



Taiwan Communiqué

Published by:

Formosan Association for Public Affairs
552 7th St. SE, Washington, D.C. 20003
Tel. (202) 547-3686

International edition, June / July 2008
Published 6 times a year
ISSN number: 1027-3999

119

Tsai Ing-wen becomes DPP chairperson *Reforming and reinventing the party*

On 18 May 2008, Dr. Tsai Ing-wen was elected the new chairperson of the Democratic Progressive Party, becoming the party's first chairwoman. She won with 57.1% of the vote against industrialist Koo Kwang-ming's 37.8%. Legislator Chai Trong-rong, who had dropped out of the race and thrown his support behind Koo, still received 5.1% of the vote.

Dr. Tsai succeeds outgoing chairman Frank Hsieh, who was the DPP's candidate in the March 2008 presidential elections, and who lost against the KMT's Ma Ying-jeou (see Communiqué no. 118).

Photo: DPP



**New DPP Chairperson
Dr. Tsai Ing-wen**

The election rings in a new era for the DPP, which was battered by a severe loss in the January 2008 Legislative elections, followed by a drubbing in the March Presidential race. Tsai has the unenviable task of pulling the DPP out of its down-and-out position, trying to reform and reinventing the party, and bringing it to a position where it can play the important role in checks and balances vis-à-vis the KMT government.

Checks and balances are now needed more than ever: with a majority in the Legislative Yuan of more than 70% — and more than 75% if one includes a number of independent legislators

leaning towards the KMT – the ruling KMT party could in principle push through any legislation it wanted.

Dr. Tsai served as Taiwan's Vice-Premier from January 2006 through May 2007, and also served in a series of other positions before that, including chairperson of the Mainland Affairs Council, which sets policies for the country's relations with China. She received a Master's in Legal Science degree from Cornell University, and a Ph.D. from the London School of Economics and Political Science.

Transition of power in Taipei

On 20 May 2008, Taiwan experienced its second transition of power since the country became democratic in the early 1990s. According to Samuel Huntington's theory this indicates the country has achieved a mature democracy.

Below we first present a brief analysis of what can be expected during Ma's administration. That is followed by an examination of President Chen Shui-bian's legacy by Michael Fonte, DPP Liaison in Washington. We conclude with a look at Mr. Ma's inauguration speech by Prof. J. Bruce Jacobs.

What lies ahead with the Ma administration

For many in Taiwan's democratic movement, who have worked for Taiwan's democracy during the past decades, the return to power of the Kuomintang is a throwback to the dark and repressive era when Taiwan still suffered under martial law.

It is of course true that the Kuomintang has changed over time, as shown in the successful election of Mr. Ma, but many fear that during the next four years, the old, hardline pro-China conservatives within the Kuomintang will whittle away at Taiwan's hard-earned democracy and will push Taiwan into an inescapable entanglement with a repressive and undemocratic China.

Within the KMT, several factions pull in opposite directions: first there is the Taiwanese vs. Chinese mainlanders schism: the party's origins are clearly Chinese, but over time it has coopted a significant number of Taiwanese, so that many on the island depend on

the party for their well-being, promotion, job security, etc. In particular it has bought loyalty by providing civil servants, teachers, and retired military personnel a preferential interest rate of a whopping 18% on their pension savings.

The Taiwanese faction, headed by Legislative Yuan Speaker Wang Chin-ping, has always been more interested in promoting Taiwan and dampen the “China fever” promoted by the strongly pro-China faction, headed by the likes of Lien Chan, Kuan Chung, James Soong and P.K. Chiang (the new head of the Straits Exchange Foundation). The latter are likely to disregard Taiwan’s interests and slide towards China—primarily driven by their own personal business interests.

The second divide within the Kuomintang is between the more pro-Western oriented leaders, like Ma Ying-jeou himself, and the more pro-China oriented group described earlier. The first group wants to maintain good relations with the US, while keeping some distance from China. They do attach some importance to principles like democracy and human rights. The second group will want to get closer to China and distance Taiwan from the US. This group has little regards for democracy and human rights.



Ma Ying-jeou being chased by KMT factions, party bosses, and "kickback culture" rats

Ma will have to maneuver between these factions. He is generally not considered to be a strong leader, but more given to *laissez faire, laissez passer*. So the question is whether he will be able to withstand the pressures from within his own party, and even more seriously: the pressures China will bring about when it finds out that Mr. Ma cannot easily deliver Taiwan on a silver platter.

The reason is that during the past decade, Taiwan has built up democratic checks and balances, which will hopefully be strong enough to counter the negative pro-China forces within the KMT. The past decade has also seen a tremendous growth in Taiwanese identity and a sense of common destiny with the island Taiwan. The people are proud of their achievements, and want to preserve their freedom and democracy.

President Chen Shui-bian's Legacy

By Michael J. Fonte, DPP Liaison in Washington DC.

"The Taiwanese people have stood up", declared President Chen Shui-bian at his 2000 inauguration. At the end of his second term, President Chen's legacy is clear the vast majority of Taiwanese have stood up and identified themselves with this beautiful island, this warm and spirited place, this democratic nation.

The numbers are clear: those identifying themselves as Taiwanese, in surveys conducted by the Mainland Affairs Council, have risen steadily over the course of President Chen's tenure to close to 70% today. Meanwhile the number of people on Taiwan identifying themselves as Chinese-only has declined to only 5.5%.

