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Lee Teng-hui now welcome to the USA *but needs to improve democracy in Taiwan*

On Monday 22 May 1995, the US government decided to grant President Lee Teng-hui permission to visit the United States to attend a reunion at his alma mater, Cornell University in Ithaca, NY in June 1995. The move came after the US Congress, in the beginning of May, passed two Concurrent resolutions with the largest possible majority — 97 to 1 in the Senate and 396 to 0 in the House. The resolutions urged the Clinton Administration to grant President Lee a visa for a “private visit.”

The move is a significant breakthrough, because it is a signal to China that with regard to Taiwan it cannot continue to dictate its views on others in the international community. It is an example that should be followed by other nations around the world.

For Taiwan, Mr. Lee’s visit to the United States thus represents an opening to the international community as an independent nation. It is essential that Mr. Lee takes this opportunity to present himself as the leader of a new, democratic and independent Taiwan, and drop the outdated “Republic of China” pretense, the anachronistic rival claim to sovereignty over China, which is causing so much headache with Peking.

It is also an opportunity for Mr. Lee to announce significant moves to further strengthen democracy in Taiwan.



**Mr. Lee Teng-hui:
reason to smile**

Two specific points need to be addressed: 1) *the sheer total monopoly* of the ruling Kuomintang on the three existing television stations, and 2) *the rampant vote-buying* by Kuomintang candidates. It is essential that these situations be redressed before the upcoming elections for the Legislative Yuan and Presidential elections, so as to provide a level political playing field for all on the island.

How did the decision come about ?

The White House arrived at the decision to grant Mr. Lee permission to visit Cornell after a long and arduous debate with Congress, in which the State Department strongly argued against approval, fearing repercussions in the relations with China.

However, key members of both the House and Senate persisted, and at the beginning of March 1995 introduced two concurrent resolutions, urging the Clinton Administration to grant Mr. Lee a visa for a “private” visit to Cornell (see *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 65, p. 17). The text of the Resolution is as follows:

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION Expressing the sense of the Congress regarding a private visit by President Lee Teng-hui of Taiwan to the United States.

Whereas United States diplomatic and economic security interests in East Asia have caused the United States to maintain a policy of recognizing the People’s Republic of China while maintaining solidarity with the democratic aspirations of the people of Taiwan;

Whereas Taiwan is the United States sixth largest trading partner and an economic powerhouse buying more than twice as much annually from the United States as do the 1,200,000,000 Chinese of the People’s Republic of China;

Whereas the American people are eager for expanded trade opportunities with Taiwan, the possessor of the world’s second largest foreign exchange reserves;

Whereas the United States interests are served by supporting democracy and human rights abroad;

Whereas Taiwan is a model emerging democracy, with a free press, free elections, stable democratic institutions, and human rights protections;

Whereas vigorously contested elections conducted on Taiwan in December 1994 were extraordinarily free and fair;

Whereas United States interests are best served by policies that treat Taiwan's leaders with respect and dignity;

Whereas President Lee Teng-hui of Taiwan, a Ph.D. graduate of Cornell University, has been invited to pay a private visit to his alma mater and to attend the annual USA-ROC Economic Council Conference in Anchorage, Alaska;

Whereas there are no legitimate grounds for excluding President Lee Teng-hui from paying private visits;

Whereas the Senate of the United States voted several times in 1994 to welcome President Lee to visit the United States; and

Whereas Public Law 103-416 provides that the President of Taiwan shall be welcome in the United States at any time to discuss a host of important bilateral issues:

Now, therefore, be it Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That it is the sense of the Congress that the President should promptly indicate that the United States will welcome a private visit by President Lee Teng-hui to his alma mater, Cornell University, and will welcome a transit stop by President Lee in Anchorage, Alaska, to attend the USA-ROC Economic Council Conference.

As indicated above, in the beginning of May, Congress passed the two Concurrent resolutions with the largest possible majority — 97 to 1 in the Senate and 396 to 0 in the House. The move was also aided by a large number of editorials in US newspapers, urging the United States government to develop closer ties with a democratic Taiwan, and not give in to pressure from a repressive and dictatorial Communist China.

Another important factor was the introduction by Congressman **Robert Torricelli** of a resolution (HR. 1460) to modify the Taiwan Relations Act, which would have

required the Administration to allow entry into the United States of “...*elected leaders of the people of Taiwan or their elected representatives.*” If adopted by Congress, this resolution would have been binding, in contrast to the two abovementioned resolutions, which are non-binding “sense of Congress” resolutions.

An interesting sidenote to Mr. Torricelli’s resolution is that it would at this time not apply to President Lee Teng-hui, since he has not been elected (yet), but was appointed by the National Assembly in a closed process in March 1990. At that time, the National Assembly mainly consisted of old mainlanders elected in mainland China in 1947. The resolution would thus only apply to the Taiwan president elected in the upcoming March 1996 elections.

