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No to the “three noes”

Let the world say “yes” to Taiwan

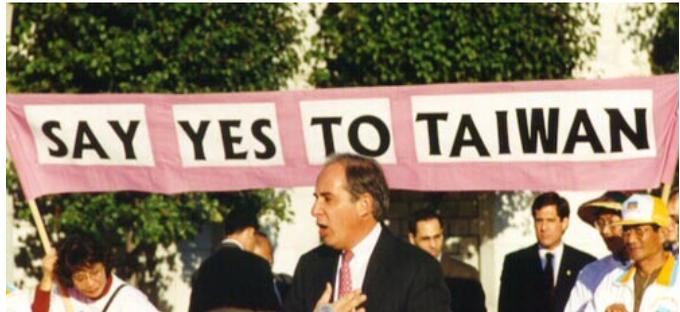
As Mr. Clinton’s visit to Beijing is getting closer, the U.S. press and Congress have focused attention on the new scandals in which Mr. Clinton finds himself embroiled, such as donations originating in the Chinese Army, export waivers for Loral satellites to China in exchange for campaign donations, and the leakage of sensitive space technology to the Chinese military.

There is one issue which is receiving less attention, but which Taiwanese and Taiwanese-Americans consider vital: the safety and security of our homeland Taiwan, and its future as a free and independent nation. We are therefore deeply concerned by Mr. Clinton’s apparent acquiescence in the so-called “three noes”.

We wish to state clearly that any reiteration — oral or written — or even any acknowledgement of the “three noes” by the Clinton Administration ***amounts to a betrayal of Taiwan and its future as a free, democratic and independent nation.*** It

would embolden China to move even more aggressively in isolating Taiwan, and would limit Taiwan’s options in future negotiations.

It should be crystal clear to Mr. Clinton that the “three noes” are a violation of the



Senator Torricelli with a message for the White House

basic principles of democracy and self-determination, for which the U.S. should stand, and which are enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. Mr. Clinton, you cannot play footsies with our future as a full and equal member of the international community.

Mr. Clinton, it is of the utmost importance that during your visit to Beijing, you should:

1. state that the differences between China and Taiwan be **resolved in a peaceful manner**, and that China should **renounce the use of force**,
2. express your full support for the right of the people of Taiwan to **determine their own future under the principle of self-determination** as enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations,
3. **disassociate** yourself clearly and unambiguously from **the three noes**.

A new “three no” understanding ?

In their present form the “three noes” were mentioned for the first time by State Department spokesman **James Rubin** at the end of Jiang Zemin’s visit of October 1997. At an October 31st press briefing he stated that “... *we have a one-China policy that we don’t support a one-China, one-Taiwan policy. We don’t support a two-China policy. We don’t support Taiwan independence, and we don’t support Taiwanese membership in organizations that require you to be a member state (sic).*”

This statement goes much further than anything stated earlier by U.S. administrations. The basic position has always been to say that the U.S. recognizes the government in Beijing as the legitimate government of China, and acknowledges (= take note of, but not agree with or recognize) the Chinese claims that Taiwan is part of China. In 1978, the U.S. derecognized the Kuomintang regime because it continued to claim sovereignty over China, but there has not been any policy debate yet about recognizing Taiwan as a free and democratic nation.

Over the past months, it has gradually dawned on the Chinese that the Rubin statement provided them with an opening for a “new understanding”, and they have been pushing hard to get the Administration to formally codify this understanding.

While during recent hearings in the Senate (14 May 1998) and the House (20 May 1998), U.S. officials attempted to assure Congress that improvement of relations with Beijing would not be at the expense of Taiwan, Chinese officials were at the same time announcing that they had a “new understanding” with the US regarding Taiwan. Press

reports to this effect were appearing in mid-May 1998 in the **South China Morning Post** and **AFP** from Beijing.

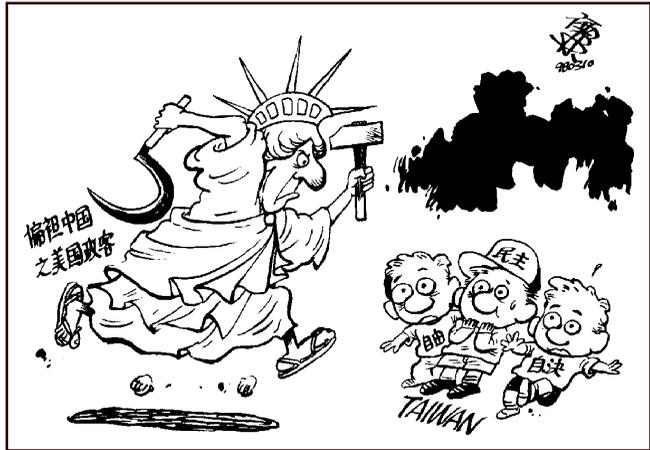
During abovementioned Congressional hearings, all witnesses (Professor Arthur Waldron in the Senate hearing, and former U.S. Ambassadors Nat Bellocchi and Jim Lilley in the House hearing) voiced opposition against the three noes (see *Report from Washington*, page 16).