Indoctrination under Chinese Nationalist Party (KMT) rule, particularly during the harsh martial law period, was that Taiwanese were Chinese subjects. Chinese language was imposed and the use of local languages in schools forbidden. Textbooks focused on Chinese history and geography, not on Taiwan realities. From the party's own name to those of major institutions and companies, Chinese was the name of the game and reuniting with the mainland an ultimate goal.

President Chen and his government rolled back as much of this Chinese overlay as possible, with resistance from the KMT controlled Legislative Yuan a major obstacle to further changes. While Mandarin is still the main language of school instruction, the rich diversity of languages spoken on the island are now heard and taught. Taiwan's complex history and its beautiful geographic landscape are explored in detail. The multi-colored cultural tapestry that is Taiwan's heritage has sprung to life. The de facto independence of Taiwan, with its firm grasp on democracy, the rule of law, and respect for human rights, is cherished.

The political reality behind this shift is profound. As USC Prof. Dan Lynch has noted, Taiwan-centric consciousness is the most common translation of Taiwan *zhuti yishi*, but



President Chen Shui-bian put emphasis on the Taiwanese identity

is somewhat imprecise. The term *zhuti* literally means “main body” or “subject”. Taiwan *zhuti yishi* indicates the widely-shared consciousness on the island that Taiwan is an autonomous entity with a distinctive history and a right to determine its own future free from interference by foreign countries. Taiwan is in this sense a subject, directing its own course, not an object to be handed from one great power to another, or some other country’s peripheral territory.

President Chen’s Democratic Progressive Party lost the 2008 presidential election, but his legacy lives on and is most evident in the amazing shift in tone of Chinese Nationalist Party President-elect Ma Ying-jeou during the presidential campaign. Ma moved to an acceptance of a fully Taiwan-centric position, to the dismay of some of his own party’s elite.

In a six-point statement issued to protest China’s violent crackdown on Tibetans, Ma condemned Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao and stated, “The Republic of China [ROC] is a democratic country that enjoys sovereignty. The future of Taiwan will be decided by 23 million Taiwanese people, and we won’t allow China’s interference.”

Ma affirmed that the KMT policy had always been “Taiwan-centric for the benefits of its people”, and also said that a return to the United Nations is “the aspiration of 23 million people on Taiwan and the party will continue to work toward that direction.”

An objective assessment of the Chen presidency will come in time. I believe, though, that we can already see the outlines of history’s judgment: in a difficult political environment where he was buffeted by domestic political opponents, Chinese hostility and American pressure, President Chen led the Taiwanese people to stand up and assert themselves as masters of their own destiny, as the heirs of a long, rich, vibrant history that will continue to spin its way forward.

Inauguration of the new President

By J. Bruce Jacobs, Professor of Asian Languages and Studies and Director of the Taiwan Research Unit at Monash University, Melbourne, Australia

Mr. Ma’s inauguration speech of 20 May 2008 attempted to bring together the very diverse strands within Taiwan’s body-politic, both within the now ruling Kuomintang and also outside of it. Such an attempt at synthesis was doomed to failure and left many listeners dissatisfied, but the speech at least made an effort in this direction.

Ma's speech began with praise for Taiwan's democracy. He made reference to how recently "political trust was low, political maneuvering was high, and economic security was gone. Support for Taiwan from abroad had suffered an all-time low." One could read this as criticizing the preceding administration of Chen Shui-bian without acknowledging the very negative roles of his own Kuomintang, which controlled the legislature, in creating these problems.

Copyright: Taipei Times

Ma concludes the first section of his speech by noting that Taiwan is the only ethnic Chinese area to have had two changes of government. (The terms translated as "ethnic Chinese" are *huaren* and *zhonghua wenhua*, which means Chinese culture.) Here Ma is clearly identifying Taiwan as part of the "ethnic Chinese" world.



The "Ma presidency horse": good governance falling by the wayside

In the second section of his speech, Ma begins by emphasizing, "Islands like Taiwan flourish in an open economy and wither in a closed one. This has been true throughout history." The Chinese text is much stronger saying this is an "historical iron law." Ma says Taiwan needs harmony among all "sub-ethnic groups" and between old and new immigrants.

Ma then quotes Lord Acton about how "*Power corrupts, and absolute power corrupts absolutely,*" perhaps to remind the Kuomintang that it cannot do whatever it wants despite having substantial control over all branches of government.

This leads into a discussion of foreign relations. Taiwan needs to be a "respected" member of the global community. Ma argues, "*By strengthening economic relations with its major trading partners, Taiwan can better integrate itself in East Asia and contribute more to the region's peace and prosperity.*"

Ma then turns to the United States. In English, the US is "*our foremost security ally and trading partner*", but in Chinese the text can better be translated as, "this security alliance

friend and trading partner.” Ma emphasizes “our” determination to protect Taiwan’s security and states the need for defensive weapons, but also stresses cross-strait peace and maintaining regional stability. Apparently, a draft section on maintaining good relations with Japan was omitted from the speech itself.

The greatest international interest in Ma’s speech focused on cross-strait issues. Ma attempted to express some sense of agreement with the Chinese by mentioning three recent statements of President Hu Jintao. He also made reference to both sides being Chinese. The English referred to “our common Chinese heritage” while the Chinese text spoke “the people of both sides belonging to the Chinese race (*zhonghua minzu*.)” In addition, in the Chinese text, the next sentence referred to “the high intelligence [or superior wisdom] of the Chinese race,” a phrase not included in the English translation. Of course, this content did not read well among Taiwan’s aborigines or among the Taiwanese who do not consider themselves Chinese.

