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Gore and Gingrich in China

A study in contrasts

At the end of March 1997, Vice-President Al Gore and House Speaker Newt Gingrich went on separate trips to China. That's where the similarity ends. Mr. Gingrich had the courage to speak out and clearly warned China that if it attacks Taiwan, the United States will help defend Taiwan. Mr. Gingrich also included Taiwan in his itinerary, and met with President Lee Teng-hui in Taipei.

Mr. Gore, on the other hand, gave a lackluster performance. While he did discuss human rights and curbing international arms sales with Chinese officials, he seemed to want to downplay the Chinese influence-buying scandal, in which the Chinese government reportedly tried to funnel money to the 1996 Presidential and Congressional election campaigns, and skirted the Hong Kong issue, where the Chinese are slowly strangling fundamental human rights.

If Mr. Gore wanted to downplay the influence of big business on US policy towards China, he failed. The "high-light" of the visit seemed to be the signing of lucrative contracts for Boeing and General Motors. If Mr. Gore wanted to create an image of leadership, he also failed. The most lasting image of his trip was that he toasted champagne with Mr. Li Peng, the "Butcher of Beijing."



Mr. Gore and Li Peng

AFP

On the following pages, we publish an open letter to Mr. Gore, asking him what the United States stands for. We also reiterate the arguments for an end to the anachronistic and confusing “One China” policy, and adoption of a policy which strives for peaceful coexistence of Taiwan and China as two friendly neighbors.

What does America stand for ?

An open Letter to Vice President Albert Gore Jr.

Dear Mr. Gore,

When I was growing up in Taiwan in the 1950s, my country — which was called Formosa (“Beautiful Island”) at that time — was occupied by Kuomintang carpetbaggers from China. Still, we kept hoping for a better future, because America told us about human rights, democracy, and self-determination.

We were told that the UN would be the family of nations, bringing peace, and helping the former colonial countries in Africa and Asia gain freedom and independence.

When I came to the United States for studies in the 1970s, I gained hope, because I experienced freedom and democracy. However, the US and other Western Nations recognized the PRC, and adopted a “One-China” policy which left my country an international pariah.

In the 1980s, we Taiwanese worked hard for human rights and democracy. We got help from visionaries in the US Congress, like Senators Kennedy and Claiborne Pell, and Congressmen Jim Leach and Stephen Solarz. Together, we able to get rid of the Kuomintang’s Martial Law.

In the early 1990s, Taiwan finally achieved a free and democratic political system, and our hopes for a better future soared. Finally we are able to talk openly about our vision for an independent Taiwan. We express our readiness to be a full and equal member of the international community and join the United Nations.

My question to you is: what does the US stand for ? Do you stand for the principles of freedom, democracy, and self-determination ?

Or are you going to continue to cuddle up to the dictators in Beijing, who threaten Taiwan with missiles and military invasion ? When you visited Beijing, you toasted a glass of champagne with Li Peng, the “butcher of Tienanmen”. Why Mr. Gore ?

At least Mr. Gingrich straightforwardly told China that the US would defend Taiwan if China would attack. We expected to hear that from you, Mr. Gore.

I believe Taiwan and China can have peaceful coexistence as two mature members of the international family of nations, who live side by side as good neighbors and respect each other. Will you stand for our principles and values and support us in achieving that goal ?

Sincerely,

Mei-chin Chen, Editor Taiwan Communiqué

“One-China” policy should be retired

During and after both Mr. Gore and Gingrich visited China, much was said and written about the “One China” policy. As Taiwanese, we consider this is an ambiguous and confusing concept, which should be discarded right away.

The major reason why this policy is now outdated, is that the situation in Taiwan has changed drastically: we have achieved a democratic political system, and want to be accepted as a full and equal member in the international community.

In 1945, Taiwan — which was part of the Japanese Empire — was “temporarily” occupied by the Chiang Kai-shek’s troops on behalf of the Allied Forces. When Chiang lost his Civil War in 1949, he moved the remainder of his troops and government to Taiwan, and ruled with iron fist. In the “February 28” incident of 1947, his troops massacred between 18,000 and 28,000 leading figures in Taiwan’s society. The Taiwanese people, who comprise 85% of the island’s population, were thus oppressed, and became unwilling pawns in a bigger chess-game between the two Chinese adversaries.

From 1949 through the late 1960s the United States recognized the Kuomintang regime in Taipei as the government of “China.” It held the seat in the United Nations, kept up the pretense of representing China and did not allow the Taiwanese any say in their political future.

Shanghai Communiqué: *replacing one fiction with another*

When in the 1970s the United States and other Western nations recognized the Communist regime in Beijing as the government of China, the KMT’s fiction was discarded, but was replaced by another fiction: the “creative ambiguity” of the Shanghai Communiqué, in which the Beijing authorities were recognized as the government representing China, but in which the United States stated that it “*acknowledged*” the Chinese position, that there is but one China, and that Taiwan is part of China.

