



Taiwan Communiqué

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Tsai Ing-wen's vision for Taiwan's future *Emphasizing core values; peaceful but different*

On 23 February 2011, DPP Chairwoman Tsai Ing-wen gave a major policy speech at the opening of a new DPP think tank under the New Frontier Foundation. The think tank has two centers: the first one is focused on domestic issues such as economic development, social justice, and income distribution, and is titled the Economic and Social Affairs Research Center. She emphasized that these are the most urgent and important issues that are relevant to the hopes of the next generation.

Photo: Democratic Progressive Party

The second center, titled Security and Strategy Research Center, will focus on international and security issues, including cross-Strait relations. She said that the cross-Strait issue is not just a problem for Taiwan and China to deal with, but is part and parcel of the global and regional strategic balance. She emphasized the need for Taiwan to use the international multilateral system as a framework for interaction with China.



DPP Chair Tsai Ing-wen presenting her vision for Taiwan's future at the New Frontier Foundation

Taipei and Beijing have a joint responsibility and interest in pursuing peace, stability and economic prosperity, Tsai declared, but the two sides of the Strait have taken distinctly different paths in the areas of history, religion, political systems and social values.

She advocated mutual understanding, dialogue, and exchanges on an equal footing, with no preconditions, and emphasized that respect for Taiwan's identity and values must be at the core of expanding cross-Strait ties.

She also clearly linked enhancing relations with China with improvement of East Asian security and Taiwan's relations with other countries. She said that as a member of the international community, Taiwan must work with other countries in dealing with a rising China. She noted that therefore Taiwan's cross-Strait economic exchanges can only expand if we work in a multilateral framework.

Taiwan Communiqué comment: *While Tsai's comments are eminently rational and reasonable by basic standards in civilized nations, she was ferociously attacked by the KMT-controlled "pan-blue" press in Taiwan. The United Daily News talked about "Tsai's double talk", the China Times only focused on "refutations" by KMT officials, while the Want Daily News (also part of the China Times group) said that Tsai's proposals "will not wash with Beijing."*

These news media comments say a lot about the poisoned atmosphere created by the Ma administration, and is a harbinger for things to come in the run-up to the March 2012 Presidential elections. Ma seems to be totally preoccupied with bilateral rapprochement with the PRC, and has done little to enhance ties with other nations, or bridge the political divide within Taiwan.

*It is a sad fact that **not once** since his inauguration has Ma sat down with DPP chairwoman Tsai to discuss issues of substance. There was the televised debate about ECFA in April 2010, and suggestions have been floated of photo-opportunity "meet-and-greet" sessions (which were rejected by Tsai because of the lack of substance), but never anything beyond that.*

If there is to be progress, both inside Taiwan and in the country's relations with China, there first needs to be "common ground" within Taiwan itself. Ma, as President, needs to give the right example and emphasize issues that look forward in the direction of a free and democratic Taiwan as a full and equal member of the world community, instead of resuscitating "Republic of China" pipe dreams of the past, and dragging Taiwan into China's unwelcome embrace.

Taiwanese views on their identity and future

The debate on relations with the rest of the world and China is also closely tied to the self-perception of the Taiwanese people and their views on the future for their country. In this respect some fascinating new glimpses came out in the results of an opinion poll by TVBS, a TV station that is generally perceived as being “pan-blue.”

In the poll, published on 11 February 2011, the respondents were asked a series of fifteen questions on a range of issues, primarily related to Taiwan-China-US relations. In one question they were asked “*In our society some people think that they are Chinese while others think that they are Taiwanese. What do you **think** you are?*”

Copyright: Taipei Times

The response was as follows: Taiwanese 72%, Chinese 17%, and don't know 11%. This basically confirms a trend which started at democratization in the early 1990s that an increasing number of people perceive themselves as being Taiwanese.

In an interesting follow-up question, the respondents were asked “*What do you **say** you are, Taiwanese, Chinese or both?*”

The response showed a significant shift to the “both” category, both from the people who perceived themselves as “Taiwanese” and “Chinese” in the earlier question: Taiwanese 50%, Both 43%, and Chinese 3%, while 5% did not know. Clearly, the overwhelming trend is in the direction of seeing themselves as “Taiwanese”.

A second set of questions throws an interesting light on the common misperception that Taiwanese are generally in favor of maintaining the so called “status quo.” The TVBS poll indeed asked “*What is your attitude towards unification versus independence?*” The respondents dutifully answered along the traditional lines: maintain the status quo 61%, lean towards independence 21%, and lean towards unification 9%.



The DPP's stance on China has outstripped the "pro-unification" ideology of the KMT

However, when in a follow-up question they were asked “*If a choice exists, would you want Taiwan to become an independent nation or to be unified with China?*” the picture changed drastically: Taiwan independence 68%, Unification with mainland China 18%, and no opinion 14%.

Taiwan Communiqué comment: At this point we simply want to state that the international community needs to have a deeper understanding of these issues which relate to Taiwan, its identity, and the aspiration the people on the island have for their future. We need to help ensure that the people of Taiwan do have a choice.