From a Taiwan perspective, the most glaring disappointment was his omission to firmly emphasize Taiwan’s sovereignty. His only reference was a statement that “*the keystone for a final solution to the cross-strait problem is not in a conflict over sovereignty, but in ways of life and core values.*” (This is different from the official translation, “In resolving cross-strait issues, what matters is not sovereignty, but core values and the way of life.”). Since during his election campaign Ma emphasized time and again that Taiwan/ROC is a sovereign country, many in Taiwan wonder if he is already shifting position.

To some extent, Ma retreated somewhat on these sentiments in the last part of his talk. He emphasized Taiwan’s four hundred years of history, a phrase used by many Taiwanese historians. He noted that he too is a post-war immigrant, but is “forever grateful to [Taiwan] society for accepting and nurturing this post-war immigrant.”

Copyright: Taipei Times



Mr. Ma, with the "China fever" torch, snuffing out Chen Shui-bian's "sovereignty" torch

Ma then noted that the Republic of China has a much longer history in Taiwan than in China itself. In Mandarin, Ma stated, “on Taiwan the Republic of China gained a new life,” a much stronger statement than the official translation of “The Republic of China was reborn on Taiwan.”

Finally, and this is important, Ma quoted language straight from the February 28, 2004 DPP demonstration, when over two million people lined up the whole length of Taiwan to “hold hands to protect Taiwan”. Ma used words from the key song, “*Hand holding hand, Heart United with Heart*” and then concluded, “*let us all strive together.*” These words are completely omitted from the official English translation. In addition, Ma repeated these words in the native Taiwanese/Hoklo language, something that was not reflected in the Chinese text either.

Thus, Ma’s speech is a *mélange* that remains insufficiently blended. We still must wait to see what policies he will implement as president.

The Presidential election; a retrospective

In the previous issue of Taiwan Communiqué (#118) we reported extensively on the March 2008 Presidential elections. While the election process itself was fair and open, and the election campaign a vibrant competition, the playing field was still heavily tilted in favor of the Kuomintang, and stacked against the DPP.

Below we first present further evidence of the Kuomintang’s “money politics.”

In the previous issue we also argued that the election results did NOT indicate that the Taiwanese want a “closer relations with China”, but that they want peace and stability. This became even more evident from the results of an opinion poll published at the end of April 2008, which is also presented below.

Copyright: Taipei Times



President Ma to the US: “I will just stand here and watch. I won't be a bother, I promise.”

Thirdly, we present an article detailing how the Ma camp used “the economy” as a weapon in the election campaign along lines that are very similar to former US President Bill Clinton’s tactics in 1992.

Vote buying still prevalent

A number of reports coming out of Taiwan during and after the March 2008 election campaign indicate that the Kuomintang did engage in massive efforts to entice voters to cast their votes for the Kuomintang. This occurred at a number of different levels.

At the most local level – that of the “*li and lin*” or “*neighborhood and block*” – the KMT still has a system of local “captains”, who know the political views of most people in the area. They dispense favors, both to the party faithful as well as to those who might be influenced to support the party. In the run-up to the present elections, these “captains” reportedly offered a money enticement of NT\$ 3000 (US\$ 100) per person to people who agreed to cross the line and support the KMT.

Also, local KMT branches provided transportation to people to go to the polling stations, and were paid NT\$ 10 per person transported. Another incentive was to people willing to serve as “staff” outside the polling station. These were paid NT\$ 1000 per person. According to reports from Taiwan, the total budget for the operation added up to some NT\$ 470 mln (roughly US\$ 14.7 mln).

At another level – the international level — the party also provided incentives: many overseas members of the Kuomintang were offered a “vacation trip”, which happened to coincide with the elections. The offer included a flight to Japan, a couple of days vacationing there, then on to Taiwan – arriving the day before the elections – and then off to Hong Kong for another day of vacationing. All of this – including flight costs and hotels – reportedly for the meager sum of only a few hundred dollars.

The travel agencies involved declined to indicate where the funding was coming from, but this kind of “subsidy” reportedly involved hundreds of of tour groups ranging from several dozen to several hundred in size.

Taiwan Communiqué comment: *It must thus be concluded that, while “money politics” may not have shifted the balance or made a difference in the outcome, it was still a significant factor in the campaign. Any pronouncements that the elections were “clean” elections must be taken with a healthy grain of scepticism.*

Opinion poll: No to unification with China

After the Presidential elections, many international media and observers concluded that the election results showed that the people on the island wanted “closer relations with China.”

The results of a recent opinion poll punctures this myth: the poll, published by the DPP in Taiwan on 27 April 2008, shows that:

- * 82% of all respondents *disagree* that the results of the presidential elections indicate that the people of Taiwan are more willing to accept unification with China; even among pan-blue respondents the percentage who disagreed was 76.5%
- * 69.3% of all respondents agree that any important future cross-Strait agreement must be voted on by the people on the island through a referendum;
- * 88.3% of all respondents agree that Taiwan and China are two separate, sovereign countries; even among the pan-blue respondents this percentage was 86.4%.