Did the wording of the Shanghai Communiqué mean that the US “recognized” that Taiwan is part of China? The answer is an *unequivocal no*. The US simply took note of the Chinese position, but did not state its own position on the matter. However, over time, this distinction started to blur, and some began to interpret the wordings of the 1970s as to mean precisely what they were not meant to be: “accept or recognize.”

In any case, for the people of Taiwan any communiqué’s between other countries such as the United States and China are not binding and of little relevance, because they were made without any consultation with, or representation of, the people of Taiwan.

Taiwan: its own place under the sun

In the past fifteen years a new situation evolved: we Taiwanese achieved our transition towards a democratic system. There is thus a new and democratic Taiwan, in which the overwhelming majority of the population does not want to be a part of a repressive, dictatorial, and corrupt China, but cherishes its own Taiwanese identity, language, culture, and newfound political freedom. This new nation wants to find its own place under the sun, contribute not only economically, but also politically to the international community, and be accepted as a full member of the international family of nations, in particular the United Nations.

It is necessary for the rest of the world, and particularly the United States and Europe, to live up to the principles of universality and democracy on which the United Nations

were founded, to accept Taiwan as a full and equal partner, and recognize it under the heading of a new and realistic “One Taiwan, One China” policy.

End the Chinese Civil War, and accept peaceful coexistence

This new policy would not alter international recognition of the authorities in Beijing as the government of the Chinese mainland, but would specifically state that according to the basic principles agreed upon in the context of the United Nations, it is up to the Taiwanese people themselves to determine their own future. It is up to the international community to guarantee that this is done freely, without any coercion by China.

Peaceful coexistence between Taiwan and China is good for both. It will also be beneficial for the East Asia region as a whole. Any “unification” of Taiwan and China would be disastrous for Taiwan and for China, because it can only come under force.

China would do well to accept Taiwan as a friendly neighbor, instead of perpetuating an old and anachronistic Chinese Civil War. The Taiwanese themselves didn’t have anything to do with that Civil War and their future should not be held hostage to it.

The US stands for Freedom and Democracyunless it offends a neighborhood bully

by Paul Simon

Paul Simon is a former Democratic Senator from Illinois. He originally contributed this article to IntellectualCapital.com. Reprinted with permission.

Persona non grata. The vice-president and premier of a place where there is a multi-party system, free elections and a vibrant economy is being denied the right to enter the United States to attend meetings of the governing board of the University of Chicago, from which he graduated. Has he committed some criminal act to prevent him from visiting the United States ? No.

What has he done wrong ? His “mistake” is that he participated in the free elections in Taiwan and the official policy of the United States is to turn a semi-cold shoulder to Taiwan. To add to the irony, he recently returned from a visit to Nicaragua, Rome (the Holy See) and Ireland. He has also paid courtesy stops in other nations.

Don’t ask. There is, as one Taiwanese official put it to me, “a quiet understanding” with the State Department that Taiwan will not ask permission for him to visit the University of Chicago, to save the United States the embarrassment of turning him down.

Why do we have this strange policy ? So that we will not ruffle the feathers of China. Despite the fact that China is heavily dependent on the United States in trade, when the Chinese dragon growls, the United States quakes. China has a huge trade surplus with the United States, the largest of any nation. We buy much more from them than they do from us. Yet our foreign policy appears to be premised on our heavy dependence on them, rather than the other way around.



Paul Simon

I do not join those who want to cut off, or discourage, trade with China. While there is a huge inconsistency with our tough trade embargo with Cuba and our groveling attitude toward China, both of whom have bad human rights records, trade and cultural exchanges are more likely to change China (and, for that matter, Cuba) than is isolation.

But our attitude and actions should be more forthright and consistent.

Which side are we on ? China should understand that when we compare the repression of speech in China, to genuinely open discourse in Taiwan, the United States favors freedom; when we compare religious persecution in China with freedom of religion in Taiwan, the United States supports giving people their free choice; when this country compares the rigidly-controlled media of China with the diversity of published and broadcast expression in Taiwan, we are on the side of a free press.

However, our policy mutes that message. The United States officially recognizes governments with less than 100,000 people, but Taiwan, one of our major trading partners, with 21 million people and more currency reserves than any nation other than Japan, has to tolerate an unofficial behind-the-door relationship with us, lest we offend China.

Realpolitik and human rights, then and now. In his State of the Union message, President Clinton noted with pleasure that in this hemisphere there remains only one dictatorship. What he did not say is that much of the credit for that goes to President Jimmy Carter for his straight-forward and consistent talk about human rights, even when some “sophisticated” people in the diplomatic community derided him for it.

When Germany consisted of a government in the West and another in the East, we recognized the reality that there were two governments. While neither Germany appreciated our recognition of the other Germany, we had a policy based on reality, not illusion, and everyone understood our tilt toward the free government of West Germany rather than to the dictatorship of East Germany. And recognition of the two governments did not prevent them from eventually merging peacefully.

Today’s reality is that there are two countries, the People’s Republic of China and Taiwan. When the Soviet Union constituted our greatest threat, we tilted toward China, to keep them from a close relationship with the Soviets.