Behind the scenes, the campaign to let President Lee visit his alma mater was assisted to no small degree by the lobbying activities of a Washington lobbying firm, **Cassidy & Associates**, which had been retained by the Taiwan Research Institute for an amount of US\$ 4.5 million over three years. The Research Institute is closely associated with President Lee, and is headed by Mr. Liu Tai-ying, who also happens to be the Treasurer of the KMT-party.



Mr. Lee's re-election plane: "when are we cleared for take-off to Cornell?"

Furthermore, the campaign for Mr. Lee’s return to Cornell was also not hurt by the fact that a Taiwanese group called “Friends of Lee Teng-hui” donated US\$ 2.5 million to Cornell for the establishment of a professorship in international studies.

In the end, though, it was the determination of several key senators, which brought the matter to a positive conclusion: senators **Murkowski** (R-Alaska), **Paul Simon** (D-II) and **Charles Robb** (D-Virginia) jointly convinced Mr. Clinton around May 18th that going ahead with the visit would be in the best interest of the United States. In a press conference on May 22nd, the three senators termed the decision “a victory for democracy” and lauded the progress Taiwan had made towards democratic principles and political pluralism as a major reason for the breakthrough.

Senator Simon also termed the old US policy of politically isolating Taiwan “*two decades old, stilted, rigid and unrealistic.*” He called for a new policy, “...*not on the*

basis of power, not on the basis of numbers, but on the basis of human rights,” indicating that US policies towards Taiwan should not be dictated by another country (i.e. China).

With regard to the relations with the PRC, the senators predicted that there would be “a bump in the road”, but that the long-term relations with China would not be affected.

China’s temper tantrums

The Chinese authorities in Peking did react angrily: Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen summoned US ambassador Stapleton Roy to the Foreign Ministry and warned him of “grave consequences for US-China relations” if the US went ahead with the plans. However, Mr. Stapleton Roy responded that the decision was final.

In the days after the decision, the Chinese canceled a number of visits of Chinese officials to the United States, including an ongoing visit of a delegation led by its air force commander, and a planned visit by the Chinese minister of defense, Mr. Chi Haotien. However, there is little else the Chinese can do: the US holds two important trump cards: the upcoming renewal by President Clinton of Chinese Most Favored Nation status, and a say in Chinese accession to the World Trade Organization (WTO).

Thus, the general consensus is that China will display a lot of bluff and bluster on the issue, but there is little the Chinese can do to change matters around. One editorial in an American newspaper (**Fort Worth Star Telegram**, 24 May 1995) aptly summarized it as follows: “*Let China fume.*”

Indeed, China did display a peculiar double standard on the issue, when it canceled visits of its officials to the United States, but at the same time went ahead with a meeting of Mr. Tang Shubei, vice-chairman of its Association for Relations Across the Taiwan Straits (ARATS) with his Taiwanese counterpart of the quasi-official Straits Exchange Foundation (SEF) in Taipei. In fact, the two men agreed to a high-level meeting of their superiors in Peking in July.

The long-term significance

Taiwan Communiqué comment: *The visit of Mr. Lee will have long-term significance if the actors on all sides are able to move beyond the dug-in positions, and let a new, fresh wind blow through the smoky backrooms where policy towards Taiwan has been held hostage.*

Taiwan in its present-day form is totally different from the Kuomintang's "Republic of China" which was kicked out of the United Nations in 1971 or 1978, when the US shifted its diplomatic relations from Chiang Kai-shek's heirs to the rulers in Peking. In spite of the Kuomintang's ongoing shadow plays, this Taiwan is democratic and de-facto independent, and can present itself to the international community as a new nation.

As a first step, it is thus essential that the government in Taipei itself move progressively towards such a new status. It will find, that if it does that, it will meet with increasing recognition internationally.

Secondly, for the international community, and in particular the United States and Western Europe, it is time to evolve towards a new policy towards Taiwan, which recognizes the new reality, and rewards the Taiwanese people for their peaceful transition towards a democratic system by accepting the island as a full and equal player in the international arena. Taiwan's international relations should not be held hostage by a China that is unpredictable, repressive, and expansionistic.

Thirdly, for China itself it would be in its own benefit if it would discard the shackles of the Chinese Civil War, and recognize that there is a new Taiwan, which wishes to be a friendly neighbor named "Taiwan" and not an old rival named "Republic of China."

Some observers argue that relations with China are all-important, and that the US and other nations should not endanger these fragile ties by moving closer to Taiwan. The counter-argument is that China will have to learn to be a responsible player and live by the rules, just like other civilized nations. Giving in to its whims will not help that process. Standing up to China, and help it understand that peaceful coexistence with Taiwan as two friendly nations, is in the best interest of itself and of stability in the region.