As shown in the following article, the economy was a major factor in the electorate’s support for the KMT ticket: people on the island do want less tension and more peace and quiet in the Taiwan Strait. Mr. Ma was able to convince a majority that his policy of accomodation and closer *economic* ties would be more likely to bring “a better life.”

The results of this opinion poll show that this doesn’t mean that people on the island desire closer *political* ties with the PRC: a large majority is *not* willing to accept unification. A large majority also agrees that the democratic voice of the island’s people needs to be heard through a referendum, and an overwhelming majority insists that Taiwan and China are two separate, sovereign countries.

Was it the economy, stupid?

By Gerrit van der Wees, editor of Taiwan Communiqué. This article was first published in the Taipei Times on 13 May 2008. Reprinted with permission.

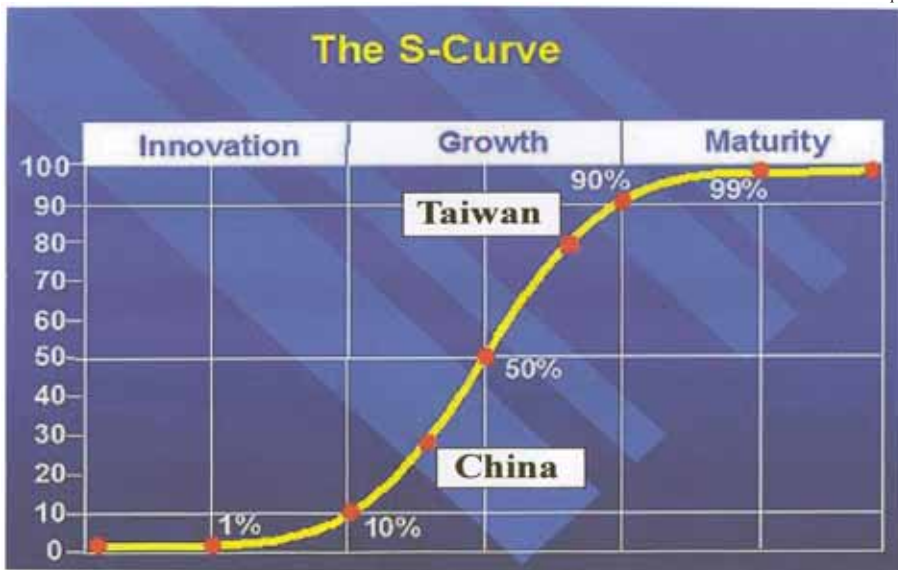
Back in 1992, then Presidential candidate Bill Clinton hammered away at his opponent – incumbent President George H.W. Bush – that his administration was to blame for the downturn in the economy, “It’s the economy, stupid” became the buzzword. Bush Sr., who had an approval rating of 90% one year earlier because of his successes in ending the Cold War and the first Gulf War, lost the elections.

In 2008, Presidential candidate Ma Ying-jeou used very much the same tactic against the incumbent DPP government. However, in Taiwan in 2008 there were some significant differences: 1) Chen Shui-bian's administration was already in the doldrums for other than economic reasons, and it was difficult for DPP candidate Frank Hsieh to distance himself from the sitting administration.

2) The economy was actually doing quite well, growing at a rate of 5.7% in 2007. Still, the "economy-is-down" argument stuck, and we below will examine why this was the case.

First it must be established that Taiwan has a developed economy already: at a per capita GDP of US\$ 29,600 (2006, Purchasing Power) it has surpassed many countries in Southern Europe, and is close to the highly developed / high tech economies of Western Europe.

Source: Taiwan Communiqué



On the S-curve of economic development, Taiwan is close to the top of the curve, and therefore necessarily has a relatively flat growth rate. Still, Taiwan's growth would be the envy of many a Western nation! Indeed, it is very much sustainable.

China on the other hand is – with a per capita GDP estimated at a level of US\$ 5,300 (2006, Purchasing Power) – still near the bottom of the S-curve, although there are of course pockets of high development along the coast, in the industrial zones of Shenzhen and

Shanghai. Particularly in view of the environmental costs and the high income discrepancies, many economists do not consider China's high growth rate sustainable.

It was thus a clear tactic of Ma Ying-jeou's camp to compare the apples of Taiwan's 5.7% growth to the oranges of China's 11.4% growth. The absolute levels of development were conveniently not mentioned.

Thus, for many voters the economy *was* the decisive factor in casting their vote. Why did the economy argument get so much traction during the elections? The main reason was that although the overall economy did very well (as indicated above), the income distribution was increasingly skewed: well-off businessmen grew richer from their investments in China, while the incomes of workers and farmer stagnated, precisely *because* of the opening to China: the workers saw their jobs disappear to China, while the farmers saw an increasing flow of cheap Chinese agricultural products flood the local market.

So, what will happen in the next four years? Ma campaigned under the "6-3-3" slogan: 6% economic growth, less than 3% unemployment, and a per capita GDP of US\$ 30,000. At the end of April 2008, Ma was already backtracking, saying that the 6% growth was probably not feasible, and that this would be more likely in the neighborhood of 5%.

After an initial honeymoon it will become increasingly clear that Ma's campaign promises are a far cry from reality: Taiwan is closely tied in with the global economy, and the economic downturn in the US – some speak of a recession – will have a major effect on China's export-oriented economy, which in turn will have severe repercussions on Taiwan's economy. That is the danger of Taiwan's economy being too closely tied to China's economy.