The world has changed since then, but our policy has not. It is true that when China started sending missiles close to Taiwan, immediately prior to that island’s last election, the United States sent two aircraft carriers to the straits that separate the two powers. I applauded that action.

Time for a new standard. Our position needs to be articulated more clearly and combined with greater consistency on human rights. We should:

1. Make clear to China that armed action against Taiwan would be met with air and sea resistance from the community of nations. We hope China and Taiwan will settle their differences, but it should not be by force.
2. Maintain trade and cultural relations with China, but not turn a cold shoulder to Taiwan. If Taiwan’s President Lee wants to visit the United States, he should be welcome to do so. If Vice President Lien Chan wants to attend a board meeting of the University of Chicago, he can.

To announce that we will welcome China’s president and dictator when he comes (and I do not oppose that) but treat Taiwanese officials who are freely elected in a less generous way, sends a message to the world that the United States stands for freedom and democracy — unless it offends a neighborhood bully.

I favor dialogue with the bully, and trade, but not supine acquiescence.

The China-connection

Chinese buying influence in Washington

On 13 February 1997, the **Washington Post** published an article by its reporters Bob Woodward (of Watergate-fame) and Brian Duffy, titled “Chinese embassy role in fund-raising probed.” In the article, the writers gave a detailed report on how, during the 1996 Presidential and Congressional election campaign, the Chinese government through its embassy in Washington DC attempted to channel funds to the Democratic National Committee (“*Chinese Embassy role in fund-raising probed*”, 13 February 1997).

Central figures in the scheme were John Huang, the former Commerce Department official, whose connections to the Indonesian/Chinese Lippo Group and to China itself caused the Clinton Campaign a great deal of anxiety in the Fall of 1996, and Charles Yan Lin Trie, the Arkansas restaurant owner, who brought a high Chinese arms merchant to the White House in 1996.

During his 18 months at the Commerce Department, Mr. Huang received 37 intelligence briefings on issues relating to China. There are strong indications he briefed Chinese officials on US negotiating positions. Mr. Huang also clearly used his position and influence to try to reduce contacts and activities relating to Taiwan. In an internal Commerce Department memo dated January 27th, 1995, Mr. Huang wrote: “*anything we need to delay program with Taiwan (sic), we should do it (to protect what we have accomplished so far with China).*”

On 28 February 1997, the same two Post reporters, Woodward and Duffy, wrote that the Federal Bureau of Investigation was investigating whether representatives of the PRC also attempted to buy influence in Congress (“*FBI probes China-linked contributions*”, **Washington Post**, 28 February 1997).

Then, on 9 March 1997, the Washington Post reported that in the middle of 1996, the FBI had forewarned six members of Congress, including Senator Dianne Feinstein of California, that they had been targeted by China to receive illegal campaign contributions through foreign corporations. The plan reportedly involved spending nearly US\$ 2 million to buy influence not only in Congress, but also within the Clinton Administration (“*FBI warned six on Hill about China money*”, **Washington Post**, 9 March 1997).

The episode produced an embarrassing flap for the Clinton White House: in mid-1996, the FBI had also informed two middle-level National Security officials about the Chinese influence-buying attempts in Congress. However, the NSC officials didn't relay the information to their superiors, so Mr. Clinton and NSC-director Anthony Lake were not aware of it at that time. The matter contributed to Mr. Lake's withdrawal of his nomination for CIA Director.

In the beginning of April, the newsmedia unearthed further evidence of Mr. Charles Trie's connections to China: Wall Street Journal and the Associated Press reports indicated that Mr. Trie received large sums of money in wire transfers of \$ 50 or \$100 thousand from China through the Bank of China's New York Office. The bank is owned and operated by the Chinese government (*"Key Democratic fund-raiser got funds from Bank of China"*, **Wall Street Journal**, 1 April 1997, and *"DNC funds linked to China"*, **Associated Press**, 1 April 1997).

Business as usual ?

According to several recent newspaper articles, the Chinese actually don't have to buy influence in Washington at all: U.S. business organizations are doing it for them !!

In an article on 23 March 1997, the **Associated Press / Dow Jones News Service** described how major companies and famous names (see article below), combined to put pressure on Congress and the Administration on a range of China-related issues, from granting permanent MFN-status to China's admission into the World Trade organization (*"China's best US lobbyists are US companies"*, 23 March 1997).

Another article, this time in the Washington Post, describes how some 1,000 multinational corporations and trade associations have set up a "Business Coalition for US-China Trade", which plans to visit every member of the House and Senate to push for expanding trade with China. The group even intends to push for an end to restrictions on the export of certain high-tech "dual use" products to China (*"US companies lobby for more China trade"*, **Washington Post**, 18 March 1997).

Taiwan Communiqué comment: *In their lobbying and in their position papers, the companies which are so eager to trade with China either do not mention human rights, China's repression in Tibet, or its virulent aggression against Taiwan, or attempt to downplay them.*

These issues are treated as “minor irritants”, which preferably should go away as soon as possible, so as not to disturb the profit margins, which the companies hope to reap in their trade with China.

