Taiwan, was that the US wanted to slap President Chen across the wrist for the demise of the National Unification Council in February / March 2006. According to this thesis, the US was still not satisfied, and wanted President Chen to reiterate the arcane "Four Noes and one will-not" (see "State Department mantra" in *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 107, page 10).

**Taiwan Communiqué comment:** *We would consider the first reason to be an understandable but still very improper linkage: The gaffes were of the United States' own making, and didn't have anything to do with Taiwan. "Punishing" Taiwan for them is unfair and unreasonable.*

*The second explanation – get China to support a resolution on Iran in the UN – is a more substantial reason. But, as expected, it did not get the desired results anyway, and China continued its lack of cooperation on the Iran nuclear issue. Using this tool was thus an effort in futility.*

*The third rationale – a lingering ill-feeling because of the Unification Council case – would be silly: in March and April 2006, the State Department repeatedly emphasized that the case was "closed". We simply cannot imagine that US policymakers would be so petty as to continue to nag about this issue: it was fully discussed with the Taiwan authorities, a conclusion reached, and it is time to move on to more relevant issues.*

Below, we present an additional piece on the stopover issue: a letter by seventeen Taiwanese-American organizations to US Secretary Condoleezza Rice, urging her to be more supportive of Taiwan's fragile democracy.

## ***Letter to Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice***

*Dear Secretary Rice:*

*The undersigned Taiwanese-American organizations would like to express our deep concern about the State Department's decision to allow Taiwan President Chen Shui-bian only a refueling stop in Hawaii or Alaska on his travel to Latin America.*

*We do not believe this is the right way to treat one of our closest democratic allies, certainly not after the White House just recently rolled out the red carpet for the leader of a very undemocratic China.*

*Taiwan is a proud, free, democratic and prosperous nation which only recently went through its transition to democracy. If the United States is to foster democracy around the world, we would do well to strengthen our ties with those who have worked hard for, and achieved, democracy.*

*Instead of continuing the unfair and unjust isolation of Taiwan which was imposed during its martial law years under the Chinese Nationalists, we should celebrate the island's desire to be a free and democratic nation, and welcome Taiwan in the international community. America's position and actions towards Taiwan should be inclusive rather than exclusive.*

*It is also important to emphasize that the Democratic Progressive Party was the driving force behind Taiwan's transition to democracy. The DPP – and President Chen in particular – share the values we in the West hold dear.*

*An important way to help Taiwan nurture and protect its democracy is to normalize our contacts and communications with the democratically-elected leadership on the island.*

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**United States: "Why is Beijing's gatekeeper standing at my door?"**

*We therefore urge the Administration to have a direct dialogue with President Chen. The lack of direct and personal communications between US and Taiwanese leaders has been the source of significant misunderstandings. As you well know, in international diplomacy, face-to-face meetings are an important ingredient in enhancing mutual understanding.*

*It is our sincere belief that the United States needs to do a better job in nurturing and protecting the fragile democracy in Taiwan. We can do that by enhancing our communications with President Chen and grant him the dignity he deserves as democratically-elected president of the 23 million people of Taiwan.*

The letter was signed by 17 major Taiwanese-American organizations, including the Taiwanese Association of America (TAA), the North American Taiwanese Professors' Association, the North American Taiwanese Women's Association, the North American Taiwanese Medical Association, and the Formosan Association for Public Affairs.

## Mr. Zoellick's testimony in Congress

*By Gerrit van der Wees, editor of Taiwan Communiqué. This OpEd first appeared in the Taipei Times on May 28, 2006 under the title "Independence means (peaceful) coexistence". Reprinted with permission.*

Much is being made by the pan-blue press in Taiwan about a statement by US Deputy Secretary Zoellick during a hearing of the US House International Relations Committee (HIRC), in which he said: "Independence means war."

I attended the hearing, and find the focus on this particular statement rather puzzling: Mr. Zoellick did indeed make it, but it was a brief, emotional, outburst during a heated debate with Congresswoman — and former Ambassador — Diane Watson (D-CA) regarding President Chen's stopovers, certainly not a prepared statement in any way or a thought-through policy.

Mr. Zoellick was obviously exhausted from the long journey from Nigeria where he had lengthy negotiations deep into the night about the Darfur situation, and the members of Congress rightly applauded him for the breakthrough achieved with regard to Darfur.