So, what is Mr. Ma proposing? Opening up further to China and linking Taiwan's economy even closer to China's. This is a recipe for disaster, since it is tying Taiwan's robust but still relatively small economy to that of the Chinese supertanker that is hitting an iceberg.

Taiwan's political and economic viability can only be ensured if the new policymakers in Taipei steer away from China, and strive towards making Taiwan a full and equal member in the international community, not a mere appendix to China.

Methodist Church adopts Resolution on Taiwan

From April 23 through May 9th 2008, the United Methodist Church in the United States held its General Conference in Fort Worth, TX. At this conference, the Church's highest decisionmaking body adopted two important resolutions in support of Taiwan's democracy and self-determination, asking its members to "*stand in solidarity with the Taiwanese people as they assert their human rights and their right to self-determination.*" The text of the first Resolution is as follows:

The human story is one of migration and struggles for self-determination, but often frustrated by the unsolicited intervention of nations into the affairs of other nations. The United Methodist Church continues to stand unequivocally against such interventions. This too is the story of the people of Taiwan whose struggles for self-determination call for our solidarity and action.

Taiwan is an island state of twenty three million people, comprised of indigenous Taiwanese, Chinese and a mix of both. After 400 plus years of colonial rule by the Dutch, the Chinese and the Japanese, the people of Taiwan today have a stable form of democratic government, a thriving economy and a vibrant national identity and culture.

Therefore, we call upon all United Methodists around the world to stand in solidarity with the Taiwanese people as they assert their human rights and their right to self-determination. Self-determination will allow the Taiwanese people to freely determine their political destiny and achieve their democratic aspirations, without influence from, or domination by, foreign powers.

Further, that United Methodists support the Taiwanese people's hope for a just and durable peace, secure and stable borders, and sustainable development and cooperation among nations and peoples of the world.

In light of historic United Methodist understanding of self-determination, and its current understanding of the "One China" policy, we therefore call upon the leadership of the Council of Bishops, with the assistance of the General Board of Global Ministries and the General Board of Church and Society and their Annual Conference networks, including the National Federation of Asian American United Methodists, to inform and educate the church about the history, experience, struggles and hopes of the Taiwanese people.

The second resolution incorporates a concise history of Taiwan's occupation by outside colonial forces, such as the Japanese and Chinese Nationalists, and then concludes:

Therefore be it resolved that the 2008 General Conference of The United Methodist Church reaffirms its supports of the democratic aspirations and achievements of the people of Taiwan and;

The United Methodist Church, under the leadership of the Council of Bishops with the assistance of the General Board of Church and Society and its Annual Conference networks, inform themselves about the history of the Taiwanese people, study contemporary issues involved in the changing application of the "One China" policy, and prayerfully and wisely promote in their own countries and the United Nations the rights of Taiwanese for stability, security, and self-determination of its own status in the family of nations.

Taiwanese journalists gagged by the UN

By Willy Fautré, Human Rights Without Frontiers International, Brussels.

At the 19-24 May 2008 World Health Assembly (WHA) in Geneva, Taiwanese journalists were again barred from reporting on an event that concerns 23 million Taiwanese.

Since 2004, Taiwanese journalists, scientists, businessmen, and students have been denied access to UN compounds in New York and Geneva on the ground that Taiwan is not a UN member state.

The ban, which was originally applied to Taiwanese journalists, has progressively been extended to non-Taiwanese correspondents working for Taiwanese media outlets. Reporters holding a British or a U.S. passport told HRWF Int'l they had been denied access to UN compounds after they had been asked for the name of their media employer.



Mr. Willy Fautré

Last but not least, Taiwanese scientists who had been invited to the previous Basel Convention Conference, held at the International Conference Centre in Geneva, which

is not “UN territory,” were kept outside the building by the UN security guards despite the personal intervention of the secretary general of the Basel Convention.

In 2007, the ban on Taiwanese citizens increased dramatically. A group of summer camp children invited by “Buddha Light Foundation,” an NGO with ECOSOC status, could not visit the UN in Geneva because they had Taiwanese passports.

In August 2007, the U.N.’s Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) slammed Liberal International with a one-year suspension, blocking the umbrella group of Liberal parties around the world from participating at U.N. conferences and debates. China initiated the retaliation after the group accredited a Taiwanese politician, Examination Yuan President Yao Chia-wen, as one of its delegates to a Human Rights Council session in March, who spoke in the plenary for the right of Taiwan to join the World Health Organization.

A Forum on electronic equipment held at the UN was not accessible to Taiwanese businessmen. Taiwanese journalists and officials based in Geneva were declared persona non grata at a Christmas Party organized in the premises of the UN by the Association of Correspondents Accredited to the United Nations (ACANU).

Foreign Journalists and Media Associations Support Taiwanese Journalists

This discriminatory policy and the unacceptable restriction of freedom of expression implemented by the UN has been heavily criticized by a number of associations of journalists.

This year, the Association of Correspondents Accredited to the United Nations (ACANU) launched a worldwide petition requesting international press clubs to send letters urging the UN to restore Taiwanese journalists’ right to cover WHA meetings. This would enable newsgathering activities to return to normal operations, free of political interference and prevent further infringement of press freedom and equal rights.