These companies and CEO’s should realize that a China which doesn’t abide by a number of basic international rules and standards — such as human rights and respect for neighboring countries — will in the end also have little respect for the rights of companies trying to make money.

*This point was made quite clearly in an excellent article by Thomas L. Friedman (“Wake up business: you too need rule of law in China”, **International Herald Tribune**, 11 March 1997). Mr. Friedman wrote that there is already a sour mood in Congress that in the last few years, the US has “...so cravenly put profit ahead of principle with China...” Mr. Friedman suggests that the business community starts taking ... initiative to bridge the huge gap between the business community and the human rights community — rather than always widen the gap.”*

We wholeheartedly agree.

Kissinger, Haig and Co.: profitable links to China

During the past few weeks, considerable evidence also surfaced in Washington that a number of former and present US government officials are benefiting greatly from dealing with China.

The first major source was the newly published book “***The coming conflict with China***” by former bureau chiefs Richard Bernstein and Ross Munro. In an extensive exposé in chapter 4, titled “The New China Lobby”, they describe how Messrs. Kissinger, Eagleburger, Scowcroft, Cyrus Vance, Alexander Haig and other former high-level officials influence US policy towards China — often at the expense of a democratic Taiwan — and get paid large amounts of money to “advise” corporate clients interested in doing business in China. On page 16 of this ***Taiwan Communiqué*** we will further discuss this new book.

Another extensive exposé was published in the **Washington Times** on 25 March 1997. It was titled “*Famous names well paid to support China*” and again mentioned Messrs. Kissinger and Haig as key figures in the lobbying campaign to seek expanded U.S.-China relations.

The article stated: *“Both former Cabinet secretaries have received lucrative fees as deal-makers for business-clients with ventures in China, and both have a large financial stake in expanding U.S.-China trade relations...”*

However, according to the article, the two are not registered with the Justice Department as foreign agents, and the multi-million dollar business campaign to retain China’s MFN-status and gain its entry into the WTO “...strains the limits of the lobbying disclosure law and possibly violates the Foreign Agents Registration Act.”

The article mentions the \$26 billion American International Group, Boeing, Motorola, General Motors, General Electric and IBM as major organizers and backers of the multi-million-dollar lobbying campaign by the newly-formed “Coalition for U.S.-Trade.”

The article also mentions that Mr. Haig is “honorary senior adviser” to China’s government-controlled maritime operation, COSCO, the shipping corporation which, in a shady deal (see article on page 13), was intended to take over the closed U.S. naval facilities in Long Beach, California.

The article mentions that six major corporate backers also simultaneously launched a separate US\$ 750,000-a-year public relations campaign to boost China’s image through the Internet, schools and community organizations. The campaign is being set up by Washington-based Edelman Public Relations Worldwide.

Finally, the Washington Times article lists a number of large campaign donations by law firms hired to represent Beijing and Chinese companies to the campaigns of key people in the U.S. Congress.

Feinstein and Bennett Johnston: China’s voices in Congress

Voicing support for China and benefiting from business deals with China is not limited to big business and former government officials. It also occurs in the US Congress: two persons stand out in this respect: former Senator J. Bennett Johnston (LA) and present California Senator Dianne Feinstein.

Mr. Johnston stood out in 1995 as the only senator voting against the resolution to allow Taiwan President Lee Teng-hui to enter the US to attend a reunion at his alma mater, Cornell University.

It now becomes clear why: in the book “The coming conflict with China” writers Bernstein and Munro report that Mr. Johnston’s two sons have extensive business deals with China. One, Hunter Johnston, is a consultant for Entergy Corp. as well as General Atomics, which wants to export nuclear power plant equipment to China. When the Louisiana Democrat, who was chairman of the Senate Energy Committee, went to China for a visit, he took his two sons with him, so they could conduct business deals.

Mr. Johnston also wrote to his colleagues on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and asked them to muffle their support for Chinese-occupied Tibet. He offered his colleagues to arrange meetings with the Chinese ambassador in DC. Congressional staffers often referred to Johnston as the “appointment secretary” for the ambassador.

Another outspoken China-propagandist in the Senate is Dianne Feinstein. To her colleagues and Senate staffers she is known for her long, haranguing monologues, explaining her close ties with Jiang Zemin — dating from the days she was mayor of San Francisco — and the rosy perspective for U.S.-China relations, and a strong support for China’s MFN-status. In doing this, she totally whitewashes China’s repression in Tibet and the lack of human rights in China itself, as well as China’s military threats and missiles campaigns against a free and democratic Taiwan.

Mrs. Feinstein’s political positioning is also linked to financial benefits and profits from China trade: her husband is San Francisco investment banker Richard C. Blum, who in 1994 set up a US\$ 150 million fund, named Newbridge Capital, to invest in companies in China. According to a 24 June 1994 article in the **San Francisco Business Times**, Mr. Blum was recruiting Chinese-Americans in San Francisco to form operational teams to watch over the funds’ investments in China.