Instead of clinging to old “One China” misnomers and “status quo” misperceptions we need to do some creative thinking and actively chart for a better future for the island and its people. DPP Chairwoman Tsai Ing-wen has given us a glimpse of her vision for the future. She needs all the support she can get from the international community for this endeavor which is essential for true peace and stability in East Asia.

The debate about the “1992 Consensus”

During the past few months, a curious debate has been raging in Taiwan. The discussion has a “smoke and mirrors” character, as the various positions hide more about the stances than they reveal. At issue is the so-called “1992 consensus”, which is taken by the Kuomintang government and the PRC regime in Beijing as the “basis” for their present rapprochement.

China imposes it as a precondition

In mid-January 2011, Mr. Chen Yunlin, the head of the Association for Relations Across the Taiwan Strait (ARATS), the organization in charge of relations with Taiwan from the Chinese side, stated that cross-strait relations **must** be based on the “1992 consensus.” He even issued a threat, saying that without this “consensus,” the two sides would not have this current peaceful development.

The problem with this “consensus” is that the PRC never agreed that *each side* could have its own interpretation: it insists on its own PRC interpretation, which says that there is only one China and that Taiwan has always been part of this China. This is simply incorrect, as history shows clearly that prior to the early 1600s there were only aborigines

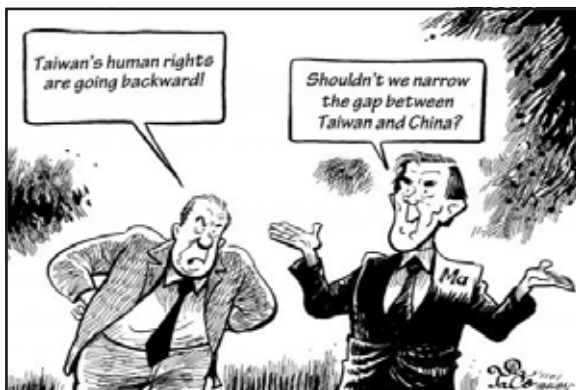
of Malay-Polynesian descent in Taiwan, while after the early 1600s a succession of foreign countries, including the Dutch, Spain, the Manchu, and Japan from 1895 through 1945, held sway over the island.

Another problem with the “consensus” is that according to officials of the government at the time, it wasn’t there in the first place: former President Lee Teng-hui – who served as President from 1988 through 2000 – has stated that such a consensus never existed, and that it was conjured up in 2000 by former Ma government official Su Chi.

Is it a useful fiction?

Taiwan Communiqué comment: *Some people may argue that the “1992 Consensus” is a useful fiction, which helps keep peace and stability in the Taiwan Strait. The problem with such fictions is that they are always coming back to haunt you. This is what happened with British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain, who believed he had won “peace in our time” when he visited Hitler in München in 1938. He subsequently discovered that the fiction didn’t work, and that it had only made it easier for Hitler to make his grab for Poland and Czechoslovakia, and eventually start World War II.*

Copyright: Taipei Times



**Taiwan's human rights are going backwards.
Ma Ying-jeou's response: "Shouldn't we narrow
the gap between Taiwan and China?"**

Many in Taiwan fear that the present “rapprochement” of the Ma administration is similarly emboldening an expansionist China, and that it will entice leaders of the CCP and PLA into thinking that they can roll into Taiwan at their convenience.

Instead of papering over the differences, it is essential that Taiwan safeguard the achievements of the past twenty years, and ensure that Taiwan remains a free and democratic nation. The policies of the Ma administration have had the net effect of Taiwan being slowly encapsulated by China, and have led to an erosion of democracy, freedoms and human rights on the island.

Ma Ying-jeou: The ROC includes China

The “consensus” discussion was clouded even further by two other recent developments: a statement by President Ma Ying-jeou instructing government and legislative officials to refer to China as “the mainland,” and a decision by the Philippines to deport 14 ROC citizens to China.

According to press reports, President Ma had said in a 7 February 2011 meeting that China should not be referred to by its official name (PRC or “China”), but instead be called “the mainland”, “mainland China”, or simply “the other side.”

The move is apparently part of the Ma government’s attempts to define the so-called “Republic of China” (ROC) as the “real” China, and “the mainland” as part of this ROC. In earlier statements the Ma government had said that it does not recognize the PRC government in Beijing. A presidential spokesman stated in October 2010 that “mutual non-denial” means that “we do not deny their existence in the mainland area.” Another prominent Ma official recently stated that “...*there is no way we can refer to mainland China as a sovereign country.*”

In response to President Ma’s recent statements, FAPA President Yang remarked on 8 February 2011: “*To me this is a throwback to the bad old days of the Civil War between the Chinese Nationalists of Chiang Kai-shek and the Communists of Mao Zedong.*” He added: “*The Ma government should realize that the ‘ROC’ has lost its legitimacy more than thirty years ago, and that the new reality is that the PRC represents China, and that Taiwan is a free and democratic country separate from China.*”

Yang continued: “*In order for Taiwan to preserve its democracy it needs to strengthen its ties with the international community. And everyone in the international community refers to Taiwan as ‘Taiwan.’ The time for anachronistic ‘ROC’ fictions is over.*”