It would be much more interesting to note that at least four of the members of the HIRC expressed their indignation at the fact that the Administration didn't grant President Chen an overnight stopover. They argued that such a gesture doesn't have anything to do with the US' lack of diplomatic ties with Taiwan, but with due respect for a democratically-elected President — in particular necessary after the White House just rolled out the red carpet for a distinctly undemocratic leader of China. What message does this send out about the importance the US attaches to democracy?

The supporters of Taiwan independence have always emphasized that they want peaceful coexistence with China as two friendly neighbors. China is threatening with war, not Taiwan. To the Taiwanese who went through the 228 Massacre of 1947 at the hand of Chinese troops, and subsequently 40 years of martial law dictatorship under the Chinese Nationalists, any "unification" with China means yet another round of subjugation to repressive foreign dictators.

The US and other Western nations applauded when Taiwan made its transition to democracy. The Taiwanese who worked hard to bring this transition about are expecting the next step to be full and equal acceptance by the international community. The

“Republic of China” government lost its international recognition in the 1970s because they still claimed to be government of all of China (that provision is still in the outdated ROC Constitution which the US wants Taiwan not to change).

By clinging to its anachronistic “One China” policy, and by telling Taiwan not to change the “status quo”, the US is preventing the island from ridding itself of the remnants of its repressive past, while it gives a totalitarian China a say in decision-making on a democratic Taiwan’s future that should be made by the Taiwanese people themselves. Imagine if someone had suggested in 1776 that the future of the American colonies should be “...*acceptable to people on both sides of the Atlantic.*”

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Is it too much to ask for the international community (including the US) to help bring about a normalization of relations with Taiwan, instead letting themselves be used by the folks in Beijing who threaten with War? So, let’s focus on the positive statements made during the hearing, such as the following by Congresswoman Ros-Lehtinen (R-FL):



**Gardener Taiwan: "He (the US) always takes my flowers when he wants to flirt with her."**

*"And many members of our committee have already asked what steps the administration has taken to normalize diplomatic relations with Taiwan, to further trade relations with our eighth-largest trading partners through a free trade agreement, and to convince China to arrive at peaceful coexistence with Taiwan as friendly neighbors.*

*And I'd like to reiterate those sentiments and encourage our administration to help the Taiwanese people in their plight to further the ideals of freedom and democracy, ideals that are common ideals between our two peoples, and because of this mutual relationship, our struggle remains to work together for a more democratic and safe world. And the United States has always emphasized that the dispute between Taiwan and China needs to be resolved peacefully.*



*However, as we've seen, China is modernizing its military with the aim of threatening or attacking Taiwan and preventing the United States from coming to Taiwan's assistance. So as we fight for the principles of democracy to be recognized throughout the world, we must stand by Taiwan as it seeks to strengthen its young democratic structure, to expand its economy in order to become fully recognized by its Asian neighbors and to be fully integrated by the international community.*

*And it was an honor for my city, Miami, to host President Chen in his stop a few months ago, and it was very encouraging to see so many members of Congress participating here from D.C. into Miami to congratulate President Chen for what he has been doing. And it's a shame that we were not able to do so again."*

Mrs. Ros Lehtinen has the courage and the vision that Mr. Zoellick lacked.

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## **China's military threat**

### ***US DOD: China is changing the "status quo"***

On May 23 2006, the US Pentagon issued its **"2006 Annual Report on the Military Power of the People's Republic of China"**. The 50-page report presents a concise overview of China's military expansion.

The report states that US analysts were very surprised at the speed of China's military buildup. It estimates the present annual growth in defense spending to be approximately 14.5%, reaching a total level of expenditures officially given as US\$35 billion/year by the PRC authorities. However, US analysts put the actual level of expenditures at nearly triple that amount: US\$105 billion/year.

According to the report, China's military buildup is primarily focused on attacking Taiwan, and preventing US forces from coming to Taiwan's assistance. It puts the number of missiles aimed at Taiwan at 790 as of the end of 2005, an increase of approximately 100 missiles per year. As Peter Rodman, assistant secretary of defense for international security affairs, remarked in an earlier statement: this does constitute a significant change in the "status quo."