It is thus imperative that the Clinton administration distance itself from Mr. Rubin's statement and start following a policy which is in line with the basic principles for which the U.S. professes to stand. Any deviation from these principles for the sake of dubious economic or commercial gain is unacceptable, both to the people of Taiwan who have worked long and hard

to gain democracy, and to the American people who hold these principles high. A recent opinion poll (see page 7) reinforces this position.

As was stated in a recent op-ed article in the *Washington Post*: "President Clinton must make clear to Beijing that Taiwan's status and its relationship with the mainland will be determined by the Taiwanese in accordance with the principles set forth in the Taiwan Relations Act and the United Nations Charter — freely and peacefully" (Joseph Bosco: "*Time to be clear on Taiwan*", *Washington Post*, May 26th 1998).

In any case, the three US-China communiqués or any other statement between the United States and China are of little relevance to Taiwan. They are made without any involvement or representation of the people of Taiwan, and thus have no validity whatsoever in determining the future of the island, which should be decided by the people of the island themselves.



The US on its way to Beijing, leaving Taiwan's *freedom, democracy, and self-determination* trio by the wayside.

Remind the Chinese of the Shanghai Communiqué

Recently, we were just browsing the Internet, and on the website of the American Institute in Taiwan (AIT) found the text of the Shanghai Communiqué. Being curious whether it said anything about Taiwan independence, we searched and found the following section:

“The Chinese side stated: Wherever there is oppression, there is resistance. Countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution — this has become the irresistible trend of history. All nations, big or small, should be equal big nations should not bully the small and strong nations should not bully the weak.

China will never be a superpower and it opposes hegemony and power politics of any kind. The Chinese side stated that it firmly supports the struggles of all the oppressed people and nations for freedom and liberation and that the people of all countries have the right to choose their social systems according to their own wishes and the right to safeguard the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of their own countries and oppose foreign aggression, interference, control and subversion.”

Maybe somebody can remind the Chinese that they themselves have stated that

“...All nations, big or small should be equal...”

“...big nations should not bully the small and strong nations should not bully the weak...”

and last but not least:

“...the people of all countries have the right to choose their social systems according to their own wishes and the right to safeguard their independence...”

For the Taiwanese people these words ring very true especially since they apply so well to Taiwan.

A reminder to President Clinton: “It’s national security, stupid!”

By Michael Frank, *Nuclear Engineering, UC Berkeley. Mr. Frank is a former national security policy analyst.*

First India explodes a nuclear device, and now Pakistan. President Clinton “can’t believe” it’s happening, this bewildering step backward for disarmament and, most assuredly, this slap in the face of (supposed) U.S. world leadership.

Well, believe it or not, Mr. President: It’s your fault, and the reasons are clear as day.

Simply stated, the Clinton administration’s willingness to bow to China has incited the South Asian nuclear crisis. The abdication of US leadership in the region - under the guise of “engagement” - has been an implicit signal for China to exert its domineering communist aggression on multiple fronts.

Why should India (or Japan or Taiwan or Korea, for that matter) feel secure when the U.S. seems to reward bolder and bolder Sino expansionism? Who can blame these countries for covering their own backs in the absence of a check on the new Chinese regional hegemon? Mr. Clinton may try, with his high-horse rhetoric, but it just rings hollow.

Listen to what Indian representatives are saying when they talk about their nation’s need to test nuclear weapons. China, not Pakistan, is the predominant issue. The last major war India lost was with China, under Nehru’s leadership. China, to this day, makes militaristic claims to millions of square miles of Indian land. China has invaded and brutalized Tibet. It has armed Pakistan. Why would China arm Pakistan? The reason, from the regional point of view, is clear - to further threaten and weaken India.

Consider the region in general. China felt so unconstrained in light of U.S. kowtowing that they found it appropriate to fire missiles at Taiwan in response to the island’s first-ever democratic election for president, an act of shameless political thuggery. China continues to make claims on territories throughout Asia. Yet all the U.S. seems to focus on is growing markets in China. The almighty buck.