The article noted that besides Mr. Blum own (existing) investments in China — which are reported by the San Francisco Chronicle to run between US\$ 2 and 3 million— , “...he has long-established contacts dating back to trade missions he took with his wife, then-Mayor Dianne Feinstein, in the late 1970s.

At the end of March 1997, several California newspapers published articles on the conflict of interest between Mrs. Feinstein’s outspoken positions on relations with China and her husband’s business dealings. On 28 March 1997, the **Los Angeles Times** published an article titled “*Feinstein, husband hold strong China connections,*” while on 1 April 1997, the **San Francisco Chronicle** published an article, titled “*Blum factor is a real one for Feinstein.*”

In the article, San Francisco Chronicle writer Debra Saunders wrote about Mr. Blum's attempt to whitewash the conflict of interest by saying that his donations to the American Himalayan Foundation "...remove any perception that I, in any way ... benefit from or influence my wife's position as a U.S. Senator."

Ms. Saunders rightly stated: "Sorry, it doesn't work that way. It would be amazingly naïve to believe that being the husband of the U.S. Senator most friendly to China has no effect on Blum's business dealing in China."

The Long Beach Naval Station caper

On 8 March 1997, **Associated Press / Dow Jones News Service** reported in an investigative article that the historic Naval Base at Long Beach, California was about to be leased to the Chinese government-controlled shipping company COSCO (China Ocean Shipping Co.) for ten years at US\$ 14.5 million a year.

The deal is amazing, because the city of Long Beach is going to pay some \$200 million to prepare the base, and also contribute \$ 200,000 for the Chinese shipping company's moving costs. According to the article, the base is valued by the City at \$65 million, but preservationist groups estimate its value at some \$ 300 million.

The article detailed how Mr. Clinton's White House in 1995 and 1996 pushed to turn the Navy Base over to the Chinese firm. One of the key figures in the deal was Johnny Chung, a shady Chinese-American businessman, who last year gave \$366,000 to the Democratic National Committee. The money was later returned on suspicion it illegally came from foreign sources. Last year, Chung brought six Chinese officials to the White House to watch Clinton make his weekly radio address. One of the six was an advisor to Cosco.

The AP / Dow Jones report details how COSCO was involved in a number of shady activities, including the scheme to smuggle some 2,000 AK-47 rifles into the United States, with the purpose of selling them to streetgangs in Los Angeles and San Francisco (see our ***Taiwan Communiqué*** no. 71, June 1996, pp. 18-19).

In 1993, a COSCO ship was stopped by U.S. Navy ships in the Persian Gulf after U.S. intelligence warned it might be carrying chemical weapons materials.

During the past year, COSCO ship were repeatedly detained for violating international safety regulations, and the US Coast Guard has put the company on a target list of

shippers to monitor. It was also a COSCO ship which hit a crowded boardwalk in New Orleans in December 1996, injuring 116 people.

The **New York Times** (“*Senators ask for inquiry on leasing of California base to Chinese*”, 13 March 1997) quoted U.S. federal officials as saying that COSCO ships are frequently the subject of surveillance, not only because of the weapons incident last year, but also because of concerns that China is evading export quotas on textiles and that its ships have been used to bring “all kinds of contraband” into the US.

According to the **Wall Street Journal** (“*Blum Associate’s link to China hinders plan to convert base*”, WSJ, 26 March 1997) Mr. Peter Kwok, a director of Dianne Feinstein husband’s Newbridge Capital investment company (see above), is an advisor to COSCO’s Hong Kong operation.

On 20 March 1997, several members of Congress, led by California Congressmen Hunter, Cunningham and Bono introduced legislation in the US House of Representatives prohibiting the transfer of the Long Beach Naval Station to foreign-owned shipping companies.

Deng Xiaoping, a mixed legacy

Responsible for Tienanmen crackdown

The death of Deng Xiaoping, on 19 February 1997, prompted a torrent of commentaries in the international press on Deng’s legacy.

While some credited him for his economic opening of China to the international community, most recalled his role in the continued repression and lack of political freedoms in China, and particularly the crackdown on the students democratic movement in the 1989 Tienanmen Incident.

The most gripping commentary was published on 25 February 1997 in the **New York Times** in an article by A.M. Rosenthal, titled “*But he was a killer.*” A few quotes:

“It was Deng who ordered the shooting of the students in Tienanmen Square in 1989. It was he who ordered more police terrorism to make sure

everybody understood. More dissidents died under prison torture or by execution.

By then he had long experience. Throughout his regime the hideous brutalities of the laogai, the Chinese gulag, had killed thousands of prisoners and everlastingly marked with pain the lives of millions.

He ordered and guided a massacre of a nation and people. He directed the occupation of Tibet in 1949 and the slaughter of its people and civilization, continuing today. So murderously did he hammer Tibet's society and Buddhist religion than even Mao Zedong, then his chief, asked him to go easier, for a bit. He did not."