The report describes how the military balance in the Taiwan Strait is now tipping very much in China's favor. Mr. Rodman added in a teleconference with news media: *"The balance between Beijing and Taiwan is headed in the wrong direction. Maybe our job is to the equalizer if a contingency arises."*

The report also indicates that China's military buildup is increasingly aimed at projecting military power "beyond Taiwan", far into the Pacific, with a capability to target US ships, submarines, aircraft and airbases as far as the "second island chain" including the Mariana's and Guam. These extended capabilities seem designed to assure Chinese control over energy / oil resources, and are also threatening Japan. US military officials are thus concerned that China is gearing up to confront Japan.

A further significant issue noted by the DOD report is China's upgrading of its nuclear arsenal to include mobile intercontinental ballistic missiles, such as the DF-31A

and the JL-2 submarine-launched ballistic missile. These capabilities would enable China to strike the Western United States as early as 2007.

A final important point raised by the DOD report is China's lack of transparency. The report states that China's leaders have yet to adequately explain the purposes or desired end-states of their military expansion. The report notes that secrecy, deception and surprise remain key components of Chinese strategic practice.

In a reference to the lack of transparency, assistant secretary Rodman referred to a dictum from the former Chinese Communist leader, Deng Xiaoping, who stated once: *"... hide our capacities and bide our time; be good at maintaining a low profile, and never claim leadership."* Rodman commented: *"I think this encapsulates what China's strategy is."*



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**Chinese oil dragon**

In a commentary on the report, Mr. Dan Blumenthal, a former senior country director for China and Taiwan in the DOD, and presently with the American Enterprise Institute, said in an editorial in the *Washington Post* that “*our China policy leaves us a day late and a dollar short when it comes to the challenge posed by the speed of Beijing’s military buildup*” (“*Get serious about China’s rising military*”, *Washington Post*, May 25, 2006).

Mr. Blumenthal wrote that “*Washington’s largely reactive and tepid response to China’s growing military power is understandable given what is on America’s plate at the moment.*” He added: “*But as the Pentagon report says, China has been less than cooperative on those supposed common interests: denuclearizing North Korea and Iran, for example. A policy seeking to shape China into a responsible global actor works only if you are willing to recognize when it is not working. That time may be fast approaching.*”

## ***Taiwan’s National Security Policy Paper***

### ***Addressing the challenges to Taiwan’s fragile democracy and security***

*By Iris Ho, co-Editor of Taiwan Communiqué*

On May 20 2006, three days before the Pentagon released its annual report on the Chinese military power, Taiwan’s President Chen Shui-bian released the nation’s first “National Security Report (NSR)” - the sixth anniversary of his inauguration.

The 162-page document is the Chen Administration’s first public and comprehensive attempt in examining Taiwan’s security environment and proposing strategies corresponding to the growing challenges and threats currently facing the island nation. Given the volatile cross-Strait relationship and the ongoing spat over the arms procurement stalemate in Taiwan’s KMT-dominated Legislative Yuan, the NSR specifically targets the Washington and Beijing audience, seeking to demonstrate the Taiwanese government’s seriousness and determination to actually address the imminent security concerns.

The NSR spends a great deal of effort on highlighting the growing Chinese military threat, a sentiment echoed strongly by the aforementioned US Defense Department report. The report argues that China’s self-proclaimed “peaceful rise” is not very peaceful, and that China’s military expansion is hardly for self-defense (no-one is threatening China). The real reason for China’s military buildup, according to the report,

is Taiwan's unique strategic location (Hence Taiwan's nickname: the "Unsinkable aircraft carrier"). Therefore China perceives it as necessary to try to take over Taiwan, "with the use of force, if necessary". The document notes that Taiwan holds the key to China's eastward expansion and maritime defense.

While the NSR also touches upon the qualitative analysis of the Chinese armed forces, emphasizing the traditional military threat posed by China, the NSR underscores the non-military coercion from China against Taiwan. Diplomatic isolation is one of the regular tactics that China employs to limit Taiwan's international space. In recent years, China has wrestled with Taiwan over Taiwan's 25 some diplomatic allies, often with financial incentives, or using its leverage as United Nations' Permanent Security Council member to lure these countries into China's camp. China has also tried to strangle any participation by Taiwan in international organizations; whether it's inter-governmental organizations or NGOs and whether Taiwan is a member or not.