On 6 March 2008, ACANU passed a resolution on unequal treatment of Taiwanese media representatives, demanding that the UN secretary-general amend the rule that has resulted in the UN and its affiliated organizations’ denying accreditation to journalists holding Taiwanese passports. The resolution urges that Taiwanese correspondents should enjoy the same right as other journalists to gather news in conformity with the UN Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and related UN resolutions. The ACANU resolution also calls on the UN to consider only fundamental human rights and not be influenced by political or diplomatic factors concerning the particular opinions of any member states.

On 11 April 2008, the *International Federation of Journalists* (IFJ) issued a new call on the UN to lift its four-year ban on Taiwanese journalists from reporting on the WHA, accusing the UN of undermining the role of journalism in global campaigns for public health. “The United Nations is allowing itself to be bullied by China and in the process is chipping away at the values it was created to protect,” said Paco Audijs, IFJ Deputy General Secretary. In 2005 and 2006, the IFJ issued press releases and sent letters of protest to the UN. Aidan White, secretary-general of the IFJ, was quoted in *The Parliament Magazine* as saying “ [the ban on Taiwanese journalists] is blatant censorship and is an unacceptable situation.”

Reporters Without Borders (RWB) issued this year a press release condemning the UN’s silencing of Taiwanese journalists. On 14 May 2007, Robert Menard, RWB secretary-general, sent a letter to WHO Director-General Margaret Chan expressing his hope that the WHO would not deny press passes to Taiwanese journalists at the behest of China. In his letter, he emphasized that Taiwan’s health rights and access to information should not be sacrificed out of political considerations.

Last year, 31 Taiwanese media organizations protested to the UN and WHO, while the **International Federation of Journalists**, which has more than 500,000 members in over 100 countries, passed a resolution during its annual assembly condemning the UN’s discriminatory treatment of Taiwanese journalists.

In each of the past four years, the **Association of Taiwanese Journalists** (ATJ) has protested the UN’s policy and demanded that the UN and the World Health Organization (WHO) give due consideration to the universal values of human rights and press freedom that Taiwan should enjoy.

In its “2006 World Press Freedom Review,” Vienna-based *International Press Institute* (IPI) admonished the UN for violating the rights of Taiwanese reporters, stating the “Journalists’ rights to press freedom and access to information should be respected without regard to their country of origin.”

Up to now, UN secretary-general Ban Ki-moon has not reacted to the protests and the UN Department of Public Information which applies the ban has not changed its policy. But the main question is: *On which legal basis was that ban decided and who is behind it...? Mr. Ban Ki-moon: Transparency from the UN is urgently needed.*

Report from Washington

Congress expresses support for Taiwan into the WHO

By Coen Blaauw, FAPA Headquarters

On 19 May 2008, the World Health Assembly, the WHO's highest decision-making body, ruled not to deliberate on new member applications during this year's plenary session in Geneva. As a result, a debate on Taiwan's bid did not take place, effectively killing Taiwan's 2008 bid to have its voice heard in the WHO.

Earlier, Members of both Houses of the United States Congress had written letters in support of Taiwan's inclusion in the international health forum.

In a letter to Secretary Rice dated 8 May 2008, Chairman and Ranking member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee Howard Berman and Ileana Ros-Lehtinen wrote: *"We believe it is imperative that you renew our government's commitment to assist Taiwan in its effort to secure observer status at the upcoming meeting of the WHA. We also urge you and our representatives to the WHO to protest the 2005 MOU between the WHO and the PRC and the potential negative consequences it has for global public health. Such arrangements threaten the people of Taiwan, the international community, and U.S. interests."*

In 2005 the WHO and the PRC secretly signed a memorandum of understanding that established specific procedures for the handling of health information between the WHO and Taiwan, where the WHO needs to consult with the PRC first before it can send any medical information or assistance to Taiwan. The US and other member states have lodged protests against the MOU stating it violates the basic principles for which the WHO stands.

The letter was co-signed by the four co-chairs of the Congressional Taiwan Caucus Reps. Steve Chabot, Shelley Berkley, Dana Rohrabacher and Robert Wexler.

Meanwhile, on 9 May 2008, the two co-chairs of the Senate Taiwan Caucus, Senators Tim Johnson and James Inhofe, wrote a letter to Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, detailing how Taiwan's position vis-à-vis the WHO has deteriorated since the signing of the 2005 MOU between the PRC and the WHO, referring to Taiwan's exclusion as an "unacceptable situation."

The two senators urged the Administration to renew US efforts to help secure a direct relationship for Taiwan with the WHO, “*most immediately through the granting of observer status for Taiwan at the upcoming meeting of the WHA.*”

President Chen accords high orders to members of Congress

Photo: Office of Senator Brown

During the days prior to Taiwan’s May 20 Inauguration Day, several Members of the U.S. Congress received one of Taiwan’s most prestigious honors, the Order of the Brilliant Star with Grand Cordon, from outgoing president Chen Shui-bian.

Recipients were: co-chairs of the House Congressional Taiwan Caucus Reps. Steve Chabot, Shelley Berkley, Dana Rohrabacher and Robert Wexler, co-chairs of the Senate Taiwan Caucus Senators Tim Johnson and James Inhofe, and ranking member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee Ileana Ros-Lehtinen and Senator Sherrod Brown.