100 years since Treaty of Shimonoseki *Asia's first independent republic*

April 17, 1995 marked the 100th anniversary of the Treaty of Shimonoseki, in which China ceded its sovereignty over Taiwan *in perpetuity*, and which ushered in a half century, ending at the end of World War II, during which Taiwan was an integral part of the Japanese Empire.

The Shimonoseki Treaty was signed on 17 April 1895, at the end of the Sino-Japanese War of 1894, in which the modernized Japanese imperial army defeated the antiquated Chinese Ching dynasty army.

At the time, China's hold on Taiwan was tenuous at best: it wasn't until 1887 that the Ching dynasty — fearing Japanese expansion towards the south — had declared the island a Chinese province. Before that time, Taiwan had been a loose lying area, inhabited by aborigines, pirates and some traders, and had not been formally incorporated in any political entity since the period of Dutch rule (1624-1662).



Flag of the Republic of Taiwan, 1895

For the people in Taiwan the Shimonoseki event is significant, because it marks a major milestone in Taiwan's evolution towards an independent nation state. In fact, shortly after the 1895 Treaty, a group of leading Taiwanese, aided by rebellious Ching dynasty officials, declared the formation of the Republic of Taiwan, Asia's first independent republic. However, the republic was short-lived: Japanese imperial troops crushed the movement within several months.

“Goodbye to China” demonstration

Still, the Shimonoseki Treaty holds symbolic significance for the Taiwanese, and to commemorate the event, the **Taiwan Association of University Professors** organized a “Farewell to China” march in downtown Taipei on 16 April 1995.

More than 10,000 independence supporters participated in the event. They wore T-shirts printed with Chinese characters saying “Farewell to China”, and carried banners, calling for “Taiwan membership in the United Nations” and urging the Taiwan authorities to “abolish the Unification Council” and “enact a new Constitution.”

The four DPP candidates competing for their party's nomination for the presidency (see following story) spoke to the marchers and called for Taiwan's independence, arguing that China had formally given up its sovereignty over the island a century ago.

A second commemorative event was the visit to the city of Shimonoseki in Japan by a bi-partisan delegation of 100 member led by Democratic Progressive Party legislator, Ms. Lu Hsiu-lien. The delegation visited the site where the treaty was signed 100 years ago and joined with Japanese scholars, writers and politicians in a series of commemorate events to focus attention on the fact that Taiwan has been separate from China for more than 100 years and China relinquished sovereignty over Taiwan as early as 1895.

Conference on “Searching for Taiwan’s identity”

A third event commemorating the centennial of the Shimonoseki Treaty was a three-day international conference, organized by Freedom Times, a daily newspaper in Taiwan and the Academia Sinica. It was held in Taipei beginning on 16 April 1995.



100 years Shimonoseki anniversary in Taipei: "Goodbye to China."

Scholars from Taiwan, Japan and the United States, who met to discuss the treaty's impact on Taiwan's history, pointed out the treaty that ushered in the Japanese colonial period marked the starting point of modern Taiwanese history that saw the emergence of a new Taiwan identity totally separate from China. They also pointed out that during the more than hundred years of separate development, the people of Taiwan have created their own political, cultural and national identity and value systems and no longer identify with a feudalistic, backward and repressive China.

Prof. Chiu Chuei-liang of Queensland University in Australia pointed out that Taiwanese people's most remarkable achievement in the past 100 years is the advancement of human rights, freedom and democracy that will culminate in the direct presidential elections taking place next year. Prof. Chiu also emphasized the contrast between Taiwan and China: in less than 50 years since the February 28 incident of 1947, the

people of Taiwan have built a free and democratic country, while China under successive communist leaders remains a repressive, corrupt and backward country.

The scholars also concluded that the legal status of Taiwan is still undetermined, because the Peace Treaty of San Francisco in 1952 stipulated that Japan formally ceded sovereignty over Taiwan, but that the future of the island would be determined “in accord with the charter and principles of the United Nations” — i.e. self-determination. It is therefore up to the people in Taiwan to determine their own future.

The conference also had an important message for the Kuomintang authorities: Dr. Chang Fu-mei, a DPP-member of the National Assembly, stated: “For people living on Taiwan who are constantly told by the authorities that their roots are in China, it is important to know that it was China that 100 years ago gave up Taiwan — forever.”

Preparing for the Presidential Elections

DPP Presidential hopefuls line up

In March 1996, the people of Taiwan will go to the polls to elect their president for the first time in history. This is a major political reform in Taiwan’s democratization movement following the lifting of martial law in 1987 and the overall re-elections of the Legislative Yuan in 1992. For the first time the opposition DPP can compete openly in the race for the presidency and it opens a window of opportunity for the DPP to move towards gaining a majority in elections on the island.

Until 1990, the president of Taiwan was appointed by the National Assembly, which mainly consisted of aging KMT members elected in mainland China in 1947. Under pressure from the opposition DPP and public opinion the KMT authorities finally relented and amended the Constitution a year ago to allow direct presidential election to take place in March 1996.