Given the extensive cross-Strait economic exchanges, the Chinese government has assembled a team led by Vice Premier Wu Yi to undertake unification through economic means. It seeks to play up the leverage the Chinese government has over Taiwanese companies that have a presence in China. It drives a wedge between these businesses and the Taiwanese government, and aims to achieve political integration between the two countries through economic integration.

The NSR also warns against over-economic reliance of Taiwanese industries on China. For example, in 2005, 71% of Taiwan's foreign investment was in China and over 70% of Taiwanese companies' telecommunication and high-tech products were manufactured in China. The document warns that when China is still hostile to Taiwan, while China's economic system still lacks transparency and predictability, over-dependence on China not only hurts Taiwan's own economy, which is not only experiencing an increase in unemployment and a decrease in investment and wages, but also poses uncertainty to Taiwan's overall economic security.

Other fronts of non-traditional coercion listed in the NSR are the "three warfares" - "public opinion warfare", "psychological warfare" and "legal warfare." The Chinese government has formed a so-called "Internet Army" whose sole purpose is to collect intelligence of foreign governments and businesses and, if necessary, to hack into their computers.

In addition, according to the NSR, there are over 50,000 "web commentators" who pose as regular internet users and write messages or comments in defense of the Chinese

government on internet forums to shape public opinion. The Chinese anti-secession law that passed in March 2005 is the latest legal attempt by Beijing to intimidate and legitimize the use of force against Taiwan. The “three warfares”, the document argues, is the newest and most intense threat to Taiwan, for it is not transparent, very dangerous and no shot (or missile) needs to be fired.

Taiwan faces domestic challenges against the nation’s security as well. As a settlers’ society, Taiwan consists of various ethnic groups. Past oppression of the Taiwanese elites by the then KMT authoritarian regime created an ethnic gap, deepened by recent partisan elections, which polarizes the country. These ethnic disputes have contributed to the divisive national identity, a major obstacle to build national consensus on important issues such as national security.

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**Taiwan's National Security: "With us standing guard, China won't dare approach."**

Several policy recommendations in the NSR are worth noting. The NSR proposes to establish a “military buffer zone” where military forces from both sides are not allowed to enter without notification of each other. Taiwan has promised not to develop or use weapons of mass destruction. The document proposes that both sides establish a cross-Strait military security consultation mechanism and a military hotline, to avoid armed conflict, drawing inspiration from the US-USSR “Maritime Matter Incidents at Sea” Agreement of 1972 and the US-PRC Military Maritime Consultative Agreement. And finally, the document also suggests that Taiwan’s annual defense budget be increased to 3% of its GDP.

The battle to maintain Taiwan’s independence and sovereignty is an external one — David (Taiwan) vs Goliath (China) — and an internal one — Tories (Pan-Blue) vs Patriots (Pan-Green). This National Security Report is a good start for the Chen Administration to educate the people of Taiwan about the true nature and the expansive scope of the ever increasing China threat. It shatters the rosy picture of a prosperous and benign China - as painted by the opposition party in Taiwan.

The DPP Administration of President Chen Shui-bian should now follow up by implementing the policy recommendations as proposed in the report. Building a secure, prosperous and confident Taiwan for its 23 million people should be Chen’s legacy and his focus for the remainder of his term.

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# The WHO turns Taiwan down again

*By Kin-ming Liu, former chairman of the Hong Kong Journalists Association, and a Washington-based columnist.*

“We have been very concerned about the [Taiwanese people’s] health. This is absolutely for sure,” Sha Zukang, China’s permanent representative to the United Nations in Geneva, said when the World Health Assembly, the policy-making body of the World Health Organization, convened its week-long annual session on May 22.

This was certainly an improvement over what the Chinese health minister had to say about the well-being of the island’s 23 million people three years ago, when many panic-stricken people in East Asia were wearing a mask amid the explosion of SARS: “Who cares about Taiwan?”

A change of rhetoric doesn’t mean a change of heart though. For the 10<sup>th</sup> consecutive year, Taiwan was denied to join the WHA. In fact, Taiwan remains the only country in the world today that is refused the opportunity to assist and benefit from the WHO’s mission of universal health.