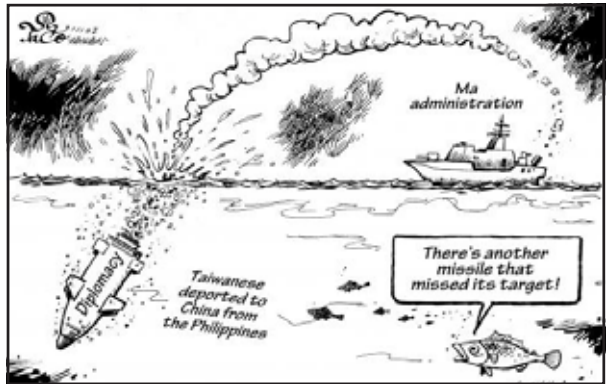
Yang concluded: “*It would behoove the Ma government to come back to reality, and accept that China is China, and Taiwan is Taiwan. Playing his semantic games is detrimental to Taiwan and its future as a free and democratic nation.*”

The Philippines deport 14 'ROC' nationals ... to China

Another event causing a lot of commotion in Taipei was the deportation by the Philippines of 14 'ROC' nationals — to China. The suspects were allegedly part of an international fraud ring. They were put on a Chinese charter flight that departed Manila after midnight on Wednesday February 2nd, and were escorted by Chinese public security officers. They had been arrested in Manila on 27 December 2010 on fraud charges.

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Taiwan's representative office in Manila, the Economic and Cultural Office (TECO), had obtained a restraining order from the Appeals Court in Manila to block the deportation, but it went ahead. After the matter became public, the Ma government issued a protest to the Philippines over the "inappropriate" deportation to China, and recalled its representative to Manila.



The Ma administration's "One China diplomacy" missile misses its target

However, the Philippine government of Benigno Aquino hardly budged, with a presidential spokesman saying that the decision to deport the suspects to China was made "in observance of Manila's 'one China' policy." The Manila Economic and Cultural Office in Taipei added oil to the fire by stating that the actions "were taken considering that all the victims are Chinese, all the accomplices are Chinese, and the results can best be settled in China."

These remarks created an additional firestorm in Taiwan, where opposition legislators charged that the episode shows that the accommodating policies of the Ma administration are not working, and that China is using the situation to push Taiwan further into political isolation.

Hu Jintao visits Washington

A welcome to the White House, but ...

On 18 and 19 January 2011, President Barack Obama welcomed Chinese President Hu Jintao and his entourage to Washington for a state visit. While on the surface there was the usual display of pomp and circumstance of a formal state visit, this could not smooth over the underlying tensions on a range of issues from human rights to economic and currency issues.

Photo: Taiwan Communiqué

During the first year of his administration, the Obama administration had been rather accommodating to China, but a number of events in the second year – Copenhagen, China’s reactions to arms sales to Taiwan and Obama’s meeting with the Dalai Lama, its lack of cooperation in reining in North Korea, and the reactions to Liu Xiaobo’s Nobel Peace Prize — prompted the US to take a much firmer line on China.



**Taiwanese protesting China's missiles
in front of the White House**

The “results” of the January 2011 meeting were thus a major improvement over the disastrous November 2009 visit of President Obama to Beijing, when in the Joint Statement the US seemed to endorse China’s “core interests” and its worn-out claims of “sovereignty and territorial integrity” related to Taiwan. This time, the Joint Statement was more balanced, while Obama strongly emphasized human rights and democracy as a key US interest.

Tibetans, Uyghurs, and Taiwanese demonstrate jointly

The visit was also marked by a joint demonstration at Lafayette Park, across Pennsylvania Avenue from the White House, by a broad coalition of Tibetans, Uyghurs from East Turkestan, Taiwanese, Chinese democracy activists, and groups representing Vietnamese

critical of China's island-grabbing in the South China Sea, and Inner Mongolians opposed to Chinese occupation of their country.

The Tibetans, Uyghurs, Taiwanese and the Chinese democrats each had some 200-250 people out, while the other groups had smaller numbers, so the total was over a thousand people at the height of the rally. In the beginning everyone lined up with banners along Pennsylvania Avenue across the White House, and there were many cheers, often crossing over: Tibetans "China Hands of Taiwan" and Taiwanese chanting "China out of Tibet."

At around 2:30 pm the major speeches took place: Tenzin Dorjee (Students for a Free Tibet), Rebiya Kadeer (Uyghurs), FAPA President Bob Yang, Yang Jianli (Initiatives for China), and representatives of several human rights and press freedom organization, such as Amnesty International and Reporters without Borders.

Photo: Taiwan Communiqué



**Speakers call for human rights in Tibet, East
Turkestan and China itself, and an end to
military threats against Taiwan**

Delivering a verdict on Hu's trip to Washington

By Bob Yang, president of the Formosan Association for Public Affairs in Washington. This article was first published in the Taipei Times on 30 January 2011. Reprinted with permission.

It has been a few days since Chinese President Hu Jintao's visit to Washington ended. The dust has settled and we can start to make an assessment of how the visit went, in particular with regard to Taiwan's interests.

No doubt the Chinese side had hoped to repeat what happened in November 2009 with US President Barack Obama's trip to Beijing, when China managed to get the US to agree to a statement that said the US respected China's "core interests" and the paragraph regarding Taiwan was juxtaposed with terminology on China's "sovereignty and territorial integrity."