Although the presidential election is still nearly a year away, intense competition has begun among leading DPP party candidates, who seek the party nomination.

The first to declare his presidential ambition was Mr. Hsu Hsin-liang, the former chairman of DPP. Others who have made public their desire to seek party nomination

are Prof. Peng Ming-min, the former chairman of the department of Political Science at National Taiwan University, who returned from exile in the United States two years ago, Mr. You Ching, the current magistrate of Taipei County, and Mr. Lin Yi-hsiung, a former political prisoner and a former member of the Provincial Assembly.

The four contenders have crisscrossed the island paying visits to local party offices and holding seminars and public discussions in order to gain name recognition and seek financial support before the party primary on June 11, 1995. Below we give a brief introduction on each contender.

Mr. Hsu Hsin-liang, a former chairman of the DPP, returned to Taiwan in 1990 after a decade of exile in the United States. He was elected Chairman of DPP in 1992 with the support of the Formosa faction. A year later he resigned the chairmanship after the DPP suffered a setback in the local elections of city mayors and county magistrates.



Mr. Hsu Hsin-liang

In 1978, Mr. Hsu made headlines when he won the election of county commissioner of Taoyuan as a KMT rebel. Before Mr. Hsu could serve out his term he was suspended of his job after participating in a demonstration to protest the arrest and imprisonment of Mr. Yu Teng-fa, the former county commissioner of Kaohsiung, on trumped-up charges. Mr. Hsu went into exile in the United States in the summer of 1979. His repeated attempts to return to Taiwan were thwarted by KMT until 1990, when he was caught as a stowaway in a fishing boat near Kaohsiung harbor. He served a short prison sentence for illegal entry to Taiwan. After his release from prison, he was elected chairman of DPP.

According to analysts, Mr. Hsu has a good chance to win the first stage of the party primary with the support of Formosa faction, which controls the largest number of votes from party delegates and elected officials. In



Prof. Peng Ming-min

March 1995, DPP's party congress voted to adopt a two-stage primary system to nominate presidential candidate. In the first stage, party officials and delegates cast their votes to select two winners, who then compete in the second stage in nation-wide polls by the public.

Prof. **Peng Ming-min**, born in 1923, was the former chairman of the department of political science of National Taiwan University before he was arrested in 1964 for drafting a manifesto calling for a new democratic constitution and Taiwan independence. In 1970 while under surveillance he eluded the secret police and escaped abroad. He returned to Taiwan in 1992 after two decades of exile in the United States.



Dr. You Ching

Prof. Peng's has significant support in the academic community. Many of his former students are now prominent university professors. He has gained some name recognition from speaking in political rallies and frequent press interviews. Prof. Peng appeared to be a front runner in Taipei and Kaohsiung among DPP members according to some unofficial opinion polls.

Many supporters pointed out that he could be the most eloquent spokesman for Taiwan in the international arena because of his knowledge and experience in international affairs and his fluency in both the Japanese and English languages. Prof. Peng's weakness is that he does not belong to any faction in the DPP. The lack of factional support could be a problem in the first stage of the primary when he might not be able to gain enough votes to move on to the second stage of the primary.

Dr. You Ching, who is presently serving his second term as the Taipei County Magistrate, has the most wide-ranging administrative experience through a successful career as an elected official.



Mr. Lin Yi-hsiung

In 1980 shortly after he returned from Germany where he received a doctorate in Law from Heidelberg University, he joined a team of lawyers in defending the “Kaohsiung Eight”, in the trial of major opposition leaders who were arrested following the December 1979 Kaohsiung Incident. He then embarked on a political career by running successfully for the Control Yuan and the Legislative Yuan before he was elected commissioner of Taipei County.

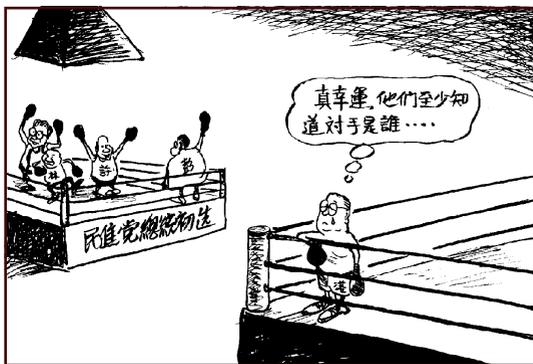
Mr. Lin Yi-hsiung is the fourth Democratic Progressive Party member to join the race for the presidency. Mr. Lin, a lawyer by training, was a former member of the Provincial Assembly. His life took a tragic turn in the aftermath of the Kaohsiung Incident of 1979 when he was in prison, his mother and twin daughters were found murdered in his home in downtown Taipei on February 28, 1980 while his house was under surveillance by the secret police. A third daughter was injured severely from knife stabbings but survived. The authorities never solved the murder.