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**The World Health Organization says no to Taiwan**

If the WHO is to be taken seriously, then Taiwan the missing link must be restored without further delay. As a major hub for trans-Pacific cargo and travelers and migrating birds alike, Taiwan is already in a precarious position. With its geographic importance, Taiwan is exceptionally susceptible to outbreaks of viruses such as H5N1 and acts as

an ideal base from which to quickly spread across the Pacific. Highly contagious diseases like avian flu and SARS make Taiwan's continued exclusion from the WHO health network a threat to the rest of the world. No one is safe until all can participate.

The WHO knows this very well. "The SARS epidemic showed us that we cannot afford any gap in our global surveillance and response network," the late WHO director-general Lee Jong-wook said. "No country is immune to H5N1. Every country is at risk. Every country must prepare."

"The essence of this issue is not health, but politics," said Gao Qiang, China's minister of health. "The motive has remained the same. Namely to split China... We oppose making use of health issues to seek Taiwan independence." The truth is, politics coming from China's obsession of squeezing any remaining international space out for Taiwan, trumps everything, and in this case, life and death.

For those who always point their fingers at Taiwan as the troublemaker across the Taiwan Strait, they should rub their eyes and look at Taiwan's modest approach. First of all, Taiwan is only hoping to become an observer at the WHA as a "health entity" and not asking to be admitted as a sovereign state member. This willingness to swallow the pride reflects Taiwan's hope to avoid political conflicts with China. As Chen Shui-bian, Taiwan's president, told a European reporter in May, "Taiwan's hope to become an observer at the WHA has nothing to do with the issue of sovereignty, and it has no bearing on the so-called one-China policy."

"If we consider that even the Palestine Liberation Organization and the Sovereign Military Order of Malta can become observers to the WHA, then why are the 23 million people of Taiwan denied the right to participate?" Mr. Chen rightfully asked.

In another move to demonstrate its seriousness in conducting down-to-earth business, Taiwan's Center for Disease Control announced on May 15 that it has decided to voluntarily adopt the WHO's public health standards even though Taiwan isn't a member. The WHO last year passed the regulations, which are its global legal framework for infectious disease control, and decided to begin global implementation in the second half of this year. The U.S. State Department said that Washington is pleased with this measure from Taiwan.

In response to questions about Taiwan's refusal to participate in the WHO under the "one-China" principle, Mr. Sha said "[the principle] is a consensus in the international community."

Well, the State Department reiterated the position of supporting “the goal of Taiwan’s participation in the work of the WHO, including observer status at the WHA.” Congress has passed several bills regarding this. Taiwan also receives similar support from some major players including the European Parliament, Japan, Canada, and New Zealand. This is the real international consensus instead.

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## “Taiwan’s Cracks”

*by William R. Stimson. Mr. Stimson is an American who lives and works in Central Taiwan*

What touches my heart about Taiwan is its cracks. You find them everywhere — in the walls of houses and buildings, in sidewalks, highways, curbstones, and cement planters — the legacy of the island’s frequent earthquakes. Everything in Taiwan is just a little broken — even the soil, in places, is rent with fissures.

The island was wrenched up from the ocean floor by the Philippine continental plate banging into the edge of Asia. This collision that created Taiwan is still very much in progress. Taiwan is a place in the making. It’s a shaky place, but it’s an island with a future.

This is true not just in a geological sense, but also culturally and politically. Communist China’s notion of Taiwan as a “renegade province” is a lie. The truth is that modern Taiwan is a wonderfully fractured place that came into being where Japanese and Chinese history collided; and it moves into the future now at the real spot in the world where everything American bangs most forcefully into everything Chinese.

As such, Taiwan is a rich, culturally fertile mix — magnificently alive. It may or may not someday be a part of China; but the little nation is simply too important a cultural and commercial treasure for the world to allow it to be bullied by China or America, now or at any time in the future. Geologically, culturally, and politically Taiwan is a de facto self-building entity and deserves the self-determination that, by rights, is it’s due.

Everywhere I go here I see beautiful new elevated expressways under construction, tall modern skyscrapers, elite apartment buildings, universities, and schools. An elevated high-speed railway line that stretches from one end of the island to the other is almost completed. The bridges here are of the highest caliber and look more like works of modern art or sculpture than engineering projects.