That did not happen on Hu's trip, as the US negotiated hard and there was no reference to "core interests" in Hu and Obama's joint statement, and the US did not acknowledge or endorse in any way China's empty claims that Taiwan was part of China's "sovereignty and territorial integrity."

Hu did attempt to regain some ground when he referred to Tibet and Taiwan as "core interests" in a speech to the US-China Business Council the day after the joint statement was released, but the fact remains that it was not in any official document, and Beijing cannot say that somehow the US had agreed to it.

Photo: Taiwan Communiqué

We are grateful that Obama and the US administration kept Taiwan in mind and stood firm on its basic position. However, as the US president himself emphasized in his subsequent State of the Union address: It is imperative to "win the future." For Taiwanese and Taiwanese-Americans, the future is a free and democratic Taiwan that has international recognition.



Banners in front of the White House

Obama could have taken a stronger stance on freedom and democracy

in Taiwan. In the Joint Statement, the US did little more than reiterate the old mantra of its "one China" policy and the "three communiqués." Washington also applauded the Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement (ECFA), and the "new lines of communication between Taiwan and China."

While we welcome "new lines of communications," the problem is under what conditions these communications take place. If anything, the ECFA is pushing Taiwan into a closer economic embrace with China, while attempts by President Ma Ying-jeou's government to placate Beijing are undermining Taiwan's sovereignty and hard-won freedom and democracy.

China has also imposed the condition that Taiwan accepts the so-called "1992 consensus," agreeing that Taiwan and China belong to the same China, but that there are different interpretations on the definition of that "one China." The problem is that China insists that "one China" is the People's Republic of China and does not allow different interpretations, leaving no room for the people in Taiwan to determine their own future.

That is where Obama and his team could also have made a stronger point. While Washington reiterated the position that it insists on a peaceful resolution on the basis of the Taiwan Relations Act, freedom and democracy in Taiwan would have been strengthened by a statement — made on several occasions during both the Clinton and Bush administrations — that the future of Taiwan needs to be determined “with the assent of the people of Taiwan.”

In other words, only Taiwanese have the right to determine the future of their country. This is the basic principle of self-determination as enshrined in the UN Charter.

The US needs to continue to make this point and also start treating Taiwan like a normal country instead of perpetuating unhelpful and confusing “one China” fictions of the past.

The “Big Five” elections in retrospect

In our previous issue (*Taiwan Communiqué* no. 130) we presented an initial assessment of the November 27th 2010 elections for the mayor positions of Taiwan’s five largest municipalities, Taipei City, Sinbei City (Taipei County), and Greater Taichung, Tainan and Kaohsiung. Elections were also held for the city councils of those municipalities.

Below we give some additional information and analysis, both on the implications for the legislative and presidential elections at the end of 2011 and in March 2012 respectively (TBC), as well as the impact of the shooting of Sean Lien, the son of KMT heavyweight Lien Chan.

Who won and who lost?

Implications for the future

While the KMT won (in a couple of cases just barely) their three Northern strongholds (Taipei City and County, and Taichung), and the DPP won its two bastions, Tainan and Kaohsiung, in the South, the DPP garnered 49.9 percent of the overall vote against 44.5 percent for the KMT, with the remainder going to independent candidates.

This itself represented a momentous swing back to the DPP, which thereby re-established itself as a viable candidate for the upcoming elections. An additional important indicator

is that in the city council elections, the DPP drew even with the KMT in the number of seats won in the local city councils (130 each). This is an indication of a new strength of the DPP at the local level, where they have traditionally been outnumbered by the KMT by a ratio of two to one.

The larger number of local council members also means that the DPP will have a larger pool to draw from in the search for candidates who can run for legislative office at the national level. The party has thus strengthened its position in local organization at the grassroots level. A broader base will help the party, in particular in the year-end legislative elections.

The Sean Lien shooting and its impact

In the aftermath of the elections, many questions were also raised about the shooting of the son of former vice-President Lien Chan, Mr. Sean Lien, who was shot in the face at an election eve rally in Yonghe, a suburb of Taipei. The gunman, a local gangster, reportedly mistook Lien for a local candidate for whom Lien was campaigning. A bystander, a wheelchair-bound 29-year-old young man sitting in the front row at the rally, was killed.

Copyright: Taipei Times

Observers in Taiwan say that the media frenzy right after the shooting had the net effect of mobilizing pan-blue voters to go to the polls. KMT lawmakers played into this by tearfully appearing on TV, appealing to the voters to “use their ballots to reject violence,” wrongfully implying that the DPP had somehow played a role in the shooting.



Lack of transparency in shooting investigation

The insinuations by Lien and other KMT politicians did create a sense of crisis among the KMT followers, and they did show up in much larger numbers than is usual for these elections: the voter turnout was 71.4%, against a turnout of approximately 66% for these elections under “normal” circumstances.