Mr. Rosenthal also quotes from an open letter from Wei Jingsheng, China's most famous political prisoner, to Deng Xiaoping: "The orchestrator of this tragedy (Tibet) is not other than you, Deng Xiaoping." The letter earned Mr. Wei 14 more years in prison.

Perpetuated Chinese Civil War

With regard to his role in shaping China's relations with Taiwan, Mr. Deng's legacy is also dismal: he continued the anachronistic confrontational approach stemming from the Communists' Civil War against Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalists on the mainland. He tried to sugarcoat this by offering Taiwan the same "One Country, Two system" fallacy as China was offering Hong Kong.

Mr. Deng was apparently never able to distinguish between the old repressive Kuomintang regime and the present new and democratic Taiwan. If anything, the rise in democracy in Taiwan scares the Beijing regime, because they are afraid it will present an example to the people in China.

Perhaps Mr. Deng's passing opens a new opportunity for his present successors to discard the old "unification" fallacy, and move towards peaceful coexistence and acceptance of Taiwan as a friendly neighbor, in the same way Russia has recognized the Baltic States as small and friendly neighbors.

“The coming conflict with China”

In March 1997, an excellent new book was published on U.S.-China relations. It is titled “The coming conflict with China” and written by Richard Bernstein and Ross H. Munro, two former correspondents who served as bureau chiefs in Beijing and Asia for Time Magazine, the New York Times, and the Toronto Globe and Mail.

“America is the enemy”

The writers examines how, in spite of U.S. and West European attempts to open an “engagement policy” with China, during the past years China has increasingly portrayed the West, and particularly the United States, as “the enemy.”

The book describes in detail the Chinese military buildup of naval, air and amphibious forces, which are not only targeted against Taiwan, but will enable China “...to seize and hold almost the entire South China Sea, now divided among Vietnam, Malaysia, Brunei, and the Philippines. Few Americans realize that China’s stated goal is to occupy islands and outcroppings so far to the South that Chinese forces would be almost in sight of Singapore and Indonesia.”

The book documents what the writers see as a fundamental change in attitude by Chinese leaders towards the United States during the past couple of years. They show that China has determined that the United States “...in spite of the diplomatic contacts, trade, technology transfers, and the numerous McDonald’s and Kentucky Fried Chickens open in the PRC...” is its chief global rival.



The new China lobby

The book also describes in detail how a “New China Lobby” has evolved in Washington, powered by former Secretaries of State Henry Kissinger and Alexander Haig, and funded by major business interests such as Boeing, Motorola, Allied Signal, Caterpil-

lar, GM and Ford. The book even gives dollar amounts of what Messrs. Eagleburger and Scowcroft receive from Kissinger Associates for their work.

The lobby includes Kissinger Associates, the US-China Business Council, the Emergency Committee for American Trade, the US Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Retailers, and the National Association of Manufacturers.

One example of how the lobby works: when U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher went to Beijing in 1994 to urge the Communist authorities to improve China's human rights record, he was rebuffed. According to Senator Ernest Hollings, this was because "Before you (Christopher) even landed in Beijing, the K-Street crowd of lawyers, consultants and special reps told the Chinese" "Don't worry about him."

Another example: just before the annual MFN vote in the Spring of 1996, Alexander Haig called California Congressman Christopher Cox and berated him, accusing him of "trying to destroy U.S.-China relations." What had Cox done? In March 1996, during the Chinese missile crisis, when China was threatening Taiwan, he had introduced a resolution in Congress which was instrumental in the US-decision to send two aircraft carrier task forces to the Taiwan Straits to prevent an attack on Taiwan.

"Flashpoint Taiwan"

A major part of the book is the discussion of the problems in the Taiwan - China relationship. The authors argue for stronger US support for Taiwan, and state that an American commitment for the defense of the island is necessary for the balance of power and peace and stability in East Asia: "...without American commitment to intervene in a Taiwan-China conflict, there would be very little standing in the way of Chinese domination of all of East Asia, and this fact is well understood from Australia to Tokyo."

In an interesting hypothetical chapter, the authors describe how a conflict could evolve in which in 2004, China is itself in some domestic turmoil. It has secretly developed three times as many submarines, landing craft, and warships as the world believes, giving it the arsenal necessary for an operation taking Taiwan in three days.

A provoked incident in Taipei is taken as an excuse by the Chinese authorities to launch a blockade and later the attack itself. The book then describes the hypothetical discussions in the White House about the American options, which by that time are rather limited. The main point of the authors is that at present the United States government continues to be naïve about China's long-range interests and goals.

The book concludes with a chapter “Coping with China” in which the authors give suggestions for a clearer, more forthright US policy towards China. Highly recommended reading.

* * * * *

China continues trampling human rights

Killing Uighurs in East Turkestan

China’s repressive nature came to the fore again in the beginning of February 1997, when -- according to a report by Uighur expatriates in the US -- Chinese police and armored troops killed some 400 people, including women and children, in the East Turkestan town of Yining.