Senator Sherrod Brown receiving the Order of the Brilliant Star from Taiwan Representative Dr. Joseph Wu

Report from Europe

Give Taiwan credit for democracy

By Charles Tannock, foreign affairs spokesman for the British Conservative Party and the European Parliament’s rapporteur on the eastern dimension of the European Neighborhood Policy. This article first appeared in the Taipei Times on 30 April 2008. Reprinted with permission.

While protests over China's crackdown in Tibet and the debate about Kosovo's unilateral declaration of independence continue to fester, the injustice of Taiwan's ongoing international isolation has barely stirred a flicker of interest despite Taiwan's recent presidential election and referendums on UN membership. This neglect is not only shortsighted, but may also prove dangerous.

This seeming double standard can be explained partly by a sense of guilt: The West has, for the most part, embraced Kosovo's independence in an effort to assuage its own culpability for not preventing late Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic's campaign of ethnic cleansing there. Similarly, much of the world is protesting on behalf of Tibet because countless millions have witnessed China's brutal suppression of Tibetan culture.

Taiwan, on the other hand, does not grab our attention, because it is stable and flourishing economically. But it has never been part of the People's Republic of China. Taiwan is an unrecognized independent state with a vigorous democracy and high standards of human rights. Because Taiwan has not allowed itself to become a victim, the world simply does not feel guilty about it, and so ignores it.

But perhaps we should feel some guilt. Taiwan deserves great credit for standing on its own two feet, despite the international isolation imposed. China blocks it from participating fully in the international arena, whether through the WTO, the Olympics, or UN agencies, including the WHO. To its shame, China allows its political goal of excluding Taiwan from membership in all international organizations to trump even urgent public health concerns.

The small number of countries that recognize Taiwan diplomatically has dwindled owing to a mixture of Chinese pressure and blandishments. On top of all this, Taiwan's nearly 23 million people go about their daily business knowing that about 1,400 Chinese missiles are ready to be launched at them at a moment's notice.

It is not for me to say that Taiwan should be recognized as an independent country. To all intents and purposes, Taiwan is already independent, albeit without formal recognition. Equally, there are plenty of Taiwanese who would like the island eventually to reunify with China, particularly if China democratizes and ceases to be a one-party communist dictatorship. However, we cannot deny that Taiwanese are unjustly being refused their place in the wider world.



Dr. Charles Tannock
Member of the
European Parliament

The global community should do more to usher Taiwan into the international mainstream. Western powers have helped champion human rights and self-determination within the bounds of international law. The campaigns that the West waged throughout the 1980s in solidarity with democratic forces in Soviet-dominated Eastern Europe helped bring about the end of communist domination. A similar commitment to the democratic rights of Taiwanese could have salutary effects in China. Moreover, Taiwan is a natural ally of any party that espouses the values of pluralist politics, free markets and human rights.

It seems particularly shortsighted, indeed hypocritical, for the US and Britain to seek to spread democracy and human rights throughout the world while failing to recognize and reward the Taiwanese, a people who have embraced these concepts wholeheartedly.

Unquestioning recognition of the “one China” policy sends the message that we appreciate more a country that is a big, communist dictatorship rather than a small, multiparty democracy. For the record, there are clear precedents for divided countries to enter the UN as separate states and then eventually to reunify: West and East Germany, North and South Yemen, and perhaps one day, the two Koreas.

Ultimately, it is for Taiwan and China to regulate and resolve their relations. There are already some positive signs of a bilateral thaw as a new administration prepares to take office in Taiwan, with high-level talks taking place between Chinese President Hu Jintao and vice president-elect Vincent Siew. The democratic world has an obligation to support this process — not only because Taiwan deserves its support, but also because engaging more with Taiwan could potentially be a powerful instrument of leverage for broader change in China.

In the Limelight

Tangwai magazine collection at GWU formally opened

On Thursday, 24 April 2008, two events were held at George Washington University in Washington DC: 1) the formal opening of the ***Tangwai Magazine Collection*** at the Gelman Library of the University, and 2) a Seminar about the importance of the *Tangwai Magazines* for Taiwan’s transition to democracy.

The opening was performed by Taiwan's Overseas Affairs Commission Minister, Mrs. Chang Fu-mei, who lauded the collection as an important source of information for those doing research on how Taiwan's transition to democracy actually took place. She also emphasized the importance of the collection for the process of transitional justice in Taiwan. Dr. Jack Siggins, Librarian of the University, gratefully accepted the collection, and said it was part of the University's effort to contribute to, and document, democracy around the world.

Photo: Chiaojung Wang

The collection was named after Father Ed Kelly, an Irish Roman Catholic missionary based in Hong Kong, who smuggled many of the *tangwai* magazines out of Taiwan during his frequent visits in the early and mid-1980s. Father Kelly passed away in Ireland in October 1994 after a long struggle with leukemia (see *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 63, November 1994).



Taiwan Minister Chang Fu-mei (L), Gelman Librarian Jack Siggins (2nd from left) and other participants at the opening of the collection

The seminar was moderated by Prof. Ed McCord of the Sigur Center for Asian Studies at GWU, who also serves as Director of the Taiwan Resource Center at the Gelman Library (see below).

First speaker was Gerrit van der Wees, editor of *Taiwan Communiqué*, who gave an overview of the *tangwai* publications, how they got started, how the KMT authorities tried to suppress them through confiscations and bannings, and how the persistence of the publishers, editors and writers eventually led to the transition of democracy in the second half of the 1980s.