Taiwan abounds with creative enterprise, the building up of newer and better things, even as all sorts of forces threaten at any minute to tear it down. The truth isn't that Taiwan survives in spite of these forces, but that it thrives and can be self-building precisely because of them. This is the real secret of Taiwan and its remarkable grass-roots creativity.

Photo: William Stimson



### **Taiwan's Cracks**

Taiwan, not China or America, is the correct model for the developing countries of Latin America, Southeast Asia, the Pacific Islands, and Africa. Taiwan also provides a lesson for the creative individual and a constant source of inspiration.

The creative life always springs into being at the juncture of powerful opposing forces. Early on it gets cracked and broken. Half the time it seems to be trying to get up from its knees only to be knocked down again. The example of Taiwan shows that it is exactly on such a foundation that the best things happen.

Cracks are evidence that deeper forces are at work under the surface and that something greater is coming into being. These are forces of an awesome magnitude. They would seem to outweigh anything we might be capable of, except that they elicit from within us that which is even mightier — the inner freedom to create.

It is when this freedom begins to move through our work and our lives that we rise to our true stature as human beings and, like Taiwan, bring into being something that has never been before, a thing totally new — that can't be squeezed back into old categories of history and culture, but has the power to break loose from the rigid and the dead, invent a greater freedom, and send everything off in a new direction.

## Three responses to Robert Ross

The March/April 2006 issue of **Foreign Affairs** Magazine carried an article by Prof. Robert Ross, an academic teaching at Boston College. In the article, titled “*Taiwan’s Fading Independence Movement*”, Mr. Ross painted a very negative picture of Taiwan’s movement aimed at full and equal membership for the island in the international family of nations.

The piece prompted a number of sharp rebuttals from different directions: the first response came from **Mr. Li Thian-hok**, a prominent member of the Taiwanese-American community, who wrote an OpEd titled “*US security tied up with Taiwan’s*”, which was published in the Taipei Times on April 14 2006 (Internet: <http://www.taipetimes.com/News/editorials/archives/2006/04/14/2003302657>).

Mr. Li wrote: “In his essay ... Robert Ross grossly misreads Taiwan’s domestic politics. If Washington’s policy elite were to swallow such misinterpretations, the US government could end up adopting policies toward Taiwan and China which would be detrimental to East Asian peace and stability and the US’ interest in steering China toward the path of a peaceful and democratic stakeholder in the international system.”

The second rebuttal came from **Prof. Don Rodgers**, who teaches at Austin College in Texas. Prof. Rodgers states that Robert Ross’ account “... is based on a superficial and potentially dangerous misunderstanding of the independence movement and public opinion and electoral politics in Taiwan. Ross’s argument appears to be based more on wishful thinking that the U.S. policy predicament created by tensions between China and Taiwan will dissipate rather than on any objective understanding of the situation in Taiwan. Contrary to Mr. Ross’ argument, public opinion in Taiwan continues to indicate a growing sense of Taiwanese identity and declining interest in unification with China.”

Prof. Rodgers then gives a detailed analysis of public opinion polls in Taiwan, which show a strong decline of support for unification and a majority support for independence *if the threat of war were removed*. Thus, if the people of Taiwan had a free choice – without the threat of war — they would vote for independence.

Prof. Rodgers then goes on to describe the strong increase of Taiwanese identity on the island, as opposed to the four decade-long Kuomintang indoctrination of “Chineseness”, and explains how Ross oversimplifies the constitutional reform issue, concluding “It is clear that the best solution for Taiwan is the creation of a new constitution specifically designed by and for the people of Taiwan. This is a complex process and one that is further complicated by the presence of an external threat.”

He concludes by saying: “Basing policy on a belief that the people of Taiwan have lost interest in Taiwanese identity or independence will lead to strategic missteps and increase the potential for conflict. Policymakers in all countries must base their decisions on a careful analysis and understanding of the political and social realities in Taiwan. These realities point to an increased sense of Taiwanese identity and at least a decline in an interest in unification with China.”

The third response came from **Dr. Winston Dang**, Democratic Progressive Party legislator and the director of the party’s Department of International Affairs. It appeared as an OpEd in the Taipei Times on 22 May 2006 under the title “*Taiwan’s democracy flourishing*” (Internet: <http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/editorials/archives/2006/05/22/2003309504>). Dr. Dang, a graduate of Harvard University, emphasizes that “Ross’ cardinal mistake seems to lie in his uncritical acceptance of the KMT’s political rhetoric and China’s propaganda. He managed to pepper an 18-paragraph paper with 14 factual errors, 16 partisan interpretations and at least two contradictions.”