Mr. Lin was sentenced to 12 years in prison but was released after four and half years. He has come to symbolize moral fortitude because of his courage and integrity in the face of adversity. Mr. Lin has promised that he would never run a negative campaign. One of the reasons Mr. Lin is in the race is that he wants to focus the presidential campaign on major issues such as Taiwan’s national identity, relations with China and Taiwan’s U.N. membership and hopefully to shape a consensus on these issues.

On the KMT-side: shadow-boxing

On the KMT-side, President Lee has not ruled out the possibility of running for re-election. It is most likely that President Lee and Premier Lien will be on the KMT ticket. Lee declared he would not run for a second term during an inaugural speech in 1990, however, recently he said it was “up to the people” to decide whether he should run again.

Although Lee has yet to announce his candidacy, many of his opponents, mainly from a right-wing faction of the KMT, have launched an anti-Lee campaign to prevent



Mr. Lin Yang-kang: "How lucky are those DPP-candidates, at least they know their opponents"

him from seeking another term. However, Lee has high popularity rating in opinion polls and the dominant position he enjoys in both the party and the government.

Within the KMT, only one other contender has made public his determination to run in the election: Vice Chairman Lin Yang-kang, who is reportedly toying with the idea of running as an independent candidate or to align himself with the New China Party, a right-wing extremist group, mainly made up of Chinese mainlanders, which broke away from the Kuomintang two years ago, and which strongly argues for unification with mainland China.

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Lee Teng-hui responds to Jiang Zemin

In our previous issue (*Taiwan Communiqué* no. 65, pp. 5-8), we discussed the “Eight-point-plan” presented by China’s leader Jiang Zemin on 30 January 1995, and concluded it was old wine in a leaky bottle, since it stuck to old positions, and did not recognize the reality of a new Taiwan.

Shortly after we went to press with our April 1995 issue, there finally was a formal response from the Taiwan side: on Saturday, 8 April 1995, President Lee Teng-hui gave a speech to a meeting of the National Unification Council, in which he replied to the overtures by Jiang.

Mr. Lee focused on the fact that Taiwan and China are two separate entities, and urged the Chinese to renounce the use of force in resolving the dispute across the Taiwan Straits. Below we shortly summarize the main points:

1. Only by respecting the fact that Taiwan and mainland China have been governed as two political sovereign entities since 1949 can the unification problem be solved.
2. Chinese culture has been the pride of all Chinese people. Both sides should therefore cherish this brotherhood and enhance bilateral exchange.
3. Bilateral trade and communication should be expanded. Taiwan’s economy should regard the mainland as a market and a place which provides raw materials and labor, while the mainland economy can look to Taiwan as an example. Taiwan is willing to offer technology and experience to help the mainland’s agriculture and improve

its economy and living standards. Bilateral trade can be discussed when both sides are ready.

- 4. Both sides should participate in international organizations, and Taiwan does not rule out the possibility that leaders from both sides can meet at international fora, such as APEC meetings.
- 5. The mainland should demonstrate its goodwill by announcing a willingness to forgo a military solution.



Lee and Jiang: "reciprocating gifts"

This is the basis for bilateral peace talks to end hostility between the two sides. To use "foreign interference" and "Taiwan independence" as an excuse to maintain a military option is to ignore and distort the ROC's nation-building spirit.

- 6. The two sides should jointly ensure democracy and prosperity in Hong Kong and Macau.

Taiwan Communiqué comment: Mr. Lee's speech goes somewhat in the right direction by emphasizing that the Chinese leaders should renounce the use of force, before peace talks on ending of hostility can be held. Rightly, Mr. Lee did not discuss "peaceful unification" (a non-starter under any condition), but instead stressed the need for cooperation and "bilateral peace talks." However, he could have gone much further in emphasizing Taiwan's right to determine its own future, and its right to sovereignty as an independent nation state.

China continues belligerent policies

During the past few weeks, the Communist Chinese authorities in Peking have continued to behave like an unreliable, unpredictable and belligerent bully on the international stage. Below are just a few examples.

Nuclear test three days after NNP Treaty

On Monday, May 15th, China detonated a nuclear device at its test site at Lop Nor, in the western region of Xinjiang. The irony of the matter is that the nuclear test came three days after the approval by 175 members of the United Nations of the indefinite extension of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NNPT).

At the New York NNPT conference, which ended on May 12th, China and the four other nations which presently have nuclear weapons promised to conclude a comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty by the end of 1996, and agreed to exercise "utmost restraint" in the testing of nuclear devices in the meantime.

The Chinese explosion so angered Japan, that on May 22nd, the Japanese authorities announced they would cut back financial assistance for development projects in China.

China Bars Taiwanese Groups from UN Women's Conference

China's attempt to isolate Taiwan internationally reached a new low when it put pressure on the United Nations to deny six Taiwanese women's groups from attending the U.N. Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in September 1995.