And aside from salutary gestures or toothless reprimands, Clinton’s foreign policy consists of economic activity - as if all countries and leaders made national security

decisions based on Clinton's own down-home mix of economic-political calculus and wishful thinking. No, it is too obvious that Clinton's so-called "engagement" policy is really about profiteering and procrastination. Why do anything difficult today when there are tidy profits (and campaign contributions) to be had?

The answer, of course, is exploding in the Administration's face right now.

The Clinton administration has approached international affairs much like Clinton himself has approached the more personal and domestic aspects of The Presidency. Rely on charm and affable persuasion focus on economic quid pro quo and back-channel deals to grease the skids see how much you can get away with rush in at the eleventh hour when your negligence and malfeasance have spiraled out of control, and finally in the face of obvious failure and culpability, deny responsibility, shake your head, and point the finger elsewhere. Pick the issue. Pick the scandal. The pattern applies too often.

The President's charm and persuasion seem to play domestically, but they surely don't translate into effective foreign policy. One of the architects of Clinton's China policy, former Assistant Secretary of Defense Joseph Nye, has dubbed the persuasive powers of our nation as "Soft Power". Our lifestyle, culture and values, combined with the technology to spread them (television, internet, etc.), should be force enough to win over our enemies in the long run. If we can simply engage them at the table and in the marketplace, they will surely see it our way.

Unfortunately, it seems China still likes to play hardball, a fact not lost on India. President Clinton may think that the appeal of the U.S., our lifestyle, or culture, and persuasive capacity is enough to win out in the long run. But more likely, this "policy" is just a convenient rational for inaction, brought down the mountain by his Harvard advisors. Real soft power has the force of principle behind it and is built from true conviction. Behind the Clinton flavor of soft power, we see dollar signs and approval ratings.

Here's a reminder to you, Mr. President. Economies surge and pause. Employment fluctuates and earnings-per-share reach new highs and lows. But as Americans, our love of liberty endures, and the mantle of responsibility for defending and nurturing democracy is constant. Some things aren't for sale, and not everything is about the economy.

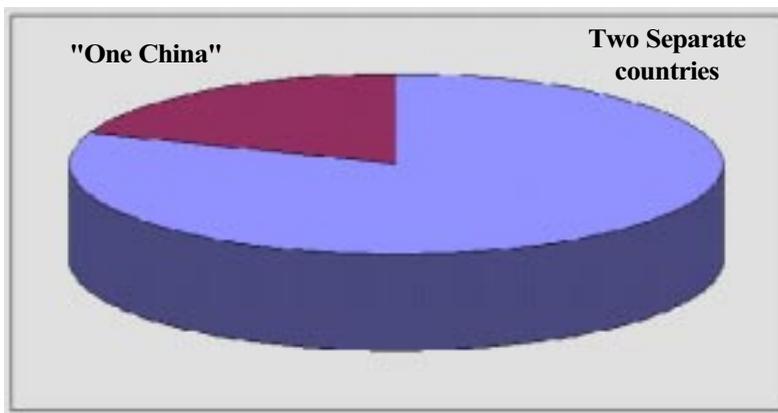
It's national security, stupid!

U.S. poll shows strong support for Taiwan

A recent opinion poll conducted in the United States in the beginning of May 1998 shows that a large majority of American people believe the Clinton Administration should “firmly support” preserving Taiwan’s security even if that means irritating the Beijing government. That is the view of 75 percent of respondents in a national public opinion poll conducted during the second week of May 1998.

The telephone survey of 1,000 American adults was conducted from May 8th through 13th, 1998 by Frederick Schneiders Research in Washington, D.C.

An even larger percentage, 81 percent, said they would be “very or somewhat” concerned if agreements reached at the upcoming Clinton-Jiang summit meeting jeopardize Taiwan’s security.



Treat Taiwan and the PRC as separate countries or as "One China"?

According to the survey, 59 percent of the respondents said the United States should not consult with Beijing in advance of selling defensive arms to Taiwan as long as Beijing refuses to renounce the use of force against Taiwan in its efforts to absorb the island, while only 27 percent said the US should consult with Beijing before striking weaponry deals with Taipei.

Poll results also show that nearly two-thirds of respondents view Taiwan as a “separate and sovereign” country rather than as a part of China.

Other key findings of the survey include:

- * A solid majority — 71 percent — support the assertion that a democratic Taiwan, with its freedom of religion, press and speech, should be considered separate from China, while only 17 percent believe it should be considered "One China", a strong repudiation of the Clinton "One China" policy.
- * As much as 85 percent support Taiwan’s bids to join the United Nations, the World Trade Organization and other major international bodies
- * Fifty-nine percent believe the US should push China to renounce its threat to use force against Taiwan.