On 5 and 6 of February 1997, there were major demonstrations in the town to demand the release of people who were detained in a mass arrest during the previous days. On the first day, the police first used high pressure water hoses and tear gas to disperse the crowds. However, since the temperatures were far below freezing, many people froze to death. The police then started shooting. In total, some 240 people died the first day.

On the second day, the Chinese received reinforcements from troops, an army combat corps numbering some 30,000 men from Gansu, and another 160 people were killed in machine gun fire from both helicopter gunships and the ground.

The first victim of a Chinese-fired bullet was a 8 year-old Uighur girl named Fatima who came to demand the release of her father. A pregnant lady named Gulzira, who came for her husband, was also shot to death. One family from Juliza (a district 15 miles from Yining) had six members killed at the same day in Yining massacre.

The Chinese authorities have imposed a “Three-No” policy: “no questioning, no telling, no visiting”. Nobody is allowed to question the events in Yining, nobody is allowed to tell outsiders the true story, and nobody is allowed to visit relatives who were jailed in Yining massacre.

Several thousand wounded and imprisoned people are still held in a prison camp. The Chinese police and military are still arresting people on the streets. Particularly suspicious are men with a mustache: among the Uighurs, growing a mustache has become a symbol of resistance against the Chinese.

Extensive report of the events in East Turkestan were also published in the **New York Times** (“*In West China, tension with ethnic muslims erupts*,” 28 February 1997) and in the **Far Eastern Economic Review** (“*Uighur Fire*”, 27 February 1997).

Commemorating 38 years of repression in Tibet

March 10th 1997 marked the 38th commemoration of the 1959 Tibetan uprising against the Chinese repression, and the subsequent Chinese crackdown. As is reported extensively by groups such as the Washington-based **International Campaign for Tibet**, the Chinese authorities are continuing their repression, arrest of people — in particular Buddhist monks — and their attempts to obliterate the Tibetan language and culture.

The event was marked by a commemorative protest rally in front of the Chinese embassy in Washington DC. For further information about the Tibetan activities, please visit the Homepage of the International Campaign for Tibet at <http://www.peacenet.org/ict>

Peoples’ Congress decimates Hong Kong Freedoms

In our previous Taiwan Communiqué, we reported on the measures taken by China to strangle freedoms in Hong Kong (*Communiqué* no. 74, pp. 17-19). One of the measures was the repeal of civil liberty legislation by China’s handpicked “Interim Legislature” and the Beijing-appointed “Preparatory Committee.”

A few weeks later, on the weekend of 23 February 1997, China’s legislature, the “Peoples’ Congress”, voted to strike down 14 civil liberty laws in their entirety and portions of 10 other laws. It also decided that Hong Kong’s Bill of Rights, which guarantees freedom of speech and assembly and other civil liberties, would “... no longer have supremacy over other laws.”

The scrapping of the civil liberty legislation has been strongly criticized in Hong Kong. The **Wall Street Journal** quoted a civil servant saying that U.S. pressure is vital if the “one-country, two systems” is going to work (“*What Gore might have learned in Hong Kong*,” 28 March 1997).

In another report, the **New York Times** quoted Ms. Anson Chan, the highest-ranking civil servant in the territory as saying that “...the decision by ... Beijing ... to return to Draconian colonial laws governing the freedom of assembly and the right of associa-

tion has created doubts abroad about China's commitment to Hong Kong's way of life." She added: "The plans to revoke existing laws sent an extremely negative signal ... and there is clearly concern about whether human rights will be protected after 1997."

The UN Human Rights resolution in Geneva

The fourth instance of China's continued reluctance to respect internationally accepted human rights came as it maneuvered to have the annual resolution criticizing China for its human rights violations defeated.

Ever since the Tienanmen massacre of 1989, the European Union Nations and the US have sponsored such a resolution at the annual UN Human Rights Commission in Geneva, but time and again, China was able to block adoption of the resolution through pressure on Third World nations.

This year, China was also able to cause a crack in the West European front: France announced on 28 March 1997, that it would not support the resolution. China has been dangling a large aircraft order in front of Mr. Jacques Chirac's nose, and he hopes to have the order signed when he visits Beijing in May 1997.

Taiwan Communiqué comment: *China has mastered the game of playing the US and Europe out against each other. The Airbus and Boeing stories are clear examples of how China manipulates the US and Europe. When will we ever learn?*

Dalai Lama welcomed to Taiwan

Bringing Tibet and Taiwan closer together

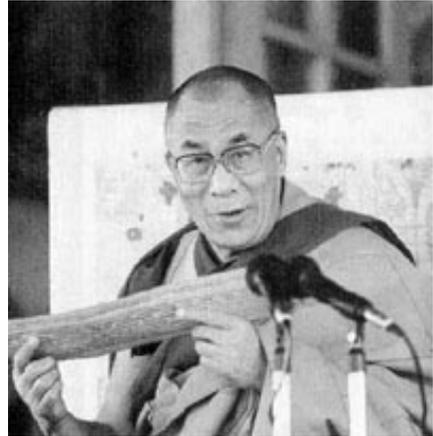
On Saturday 22 March 1997, His Holiness the Dalai Lama arrived in the southern port-city of Kaohsiung and received a tumultuous welcome by thousands of Taiwanese.