At the instigation of China, the six Taiwanese women's groups, which applied to participate as non-governmental organization (NGO) observers were denied accreditation by the U.N. organizing committee unless they register as part of the PRC delegation. Eight women's organization from Tibet and several from Hong Kong were also barred from attending the conference.

China's moves to bar the NGO women's organizations coincided with attempts by the Chinese hosts to move the tandem NGO-meeting to a rural outpost outside Peking. This generated strong protests from NGO women's organizations around the world. On 23 May 1995, three nations -- Canada, Australia, and New Zealand -- threw their weight behind the women's organizations, and urged the Peking authorities to have the NGO-forum take place in Peking, next to the venue of the UN-Conference itself.

China's attempt at politicizing the United Nations Women's Conference has provoked protests from American Congress, European Parliament and human rights organizations.

On 27 March 1995, **53 members of Congress** signed a letter to U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher urging the administration to “denounce vigorously, publicly and privately, any attempts by the Chinese government to suppress, harass, or intimidate Chinese citizens or foreign nationals during the conference or in preparation for the event.”

Twenty-three members of the **U.S. Congressional Caucus on Women’s Issues** also wrote to U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Madeleine Albright asking her to “oppose strongly any efforts that the Chinese government may make to exclude certain NGOs for political reasons.”

On March 16, **Human Rights Watch** sent a letter to U.N. Secretary-General Boutros Ghali protesting that women’s organizations from Taiwan and Tibet, as well as U.S.-based non-governmental organizations monitoring human rights in mainland China, were not recommended for accreditation under pressure from Beijing.

On 18 May 1995, the **European Parliament** passed a resolution calling on the government of PRC to allow women from Taiwan and Tibet to attend the UN Fourth World Conference on Women.

The resolution has some stern warning for China. It urges that official delegates to the Conference should stage a public demonstration before the opening of the NGO forum if Beijing did not reverse its decision to bar Taiwanese and Tibet women from attending the Conference. It also says that UN conferences should not be held in China in the future if the effectiveness of the conference is reduced by obstacles placed in the way of the NGOs.

Trying to remember Tien’anmen

During the weeks leading up to the sixth anniversary of the bloody Tien’anmen Massacre of 4 June 1989, Chinese police arrested dozens of Chinese dissidents in a dragnet that spread from Beijing to Hangzhou and Nanjing in the East, Xian in the far northwest, and Chongking in the south.

The crackdown followed a flurry of petitions for more democratic freedoms in China and for release of political prisoners. A May 16 petition demanded the release of all prisoners of conscience in China, including those jailed following Tien’anmen. In another petition, issued on 25 May 1995, 27 relatives of victims of the 1989 crackdown appealed for a full parliamentary inquiry. Also on May 25th, dissidents released a new version of the 1993 “Peace Charter”, which called for political pluralism and a transition to democracy in China.

Taiwan Communiqué comment: it is now becoming painfully clear that the Clinton Administration's May 1994 de-linking of extension of China's MFN status from a review of human rights was a mistake, and that the "constructive engagement" approach with China is not working.

China is simply arrogantly disregarding basic human rights and thumbing its nose at other nations which attempt to hold human rights high. Sadly, it remains necessary to maintain significant pressure on China through a wide array of levers — including trade measures — in order for that country to observe even the most basic of human rights.

Blocking freedom of expression worldwide

Two other examples where China is attempting to block freedom of expression internationally: 1) In the beginning of May 1995, at a United Nations Habitat II preparatory committee meeting in Nairobi, the Chinese delegation attempted to remove all copies of ECO, an NGO paper which is generally made available to delegations at UN-meetings. The "sin" of the ECO-publication: it contained an article on housing rights violations in Tibet.

2) Also in the beginning of May 1995, the Chinese embassy in Vienna, Austria pressured the Austrian authorities not to support or attend a "Focus on Taiwan" conference, a week-long student meeting held in Linz, Austria. The goal of the conference was to promote cultural understanding between Taiwan and Europe, and was organized by AIESEC, a non-political organization of students of economics and business administration.

Report from Washington

Why Mme. Chiang should not come to Washington

Coen Blaauw, Formosan Association for Public Affairs

In a well-intentioned but misdirected move, U.S. Senators **Bob Dole** (R-KS) and **Paul Simon** (D-IL) have invited Madame Chiang Kai-shek (born Soong Mei-ling) to be the guest of honor at a reception to be held in Washington D.C.'s Capitol on July 26. According to these plans, Mme. Chiang would be honored "for her contributions to the

solidification of the Sino-American relationship during World War II.” The invitation has stirred disbelief and anger among Taiwanese Americans. Below, we explain the reasons why:

Firstly, whether Chiang Kai-shek and his wife have “solidified” American relations is highly debatable. Several works which focus on that period of history describe the Chiangs as highly manipulative and their entourage corrupt — mostly at the expense of the American taxpayer. The excellent work by **Sterling Seagraves**, “*The Soong Dynasty*” gives one example after another of the intrigues and corruption of the Chiangs and the Soongs. Another authoritative book, “*Stilwell and the American Experience in China*,” by American historian **Barbara Tuchman**, is filled with illustrations and anecdotes on the impossible relationship the Americans maintained with “Generalissimo” Chiang Kai-shek and his wife and their lack of willingness to cooperate with the Americans.