Next came Mrs. Yao Chou Ching-yu, wife of imprisoned opposition leader Yao Chia-wen, who recounted her experiences with her publication, CARE Magazine, which was Taiwan's foremost human rights publication during that period. She recounted a

fascinating story how she organized a summer camp for children of political prisoners at which the 200-some participants were surrounded by some 100 policemen who told the kids they could not wear a T-shirt with “I love Taiwan” printed on it.

The next speaker was Antonio Chiang, former editor of prominent magazines such as *The Eighties*, *The Asian*, *Current*, and *The Journalist*, and founding editor of the English-language *Taipei Times*. He reflected on the *tangwai* magazine period, when the goals and purpose of the opposition movement was clear, and contrasted it with the present, where it had been difficult for the DPP to find a clear focus. He also recounted the strange symbiosis with the security agencies in the 1980s, which tried many different ways to elicit information from the *tangwai* editors, often through a “good cop – bad cop” approach.

The final speaker was Taiwan’s Overseas Affairs Minister Chang Fu-mei herself, who in the 1970s and 1980s had been a key link between the *tangwai* magazines and the overseas Taiwanese community. She told how she became the distribution point for many of the magazines, which was OK when most magazines only published monthly (in the earlier years) but became problematic in the later years, when many many magazines were confiscated and banned. She again applauded the establishment of the collection at GWU and said it was part of an important collective legacy and collective memory.

The Taiwan Resource Center at the George Washington University

By Edward A. McCord, Associate Professor of History and International Affairs at George Washington University

In December 2004, the Gelman Library at the George Washington University officially inaugurated the Taiwan Resource Center with a ribbon-cutting ceremony. Since that time, the Center has grown to become a major focal point for study and research on Taiwan in the U.S. capital. Indeed, the Center stands out as the only specialized library collection in the United States focusing specifically on Taiwan.

The Gelman Library’s decision to development the Taiwan Resource Center was based on its recognition of the importance of Taiwan as an academic subject due to its unique international position and internal development. Obviously many scholars and researchers are drawn to a study of Taiwan because its troubled relationship with the People’s Republic of China remains a key issue affecting the foreign policy of the United States and creates broader security concerns for the Asia-Pacific region.

At the same time, as one of the original Asian economic “tigers,” Taiwan has offered a special case for the study of economic development. Finally Taiwan’s remarkable transition to democracy has made it a model for other societies and a rich field for comparative study. Based on these interests, the Center’s main goal has been to provide a comprehensive collection of materials on Taiwan’s history, politics, economy and international relations.

Since its founding, the TRC has more than doubled the Gelman Library’s original print collection of materials on Taiwan with the addition of over two thousand books in Chinese, English and Japanese. Another important acquisition was a collection over eight hundred “opposition” *tangwai* journals donated by Mr. Gerrit van de Wees and his wife Mei-chin. The most significant feature of the collection, though, has been the licensing of seven major databases that provide access to comprehensive sets of historical materials, newspapers, and journals from Taiwan.

Photo: Chiaojung Wang

One of these databases, for example, provides full-text access to over five hundred journals published in Taiwan. While some of these databases are available in several other libraries in the United States, no other library has more than two, making the Taiwan Resource Center a magnet for researchers from around the country. The Center has also created an extensive research guide for the study of Taiwan, including links to online many resources that can be accessed through the Center’s website.



**Display of *tangwai* magazines at the
GWU Taiwan Resource Center**

More detailed information on the Center’s collection can be found on its website at <http://www.gwu.edu/gelman/seearr/trc/>. As one of the Gelman Library’s special collections, the Taiwan Resource Center is open to the public as well as to the University’s affiliated patrons. Individuals not affiliated with the University, however, should call (202) 994-7105 to arrange for access to the collection.

Anyone interested in further information should contact Professor Edward McCord, Director of the Taiwan Education and Research Program at George Washington University, <mccord@gwu.edu>. Mailing address: Sigur Center for Asian Studies, Suite 503, 1957 E St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20052.

FROM:
Formosan Association for
Public Affairs
552 7th St. S.E.
WASHINGTON, DC 20003

First-class Mail
U.S. Postage PAID
Washington DC
Permit no. 354

ISSN Number: 1027-3999

CONTENTS

Taiwan Communiqué no. 119
June / July 2008

Tsai Ing-wen new DPP chairperson

Reforming and reinventing the party 1

Transition of power in Taipei

What lies ahead with the Ma Administration 2

President Chen Shui-bian's legacy, by Mike Fonte 4

Inauguration of the new president, by Bruce Jacobs 5

The presidential elections: a retrospective

Vote buying still prevalent 8

Opinion poll: no unification with China 10

Was it the economy, stupid? by Gerrit van der Wees ... 10

Methodist Church adopts resolutions on Taiwan 13

Taiwanese reporters gagged by the UN

By Willy Fautré, Human Rights Without Frontiers 14

Report from Washington

Congressional support for Taiwan into the WHO 17

President Chen accords orders to members of Congress . 18

Report from Europe

Give Taiwan credit for democracy, by Charles Tannock . 18

In the limelight

Tangwai magazine collection at GWU formally opened ... 20

The Taiwan Resource Center at George Washington U 22

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 and www.taiwandc.org

SUBSCRIPTIONS: USA (first class mail) US\$ 30.-
Other Countries (airmail) US\$ 35.-