Dr. Dang adds: “Ross’ understanding of and definition of the Taiwan independence movement is archaic. He fails to see that the majority of people in Taiwan already see Taiwan as an independent, sovereign state through years of peaceful, democratic evolution. With or without the change of their country’s official name, the Taiwanese people consider Taiwan and China to be two separate states.”

Dr. Dang explains how Ross also confuses the issue of the cause of instability in the Taiwan Strait: “Contrary to his blaming the Taiwan independence movement, it is China’s authoritarian regime which refuses to respect Taiwan’s democracy and democratic processes, *that* is the problem.”

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## **Report from Washington**

### ***Congressional Resolution on high-level visits***

On April 6 2006, co-chairs of the Congressional Taiwan Caucus Steve Chabot (R-OH) and Sherrod Brown (D-OH) introduced HCR381 - a resolution calling for the complete lifting of all restrictions on high-level visits from Taiwan. The resolution concludes that: “*all restrictions on visits by high-level elected and appointed officials of Taiwan to the United States, including the democratically elected president of Taiwan, should*

*be lifted”, and “the United States should encourage direct high-level exchanges at the Cabinet-level, in order to strengthen a policy dialogue with Taiwan’s government.”*

Many members of Congress have previously expressed concern about the arcane State Department guidelines not allowing Taiwan officials from coming to Washington. They indicated that it was rather peculiar for the United States to praise Taiwan for its democracy, but then turn around and impose restrictions on direct meetings between the elected leadership in Taiwan and US officials.

During the visit of President Lee Teng-hui to Washington, DC in October 2005, over two dozen Members of Congress urged the Bush Administration to not only welcome former President Lee to DC, but to also let current President Chen Shui-bian come to the Nation’s Capital and meet with him.



李前總統初抵飯店一景 台灣及媒體蜂擁而上

### **Former President Lee in Washington in October 2005**

FAPA president C.T. Lee, stated in a reaction to the introduction of the resolution: *“The timing of the introduction of this resolution is very significant. With the upcoming visit of China’s unelected President Hu Jintao to the White House, the Congress sends a signal to President Bush that the democratically elected President of Taiwan should be welcomed to DC as well.”*

He added: *“The present policy dates back to the 1970s, when Taiwan was still ruled by an authoritarian KMT regime. If the United States is really committed to spreading democracy around the world, it should not only praise Taiwan’s transition to democracy, but also welcome its leaders to Washington.”*

Lee concluded: *“The Taiwan Strait is generally considered a political hotspot in the world. It is thus essential for US leaders to communicate directly with Taiwan’s democratically-elected government and not just with the authoritarian regime in Beijing. We should not let the Chinese determine who can come to DC or not.*

## *Bhatia's cold-shouldering of Taiwan is deplorable*

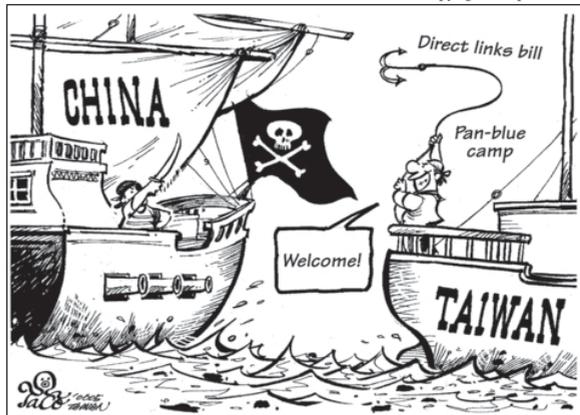
By: Coen Blaauw, FAPA Headquarters

On May 25 and 26 2006, Deputy US Trade Representative Karan Bhatia visited Taiwan to conduct trade talks with Taiwan under the framework of the US-Taiwan Trade and Investment Framework Agreement (TIFA). The talks were established between the American Institute in Taiwan and the Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office in 1994 to resolve bilateral trade issues and enhance economic cooperation between the US and Taiwan.