The media frenzy also took attention away from the campaign rallies which were held on election eve. Traditionally those rallies have been a key part in the efforts of the DPP to rally the voters to go to the polls. Analysts estimate that overall, the shooting prompted a shift of three to five percentage points in favor of the Kuomintang candidates. While this would not have an effect on the outcome in Taipei City (where the difference was 12%), it would have made a difference in Taichung – where the DPP’s Su Jia-chyuan lost by only 2.2% of the vote – and would have meant a toss-up in Sinbei City (Taipei County) – where the DPP’s Tsai Ing-wen lost by only five percent of the vote.

Lack of transparency in investigation

Another problem with the shooting was the lack of transparency in the police investigation. The police arrested the gunman – who was actually wrestled to the ground by a member of the infamous Bamboo Union Gang, acting as a guard at the KMT rally where the shooting took place – and recovered the gun.

But subsequently, very little was made public on the shooting or the motive behind it. Presumably the gunman’s father had had a quarrel with Chen Hung-yuan, the KMT candidate at whose rally the shooting took place. According to police, he came looking for Chen, but then mistook Sean Lien for him, and shot him.

However, Sean Lien subsequently strongly denied this, stating that the gunman was obviously aiming for him, and called out his name. This discrepancy only added to the confusion and the lack of credibility of the police investigation.

When at the end of December 2010, there still had not been a credible explanation from the police side, the DPP decided to file three separate lawsuits to invalidate the results of the elections in Taipei City, Taipei County and Greater Taichung. By doing this they intended to increase pressure on the police and authorities to present a full accounting of the event.

At the time of this writing – mid-February 2011 – the police still had not presented any indications of the motive behind the shooting or an explanation of why Bamboo Union gangsters were serving as “guards” at a KMT rally.

How is ECFA doing?

In previous issues of *Taiwan Communiqué* we reported extensively on the debate in Taiwan about the desirability – or lack thereof – of the Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement (ECFA), signed between the Ma administration and the Chinese government on 29 June 2010 (see *Communiqué* no. 127, 128, and 129).

The Agreement formally went into effect on 12 September 2010, while the deal became law on 1 January 2011, when also the lists of “early harvest” tariff concessions went into effect. Below we focus on three issues that were a hot topic during the debate last year.

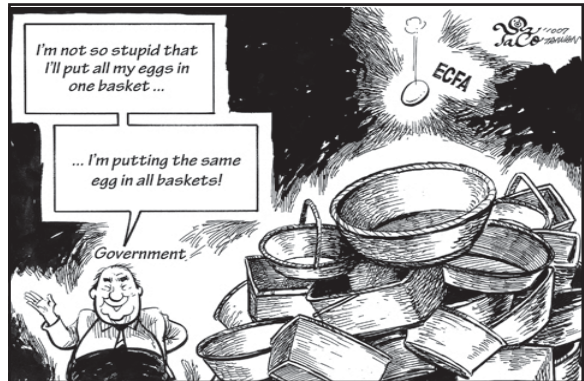
What impact on Taiwan's economy?

One of the major issues was what impact it would have on Taiwan's economy, with the Kuomintang government arguing that it would “open up” China's economy to Taiwan's business opportunities, leading to strong growth prospects, whereas the democratic opposition of the DPP emphasized that Taiwan's jobs would disappear in China's direction, while Taiwan's market would be flooded by cheap Chinese products.

Critics also argue that since China represents about 70 percent of Taiwan's total overseas investment, while 42 percent of Taiwan's exports go to China and Hong Kong, this makes Taiwan economically vulnerable vis-à-vis China: if there is a

downturn in China or the economic bubble bursts, this will have severe repercussions for Taiwan. They argue in favor of much broader diversification, in particular with Japan, the United States, and members of the EU.

The Ma administration is using the argument that the economy is now growing strongly because of the ECFA agreement with China. At the end of January 2011, it even sent the



Ma Ing-jeou government: "... I'm putting the same (ECFA) egg in all baskets."

minister of the Council for Economic Planning and Development, Christina Liu, to Washington to make this case. At various think tank meetings in DC, she lauded the ECFA as a major reason behind Taiwan's recent growth.

However, there are strong indications that Taiwan's growth has more to do with the overall world economic recovery than with the ECFA with China: a Ministry of Economic Affairs (MOEA) report at the end of January 2011 attributed an export growth in January of 13.5 percent to demand from China. However, in the same report, it was stated that exports to the US grew 18 percent and to the EU by 16.2 percent, while exports to China only amounted to 7.22 percent – *less than half* of the export growth to the US and Europe.

Why has the WTO not been notified yet?

A second important issue is WTO notification: when the agreement was being negotiated, Taiwan officials emphasized that the World Trade Organization was to be notified, as required under WTO rules. However, Chinese officials were less forthcoming, and made no statements committing themselves to notification.

In mid-February 2011 – more than seven months after the signing — there had still not been any notification yet, raising the question whether China and Taiwan are abiding by WTO rules.

In early January 2011, the Ma government also turned down – for the third time – a bid to have ECFA be subject to a public referendum. The bid, which was submitted by Taiwan Solidarity Union Chairman Huang Kun-huei, was turned down on 5 January 2011 by the Executive Yuan's Referendum Review Committee.

In his third bid, Huang had submitted a proposal for a referendum asking the question: “*Do you agree with the government signing the Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement with China?*”

Where are the FTAs with other countries?