Although the visit was officially announced to be religious in nature, it has major political significance, since it brings Tibetans and Taiwanese together, and will strengthen the bonds and understanding of each other's cause.

This was abundantly clear on Saturday, March 22nd, when the Dalai Lama was welcomed in Kaohsiung by a sea of Tibet's snow-lion flags and by signs endorsing independence for both Taiwan and Tibet. One sign read: "By saying no to China, the Dalai Lama is a shining example for Lee Teng-hui" — a subtle hint to President Lee, who has until now been hesitant to endorse Taiwan's independence.

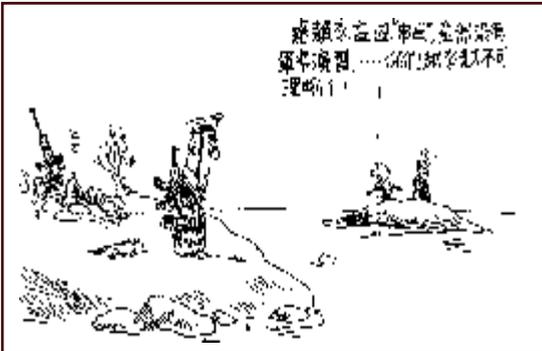
His visit turned even more political when he met with a delegation from the opposition Democratic Progressive Party, which advocates independence for Taiwan and an end to the KMT authorities' "one China" policy.

He also met with the Vice President and Premier, Lien Chan in a hotel, and on March 27th, his final day of visit, he met with President Lee Teng-hui in the Foreign Ministry's Guest House. The Dalai Lama regrettably canceled a planned speech to the democratically-elected Legislative Yuan. At the end of the visit, it was announced that the Tibetan government-in-exile would set up a representative office in Taipei.



The Dalai Lama in Taiwan

In its usual heavy-handed language, the Communist regime in Beijing denounced the visit as being "a splittist collusion" by the Dalai Lama and Lee Teng-hui to "split the motherland."



Taiwanese to Chinese soldier: "The Dalai Lama is here, 'colluding' with us. How come you don't have any military exercises..."

The visit also drew attention to the Kuomintang's outdated claim that it still holds sovereignty over Tibet. The KMT authorities still maintain a Tibetan and Mongolian Affairs Commission, which presumably makes decisions regarding those two countries. The democratic opposition of the DPP and Taiwan Independence Party have called on the Kuomintang authorities to give up the pretense of sovereignty

over Tibet and to abolish the Tibetan and Mongolian Affairs Commission.

The Kuomintang's anachronistic claim was exemplified again when the chairman of the KMT's Mainland Affairs Council, Mr. Chang Ching-yu, referred to the Dalai Lama as "an overseas Chinese." The Taiwan Independence Party immediately lodged a strong protest against this derogatory remark and called for Mr. Chang's resignation.

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Annette Lü elected Taoyuan County Magistrate

On 15 March 1997, by-elections were held in Taoyuan County to fill the seat of the County magistrate, which became vacant last Fall when the KMT Magistrate, who was reported to have connections in the underworld, was killed in a gangster attack on his home. The authorities have not been able to solve the murder.

The election was won overwhelmingly by Ms. (Annette) Lü Hsiu-lien, who captured 55% of the votes against 36% for her KMT opponent. Taoyuan county, a heavily industrialized area, is the second most populated county in Taiwan with 1.2 million people.

Ms. Lü is a former political prisoner, who was arrested and imprisoned in December 1979 for advocating a free, democratic and independent Taiwan during the Human Rights Day commemoration which turned into the "Kaohsiung Incident."

After her release from prison in March 1985, Ms. Lü first went to the US for graduate studies at Harvard, but in 1992 returned to Taiwan to become active again in the democratic opposition of



Annette Lü Hsiu-lien

the DPP, and ran successfully for a seat in the Legislative Yuan in December 1992.

During the past years she was one of the leaders of the "Taiwan into the UN" campaign and was also an outspoken advocate of women's rights in Taiwan and around the world. In the 1970s, she pioneered the women's rights movement in Taiwan.

According to a report by Associated Press, Ms. Lü's election means that more than half the island's population is now governed by opposition county magistrates or mayors: the capital Taipei has a DPP-mayor, Mr. Chen Shui-bian, and seven of the 23 counties now have a DPP magistrate. Together, these eight DPP-governed constituencies account for 50.16% of Taiwan's population.

A new Taiwan Internet Homepage

At the end of March 1997, the "Taiwan, Ilha Formosa" homepage moved from its Compuserve home to a new site. Its new URL-address is:

<http://www.taiwandc.org>

The site is titled "The Homepage for Taiwan's History, Present, and Future" and carries extensive information about Taiwan's 400 years' history, culture and folklore, present political developments in and around the island, and its future as a free, democratic, and independent member of the international family of nations. Come for a visit.