From the Taiwan side there were high hopes that the talks would constitute a step forward in the direction of a US-Taiwan Free Trade Agreement. However, Mr. Bhatia poured cold water over these expectations, saying that Washington has “a very full trade agenda” until 2007, and that the US “is not currently considering a bilateral trade pact”, although he did not rule out any mechanism to further enhance the bilateral economic ties between the two countries.

Adding insult to injury, Mr. Bhatia – in a May 26 2006 speech to the American Chamber of Commerce in Taipei – told Taiwan to “remove restrictions on the transfer of commercial technology, on the imports of certain goods from China, on travel to Taiwan by PRC employees of Taiwan and multinational companies, and on outward investment to the PRC, as well as the lack of direct cross-strait air and shipping service.”

Copyright: Taipei Times



### **Pan-blue opposition (and Mr. Bhatia?) welcoming Three Links Chinese pirates**

*during the past years and months, the Bush Administration has leaned heavily on Taiwan to stay away from “sensitive” issues such as sovereignty and (much-needed) modifications of the*

*island's outdated Constitution. So now Taiwan is heeding this advice and is putting its hopes on — and energy in — the establishment of a free trade agreement with the US, and what happens? Mr. Bhatia seems to be nixing that too. We find this totally inexplicable !*

*And then there is Mr. Bhatia's ill-advised "advice" to reduce restrictions on Taiwan's economic interaction with China: Mr. Bhatia seems to forget that the PRC is determined to do away with Taiwan's thriving democracy and subjugate it into a mere appendix of China's undemocratic neo-Empire. Production and distribution chains of multinationals may well benefit from the so-called "Three links", but Taiwan has to consider first and foremost what increasing interaction with a highly-repressive China would do to its existence as a democratic and sovereign nation. In other words: Taiwan should look at those issues on their own merits, and they should not be linked in any way to a possible US-Taiwan free trade agreement.*

*A US-Taiwan FTA should also be considered on its own merits, and there are plenty: Taiwan is America's eighth trading partner, and according to various studies, an FTA would increase trade by some 16% per year. Support for an FTA in Congress and the business community is solid: there are resolutions both in the House and the Senate moving to the floor. So it would behoove Mr. Bhatia to look at those aspects, and not hide behind the excuse that the USTR doesn't have sufficient manpower to enter into negotiations with Taiwan.*

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## Book review

### *A History of Taiwan in comics*

Taiwan has a complex history, and there are very few books that tell the story clearly. A brilliant exception is Prof. Jerome Keating's "*Island in the Stream*", which we reviewed in *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 95 (February 2001).

Now there is yet another excellent book — or we should say "set of books": it is a ten-volume "*History of Taiwan in Comics*", published by **Third Nature Publishing Co.** in Taipei ([www.thirdnature.tw](http://www.thirdnature.tw)). The series were edited by a team of Taiwanese and English writers and editors headed by Prof. Wu Mi-cha of National Taiwan

University's Department of History and Robin J. Winkler of the Taiwan Wild at Heart Legal Defense Association.

The ten volumes cover the period from the ancient times and Austronesian origins, through the Dutch period in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the occupation by Ming dynasty pirate Cheng Chen-kung (known as Koxinga in the West), through the Ch'ing Dynasty period when it briefly became of Province of China, the period as a Japanese colony (1895-1945), the post World War II occupation by the Chinese Nationalists of Chiang Kai-shek, to the colorful period of transition to democracy under President Lee Teng-hui and the present full-fledged democracy under DPP President Chen Shui-bian.



The comics are beautifully illustrated, have both *Hanji* characters and English text, and are therefore excellent for kids (and the young-at-heart !) between 8 and 80. Highly recommended to everyone who is interested in Taiwan's unique history.

Schools, organizations and libraries in the United States and Canada may order a set from: **Formosan Association for Public Affairs**, 552 7<sup>th</sup> St. SE, Washington DC 20003 USA. Individuals may place their orders directly with Third Nature Publishing in Taiwan.

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*The goals of FAPA are: 1) to promote international support for the right of the people of Taiwan (Formosa) to establish an independent and democratic country, and to join the international community; 2) to advance the rights and interests of Taiwanese communities throughout the world; and 3) to promote peace and security for Taiwan*

Internet homepages: [www.fapa.org](http://www.fapa.org) and [www.taiwandc.org](http://www.taiwandc.org)

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