A third issue, extensively discussed before and after the ECFA signing in June 2010, was whether Taiwan could now move forward with free trade agreements with other countries. The Ma government made it appear as if this was the case, but Chinese officials stated that this could be done only with Beijing's approval.

Since June 2010, hardly any agreement has appeared on the horizon: only Singapore has indicated an interest, but its economy is minuscule, and an agreement will hardly have any impact on Taiwan's economic growth.

Taiwan Communiqué comment: *While the case for ECFA is at best weak on all three points- impact on the economy, compliance with WTO rules and checks and balances within Taiwan, and making FTA's with other nations possible – the main danger is that it pushes Taiwan into a political stranglehold by China from which it will be difficult to escape.*

The Ma administration has emphasized that the agreement is “economics only”, but Chinese officials have stated time and again that it is a first step to “unification.” President Ma and his government are playing along with this game, but recent opinion polls show that this policy line is at odds with the wishes of the great majority of the Taiwanese people.

In particular, a recent poll by the TV station TVBS showed that 53% were “not confident” that the Ma administration is protecting the interests of Taiwan, while 39% of the respondents were “confident.” On another question, 53% agreed that the policies of the Ma Ying-jeou government were tilting towards China, while 39% disagreed that this was the case. Overall, the results show that support for ECFA and other agreements is meager at best.

Erosion of justice and democracy

In our previous issue (*Taiwan Communiqué* no. 130, pp. 12-16) we reported on the seesaw judiciary process to which former President Chen Shui-bian and his wife Wu Shu-jeu were subjected by the less than unbiased judicial system in Taiwan.

On 5 November 2010 the Taipei District Court declared them not guilty of money laundering, but a few days later the Supreme Court sentenced them to eleven years imprisonment on charges of accepting “bribes” in a land deal involving the Hsinchu Science Park. In the same ruling, they were also sentenced to eight years imprisonment on charges of accepting funds from former Taipei Financial Center Corp. chairwoman Diana Chen.

On the following pages we summarize the developments since mid-November 2010.

Former President Chen transferred to jail

On 6 December 2010, the Taiwan High Court determined that the former President and his wife should serve a total of 17-and-a-half years out of the total of the 19 years sum of the two sentences. The former President was transferred to a jail in Taoyuan County to begin serving his sentence.

Supporters and human rights activists were furious when they learned that Chen had been treated like a common criminal, that his head had been shaven, and that he had been shackled in handcuffs and ankle cuffs when he was brought to a hospital for a medical checkup.

The former President had complained about headaches, shortness of breath and chest pains as early as mid-December 2010, but prison officials did not approve the hospital visit until mid-January 2011.

Former vice President Annette Lu stated that the Ma government denied Chen his “basic human decency and human rights”, and that even in the early 1980s when she was a political prisoner under the KMT’s Martial Law regime, she did not have to undergo such humiliating and demeaning treatment.

In an interesting twist, the Taiwan High Court decided on 18 January 2011 that Chen was not guilty on charges of pocketing diplomatic funds to the tune of US\$ 330,000. In November 2010, the Taipei District Court had already come to that conclusion, and this was now confirmed by the High Court.

The matter of former President Chen’s imprisonment also came up during a hearing in the US House of Representatives on 19 January 2011. In the hearing, which highlighted human rights violations in China, Congressman Steve Chabot (R-OH) asked a panel on their thoughts on the imprisonment of Chen.

Mr. Gordon Chang, a prominent US lawyer and well-known author of “The coming collapse of China” responded that there were many issues with the unfair procedures under which Chen was convicted. He stated that “...*there needs to be a thorough review*

Photo: Taipei Times



Chen being wheeled into the hospital in handcuffs and ankle cuffs

of the way the current government – the KMT government – has been prosecuting and persecuting members of the DPP. This is really a very bad story. The United States needs to pay more attention.”

Former First Lady too ill to serve sentence

The matter of the sentencing of the former First Couple came up again in mid-February 2011, when the Taichung Prison Hospital decided that the former First Lady was too ill to serve her sentence. Chen’s wife, Wu Shu-jen, has been paralyzed from the waist down since 1985, when she was hit by a small truck during a campaign rally in the southern city of Tainan, where Chen was running for office at the time.

Photo: Taipei Times

Many observers at the time said it was a “political accident”, perpetrated by the KMT’s secret police or associated triad groups. The then-government of President Chiang Ching-kuo never seriously investigated the case, and the perpetrator was let go in spite of the many suspicions surrounding the case.



Chen and his wife in happier times

The decision by the medical team at the Pei Teh Hospital in Taichung not to accept Wu Shu-jen for incarceration means that she will be able to stay at the residence in Kaohsiung. However, the Kaohsiung Prosecutor’s Office ruled that she could not change her residence without permission, and that she was prohibited from leaving the country. Also, if she recovers, she will still have to start serving her full sentence.

Political persecution at the Judicial Yuan

In a case related to the sentencing and imprisonment of the former First Couple, in mid-December 2010 the chief judge of the Shilin District Court, Mrs. Hung Ying-hua, filed an appeal with the Control Yuan against Judicial Yuan President Rai Hau-min and Judicial Yuan Secretary-General Lin Ching-fang, accusing them of political prosecution.