Secondly, Mme. Chiang and her husband were responsible for establishing a political system of terror, oppression and corruption on Taiwan — a system of which the remnants last until this very day. The Kuomintang must be held accountable for establishing Martial Law on Taiwan in 1947, characterized by a repressive rule which lasted for almost 40 years. They ordered the 1947 massacre of an entire generation of Taiwanese leaders. While President Lee Teng-hui recently apologized for the suffering inflicted by the Kuomintang on the people of Taiwan, *there was never any sign of atonement from Mme. Chiang.*

In her book, Tuchman paints a picture of Mme. Chiang as a manipulative woman, setting everything and everybody in motion for the sake of her own benefit and enrichment. And all this, of course, was much to the chagrin of the American leadership. How could she get away with this? Because she knew that the Americans needed China as a strategic stronghold and as a base of operations in the war against Japan, and at no matter what cost. So whenever Mme. Chiang needed something done, she simply threatened to take China out of the war.

Despite the fact that on 9 February 1942, **General “Vinegar Joe” Stilwell** had heard Roosevelt say that “... he did not want Mme. Chiang to come on a visit,” Mme. Chiang visited the U.S. from November 1942 until May 1943. Part of that time, she stayed at the White House and angered its staff “by clapping in her hands for their attention, although all the rooms in the White House were equipped with bells and telephones.”

According to Tuchman “Madame’s behavior did not suggest a leader who was guiding her country toward a democratic future.” She quotes U.S. Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau as telling his staff: “The President ... is just crazy to get her out of the country.” There is an abundance of stories in the book about Mme. Chiang’s way of enriching herself and her family. She and her sister Ei-ling were reported to have manipulated Government bonds and to have raked in huge profits from speculation in silver in the course of currency measures put through by Dr. H.H. Kung - Ei-ling’s husband.

Nelson T. Johnson — American Ambassador to China from 1935 on — stated that Dr. Kung and his brother-in-law T.V. Soong could not give “unbiased consideration” to China’s problems because of their various personal financial interests. While her husband was Minister of Finance, Ei-ling was also “credited with receiving a moderate but invariable commission on all purchases of military planes.” This pattern of corrupt behavior led **President Truman** to angrily state a few years later that: “*They are all thieves, every damn one of them!*” The Soongs and Chiangs amassed one of the world’s largest fortunes at a time when millions of Chinese died from starvation and from the bitter civil war against Mao.

According to Tuchman, Kuomintang officials were proud of their diplomatic skill in playing on American nerves; they maintained contact with Japanese in Shanghai “in order to excite fears in Washington.” Mme. Chiang went as far as launching a campaign to have General Stilwell recalled back to Washington from the Chinese theater. Part of the reason why Mme. Chiang had started this campaign was that “he signed memoranda as “Lieutenant General-USA” instead of “Chief of Staff to the Generalissimo.”

Roosevelt had predicted that “no other country was so likely to be the source of postwar trouble.” He proved to be right, because in December of the very next year, Chiang Kai-shek’s Kuomintang Government, accompanied by one million soldiers, were forced to flee to Taiwan. As Tuchman writes: “Born in the revolution of 1911, the Kuomintang had spent its mandate in one generation.”

In spite of the repression imposed on Taiwan by the Kuomintang of Mme. Chiang and her husband, the people of the island were able to turn the tide and during the past decade move towards a democratic political system. But on the island, Madame Chiang continues to be seen as the embodiment and the symbol of repression and corruption during the post World War II period.

Taiwan Communiqué comment: *Inviting Madame Chiang to Washington is a slap in the face of the countless Taiwanese who have worked so hard for human rights and democracy on the island. It is an insult to the thousands who died during and after the "February 28" Incident of 1947 at the hands of Chiang Kai-shek's secret police.*

*We urge Senators Simon and Dole to withdraw the invitation. Mme Chiang is **not** a symbol of freedom and democracy that the U.S. fought for in Asia and stands for now. If anyone needs to be honored, it is those courageous Taiwanese who helped bring about democracy in Taiwan as well as the family members of those who died during the "February 28 Incident" of 1947 who should be invited to the Capitol.*

Taiwan-into-the-UN Resolutions move forward

On 7 April 1995, a Resolution was introduced in the US House of Representatives regarding Taiwan's participation in the United Nations. The resolution was co-signed by a large number of representatives from both the Republican and Democratic side of the House. The text is as follows:

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION Relating to the Republic of China (Taiwan)'s participation in the United Nations.