The poll further found that opinion leaders — defined as those who follow international news closely, have at least a college education and annual income of US\$50,000 and above — are even more supportive of Taiwan than the public at large across the board.

On the question whether Clinton should firmly support Taiwan’s security during his meeting with Jiang, for instance, the 75 percent majority in the whole sample rises to 86 percent among opinion leaders. Those viewing Taiwan as a sovereign country rises from 60 percent of the general public to 78 percent among opinion leaders.

The full results of the poll can be found at the website of the Taiwan Research Institute at <http://www.taiwaninformation.org>.

The Loral satellite launch scandal

Leaky America: exporting sensitive technology

The present scandal swirling around in Washington poses the question: was the Clinton Administration — softened up by donations from the daughter of China’s top general through Johnny Chung and a total of a million plus dollars from Loral chief

Bernard Schwartz — lax in its protection of sensitive space technology, and did it harm U.S. national security ?

According to still to be declassified U.S. Airforce and DOD's Defense Technology Security Administration's reports, it did. The information provided to the Chinese by Loral and Hughes after the February 1996 crash of the Long March 3-B reportedly allowed the Chinese to improve the guidance systems of the Long March, which is very similar China's long range DF-4 and DF-5 missiles: they have the same staging mechanisms, air frames, engines, propellants, similar payload separation procedures, and — most importantly — similar guidance systems.

The matter was first brought to light in a 4 April 1998 article by Jeff Gerth in the **New York Times**. A 13 April 1998 article by Gerth, titled "*Aerospace firms's ties with China raise questions*", gave further details.

In February 1998, in spite of ongoing investigations by the Justice Department into this matter, President Clinton approved a waiver for yet another launch of a Loral satellite by the Chinese, this time for Chinasat8, a communication satellite used both for expansion of the national telephone system and for improvement of the PLA's military communication system.

Loral chairman Bernard Schwartz was the largest individual contributor to the Democratic Party in 1996, raising questions in Congress of whether that influenced Clinton's decision to allow Loral to use a Chinese rocket to launch a satellite. Special presidential waivers have been required for such launches since the 1989 Tiananmen crackdown.

Chinese market distortions

One argument used by the Clinton Administration for allowing U.S. companies to use Chinese launchers is that "...it improves the competitiveness of U.S. industry."

Nothing could be further from the truth: the entry of China's launchers on the international commercial market has long been opposed by Western launching rocket manufacturers, such as Lockheed Martin, McDonnell Douglas and the European Ariane consortium. The reason is that China's Long March is heavily subsidized by the Chinese military, in order to get Western orders — and hard U.S. dollars.

A launch on a Chinese rocket generally costs about half of what the Western launcher service companies ask. Because of the cutting-edge technology and the high risks, launching a satellite is still an expensive business. Launching on a Chinese rocket thus undercuts U.S. and European launch service providers, and presents them with a playing field tilted heavily against them.

* * * * *

Psychological and other warfare

Since the 1996 Taiwan Straits missile crisis showed that a show of force and the threat of an invasion did not intimidate the people of Taiwan, the Chinese authorities and military are now apparently trying to achieve their goals through a combination of sweet-talking and psychological warfare.

On the one side, China is attempting to manipulate a gullible Clinton Administration into weakening its commitments to the defense of Taiwan, while on the other side it is slowly tightening the psychological and military noose around Taiwan in an effort to isolate the island.

A prime example was a recent Xinhua News Agency report announcing "...nationwide military exercises for fighting high-tech regional wars." President Jiang Zemin, said on the occasion that "... the military must master advanced technology in order to be able to win local wars" in an apparent reference to Taiwan.

The interesting aspect of the report was that international observers couldn't locate any exercises, and finally determined that the report was part of China's psychological warfare against Taiwan.

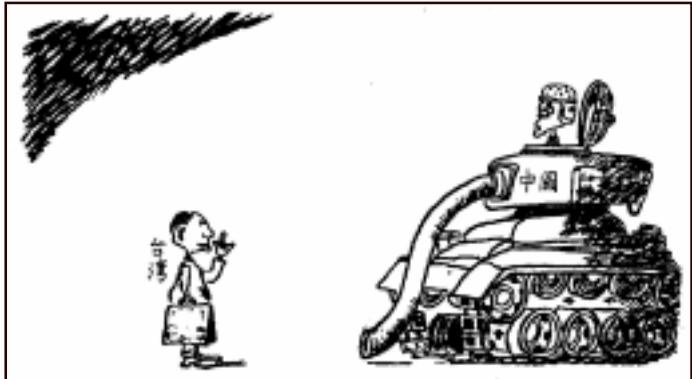
Another indication of China's changing tactics can be found in the Hong Kong-based **Far Eastern Economic Review**, which recently published two excellent articles on the matter.