She said the two top Judicial Yuan officials had manipulated internal review procedures, resulting in a review committee declaring her “unfit” to be a chief judge. Mrs. Hung gave a detailed account of how Judicial Yuan President Rai engaged in skewing procedures within the Judicial Yuan soon after he took over as President in mid-October 2010.

Chief Judge Hung also charged that Judicial Yuan Secretary-General Lin was a classmate of President Ma Ying-jeou and was constantly involved in political infighting within the Judicial Yuan.

The Judicial Yuan officials apparently went after judge Hung because in December 2008 and early 2009 she had voiced criticism of the procedures surrounding the initial stages of the trial against former President Chen Shui-bian and his associates. She in particular criticized the December 2008 switch of judges in the trial, saying it was procedurally flawed and politically motivated. She argued that it had rendered the guilty verdict eventually handed down invalid.

According to press reports in Taiwan, on 27 December 2010 the Control Yuan deemed Chief Judge Hung “unfit” and removed from her post.

Faith for freedom in Taiwan

By Bruce McLeod. In October 2010, the Very Rev. Bruce McLeod of the United Church of Canada and his wife, Rev. Joyce Kelly, visited Taiwan as guests of the Presbyterian Church.

Taller than I remembered, 87-year-old Peng Ming-min was a vision from the past when he stepped off the elevator last October at PCT (Presbyterian Church in Taiwan) headquarters in Taipei. We last met 44 years ago when he was under house arrest. Emotions held within, his eyes were full, like mine, as we embraced and held on tight.

Following a spy-thriller night escape to Sweden in 1969, Peng returned to Taiwan in 1990 and six years later was a candidate in the country’s first free presidential election. Many regard him as the founding father of what the **New York Times** has called Taiwan’s “extraordinary march to democracy.”

Taiwan, a hundred miles from China, with 23 million inhabitants, is about the size of Vancouver Island. China has not officially governed since ceding the island to Japan in 1895. When defeated “Generalissimo” Chiang Kai-shek fled there from Chinese communism in 1949, his vicious slaughter of local leaders was followed by four decades of brutal martial law, complete with paid informers and secret police. Chiang also banned the name Formosa (Beautiful Island), favoured by his regime’s resisters.

Photo: Rev. McLeod

The United Church Observer editor Al Forrest sent me to Taiwan in 1966 with a small group of reporters invited by Chiang’s government. The dictator’s smiling face loomed from billboards everywhere. Lulled by briefing papers and effusive welcomes, we hardly noticed we were meeting only “mainland occupiers” from what the sleeping world called “Free China.”



Rev. Bruce McLeod meeting Prof. Peng Ming-min

Late one night, a staff member from the PCT, the United Church’s alert Taiwanese partner, spirited me away to meet distinguished political science Professor Peng. Like last year’s Nobel Prize winner in China, Peng was seized for writing a democratic constitution for Taiwan. (Most of its provisions are now in force.) Following two prison years, he was released to house arrest, thanks to Amnesty International and concerned colleagues abroad.

I learned more about Taiwan that night than I did from smiling government hosts. Reporting my experiences in a Toronto newspaper, I had two phone calls: one from Chiang’s displeased ambassador; the other from university students - members of Toronto’s Taiwanese United Church - who thanked me for noticing. Committed to democracy in Taiwan, they were banned from returning home. They welcomed Peng’s latest message (smuggled from house arrest), and published it widely. In years to come, they would teach the United Church, much about the cost of Christian witness.

I returned to Taiwan twice in the 1990s — once carrying a General Council petition pleading release for a Taiwanese-Canadian under 10-year prison sentence, and later, to observe the first free national elections when, astonishingly, some former political prisoners won public office.

Democracy's frail flower had pushed into view; remarkably, without violence - partly because the Presbyterian Church steadily resisted Chiang's terror and promoted community programs of non-violent change. Only five percent of Taiwanese are Christians; the church, like salt, flings its flavour wide.

There was, however, a price to pay. In 1980, PCT General Secretary (later Moderator) C.M. Kao endured four years of solitary confinement for refusing to betray an escaped opposition leader. That same year, imprisoned human rights lawyer Lin Yi-hsiung was visited by his wife, Su-min. Returning home, she found their twin daughters and her husband's mother murdered in the hall. Unable to bear living there longer, she vainly tried to sell the house. The PCT bought it, and named it Light of Justice Presbyterian Church.

Taiwan's very identity is still at risk. Geographically disadvantaged, it lies in the path of two great powers. Beijing, which regards Taiwan as a rogue province, brandishes missiles at any independence talk, and pressures the international community to call it, humiliatingly, "Chinese-Taipei". Washington, still wary of Chinese expansion, curries China's economic favour. Chiang's old party, although its popular vote shrank in recent elections, now holds elected power in Taiwan and speaks of "ultimate reunification." Burgeoning business interests tilt toward the mainland.

Polls, however, regularly show islanders regard themselves as Taiwanese, not Chinese. The doughty Presbyterian Church declared in 1971 that God affirms their right to their own future. Peng Ming-min hopes Taiwan's lively democracy and de facto, though undeclared, independence will eventually win world recognition. "*There is only one China in the world,*" he says sturdily. "*Formosa is not part of it.*"

Presbyterians aren't alone in believing seeds of freedom are planted deep in God's future for Taiwan/Formosa, and that the blooming time will come.