Whereas the Republic of China was the first signatory to the Charter of the United Nations in 1945 and remained an active member of that world body until 1971;

Whereas China was divided in 1949, and the Republic of China (hereinafter cited as 'Taiwan ') and the People's Republic of China (hereinafter cited as 'Mainland China') have exercised exclusive jurisdiction over their respective areas since then;

Whereas Taiwan has the 19th largest gross national product in the world, a strong and vibrant economy, and one of the largest foreign exchange reserves of any nation;

Whereas Taiwan has dramatically improved its record on human rights and routinely holds free and fair elections in a multiparty system, as

evidenced most recently by the December 3rd, 1994 balloting for local and provincial officials;

Whereas the 21 million people in Taiwan have not been represented in the United Nations since 1971 and their human rights as citizens of the world have therefore been severely abridged;

Whereas Taiwan has in recent years repeatedly expressed its strong desire to participate in the United Nations;

Whereas Taiwan has much to contribute to the work and funding of the United Nations;

Whereas Taiwan has demonstrated its commitment to the world community by responding to international disasters and crises such as environmental destruction in the Persian Gulf and famine in Rwanda by providing financial donations, medical assistance, and other forms of aid;

Whereas the world community has reacted positively to Taiwan's desire for international participation, as shown by Taiwan's continued membership in the Asian Development Bank, the admission of Taiwan into the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation group as a full member, and the accession of Taiwan as an observer at the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade as the first step toward becoming a contracting party to that organization;

Whereas the United States has supported Taiwan's participation in these bodies and indicated, in its policy review of September 1994, a stronger and more active policy of support for Taiwan's participation in other international organizations;

Whereas Taiwan has repeatedly stated that its participation in international organizations is one of parallel representation without prejudice to the current status of Mainland China in the international community and does not represent a challenge to that status;

Whereas the United Nations and other international organizations have established precedents concerning parallel representation, such as the cases of South Korea and North Korea and the former two Germanies;

Whereas the decision of the United States to establish diplomatic relations with Mainland China, as expressed in the Taiwan Relations Act (Public Law 96-8), is based ‘upon the expectation that the future of Taiwan will be determined by peaceful means’; and

Whereas Taiwan ‘s participation in international organizations would not prevent or imperil the eventual resolution of disputes between Taiwan and Mainland China any more than the participation in international organizations by the former West Germany and the former East Germany prevented the eventual settlement of Germany’s national status by peaceful and democratic means:

Now, therefore, be it Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That it is the sense of the Congress that—

(1) Taiwan deserves full participation, including a seat, in the United Nations and its related agencies; and

(2) the Government of the United States should immediately encourage the United Nations to take action by considering the unique situation of Taiwan in the international community and adopting a comprehensive solution to accommodate Taiwan in the United Nations and its related agencies.

Taiwan Communiqué comment: while this resolution is a significant step forward in comparison to previous texts, it has one draw-back: in the title it still refers to the anachronistic “Republic of China” name. As we have argued before, this perpetuates the claim of the Taipei authorities on China, and thus invites Beijing’s counter-claim on Taiwan.

*It would increase the chances of Taiwan to enter the UN, if the case would be presented simply and clearly as a **new** Taiwan, which intends to live in peace with all its neighbors, including the PRC. We thus urge members of Congress to move forward with this resolution, but to amend the title, so it reflects the present reality, and not a fiction that is past.*

In Memoriam Symeon Wu

On 14 May 1995, Mr. (Symeon) **Wu Hsi-mien**, passed away in the McKay Hospital in Taipei at the age of 65, a month after he was diagnosed having stomach cancer. Mr. Wu was a pillar of the Taiwanese community in Southern California and the founder and publisher of the **Pacific Journal**, a Chinese-language weekly newspaper published in the United States.

Mr. Wu was a burly, affable man with a loud voice and a big heart who earned respect from friends and foes for his dedication to Taiwan's democratic movement. As a devout Christian, Mr. Wu was committed to political and social justice. His sense of mission drove him to launch the Pacific Journal in Los Angeles in the mid 1980s. He wanted to use his paper as a forum to generate support for Taiwan's democratic movement from the Taiwanese community in the United States. Although Pacific Journal was a money-losing business, he continued to publish it.



Mr. Symeon Wu (right) addressing a freedom of the press demonstration in Washington, DC in January 1995

Mr. Wu also set up the Taiwan United Fund, which became a major sponsor for Taiwanese cultural events. Every year writers, artists and musicians from Taiwan are invited to perform in the United States.

Mr. Wu also played the role of a mediator among the different factions in the opposition DPP, asking them to look for common ground so that they can join hands and work in the same direction. In fact, he flew back to Taiwan at the end of April with the mission to unify the major DPP-players behind one candidate in the race for DPP nominee for the presidency.

Mr. Wu immigrated to the United States from Taiwan in early 1980s and ran a successful business in agricultural produce and pharmaceutical products. He was survived by his 95-year old mother, his wife, two sons and a daughter.