Book Review

The Church under the Cross

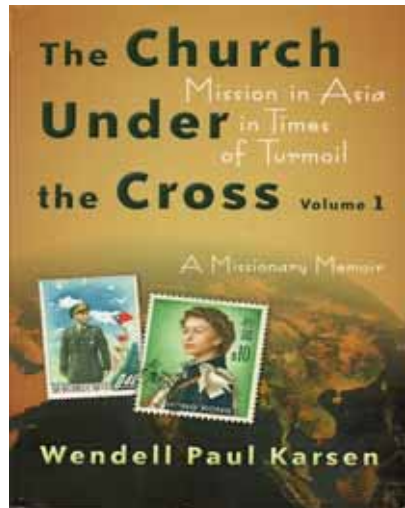
By Wendell Paul Karsen, reviewed by Gerrit van der Wees

This book is the first of two volumes that contain Rev. Wendell Karsen's autobiography. It covers his life and work in Taiwan in the period 1969 through 1973, and in Hong Kong in the periods 1974-1984 and 1990-1998. In this review we focus on his life and times in Taiwan.

Born and raised into a Christian Reformed family in Chicago, Karsen originally wanted to go to medical school and become an Albert Schweitzer in Africa, but it gradually dawned on him that his talents were more in the direction of pastoral care than medicine, and he switched to theology. After completing his studies he served in a church in Lakeland IL, got married, and raised a family.

In 1968 the Reformed Church in America decided it would send the young pastor and his family to Taiwan, where he would work with the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan as associate coordinator for university student ministries. After almost half a year at the Mission Orientation Center at Stony Point near NY, the young family flew to Taiwan in December 1969.

There they gradually settled into Taiwanese life. He and his wife went through language training and he began orienting himself in preparation for his work as a pastor. Karsen does a great job describing the trials and tribulations of his family in finding their way in a totally new and for them strange society. He goes into the intricacies of the Taiwanese language, and custom, food, traffic, the vagaries of the climate and many other aspects of life. That chapter gives a fascinating look through the window into life in Taiwan in 1969.



He also delves extensively into the island's history, from the Dutch period through the Japanese colonial period. His sharpest criticism is directed at the Chinese Nationalist government of Chiang Kai-shek. In a chapter titled "White Terror" he describes in detail how the Chiang regime painted a rosy picture in the West, but in the meantime ran roughshod over the local Taiwanese. Spies, political persecution and imprisonment were commonplace, while executions for "political offenses" ran into the hundreds per year.

Karsen then focuses on the Taiwan Presbyterian Church, and how it played such a crucial role in resisting the Kuomintang's repression. In a chapter titled "A Courageous Church" he presents an overview of how the Church under the leadership of its general secretary Rev. Kao Chun-ming had to navigate between a rock and a hard place.

A most crucial moment came in 1971, when the Church asked him to finalize the English text of a public statement to be issued by the Church. This was the "Statement on our

National Fate” of 29 December 1971, which became the first in a long series of courageous expressions by the Church on national affairs.

Karsen also became a member of the network of foreign missionaries who actively helped people in the democratic opposition. In April 1970 a missionary couple, Milo and Judith Thorberry, had been expelled on suspicion of helping Prof. Peng Ming-min escape from house arrest in Taiwan. When in February 1972 a well-known British missionary, Dan Beeby, was also expelled, Karsen and others worked together to let the world know about it: they organized an impromptu press conference with foreign reporters, who extensively wrote about it in the US and British press.

In late 1972 Karsen and several of his colleagues also made plans to help a prominent opposition politician, Kuo Yu-hsin, escape from Taiwan, as he was being threatened by unsavory secret police elements associated with the Kuomintang regime. They never had to implement their plan, but the episode characterized the highly charged atmosphere on the island at the time.

As it was, Karsen landed on the Kuomintang’s “black list” and when they returned to the United States for a home assignment in 1973, their visa was mysteriously cancelled and it became impossible to return to Taiwan. The Reformed Church in America reassigned Karsen to Hong Kong, where he continued to work in the ministry.

In the following years, Karsen also kept in touch with his Taiwan contacts and continued to work on human rights in Taiwan, but it wouldn’t be until May 1992 that he would be allowed back in the country again to attend a regional conference. In December 2003 he returned to Taiwan at the invitation of the Taiwan Foundation for Democracy, which brought together a whole group of former missionaries and others who had worked for human rights and democracy in Taiwan. That event prompted Karsen to write down his experiences in Taiwan, which eventually led to this book.

Conclusion: a gripping account of what life was like for one missionary family in Taiwan in the early 1970s. Well-researched and well-documented. Highly recommended.

The full title of the book is: **The Church under the Cross; Mission in Asia in Times of Turmoil**, Volume I, by Wendell Paul Karsen. Published by William B. Eerdmans Publishing. Grand Rapids, Michigan / Cambridge, UK. June 2010. Volume II on his experiences in China and Indonesia will be published in May 2011. (Both volumes are available directly from the author at a 30% discount at wrkarsen@sbcglobal.net).

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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

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