In an article titled "*Operations Mind Game*", (FEER, 28 May 1998) reporter Bruce Gilley writes that Beijing's strategy has changed significantly during the past two years, away from consideration of an all-out invasion towards a strategy of repeated shows of military strength by the PLA, "...designed to wreak economic and social havoc on Taiwan."

Mr. Gilley writes that Beijing will on the one hand offer a peaceful dialogue, but use threats with missile tests, a sea blockade, combined forces drills, and a military build-up in a war of nerves designed to send the Taiwan stockmarket down, and demoralize the population of the island.

Mr. Gilley concludes his article by doubting the chance of success of the PLA strategy: it is built on the experience of the 1995-96 round of exercises and missile threats, which only succeeded in strengthening the resolve of the Taiwanese to vote for President Lee Teng-hui. He believes that the next time around, Taiwan will be much stronger in the face of the PLA threats, and that after much huffing and puffing, the PLA will "...blow nothing down."

The second article was titled "*Defense Dilemma*" (28 May 1998) in which FEER reporter Julian Baum views the situation from the Taipei perspective. Hewrites that the Taiwan military has recently gone through an



Psychological warfare: who wins ?

extensive exercise practicing defending Taiwan against an invasion from the mainland, but that many people wonder whether Taiwan is preparing for the right battle.

Mr. Baum expands on the points made in the earlier article by Mr. Gilley, and says that a more likely scenario would be for China to attempt surgical strikes by the PLA's ballistic missile units, threats to interdict Taiwan's sealanes by Chinese submarines, or combined forces drills.

Mr. Baum refers to the improvements the Chinese were able to make in the accuracy of their M-9 and M-11 ballistic missiles by equipping them with the American-made Global Positioning System (GPS), while the addition of Russian Kilo-class submarines to China's navy poses an obvious threat to Taiwan's shipping lanes.

The implication of Mr. Baum article is that Taiwan should better prepare itself for China's new tactics of intimidation and demoralization.

The U.S.-Taiwan-China triangle: two Japanese views

In two recently published articles, two prominent Japanese observers expressed their views on U.S.-Taiwan-China relations. In the May 25th 1998 issue of the **Yomiuri Shimbun**, Mr. Hisahiko Okazaki, former Japanese ambassador to Thailand gave a critical analysis of U.S. policy.

In the May 1998 issue of the Japanese-language monthly **Taiwan Chinglien**, Mr. Takayuki Munakata first presented a historical perspective of the triangular relationship, and then focused on the proposals by Mr. Joseph Nye, rejecting them as a formula for disaster. Below is a short summary of the main points from both articles.

Can Taiwan's freedom be preserved ?

In this article, Mr. **Hisahiko Okazaki**, former ambassador of Japan to Thailand, gives an insightful analysis of China's growing military strength, the threat to Taiwan, and to stability and peace in East Asia in general.

He states that the Chinese appear to be driven by a dangerous new nationalism, which attempts to restoration of the boundaries of China to that of the Ch'ing dynasty. He emphasizes that Taiwan has never been ruled by Beijing, and that the great majority of the people on the island do not desire unification with Communists China.

He states that while Chinese efforts to have the Taiwan issue recognized as a "domestic" Chinese matter have failed, in general other countries try to downplay the issue, hoping it will solve itself over time.

Mr. Okazaki describes how China is a threat to peace in Asia, because of a combination of military threats, primarily to Taiwan, and psychological and political warfare.

He states that at the moment China doesn't have the military power to prevent Taiwan from moving towards full, de jure, independence, but that China is now manipulating the United States in its attempt to force Taiwan to refrain from declaring independence.

Mr. Okazaki observes that it would be a moral disaster for the United States to attempt

to do this. In his view, the U.S. may attempt to apply pressure, but he concludes that the free and democratic political process, which Taiwan has initiated a few years ago, will without any doubt lead in the direction of independence.

Will the U.S. court the third disaster in its Taiwan policy?

The second article was written by Mr. **Takayuki Munakata**, a long-time Taiwan observer in Japan. He is a founding member of Amnesty International-Japan, has published several books on Taiwan and one book on the Russian Revolution. He presently serves as editor-in-chief of Taiwan Chinglien (“Taiwan Youth”).

Mr. Munakata first presents an overview of the events during the past decade, from Tienanmen to the Taiwan Straits missile crisis in 1996, and then focuses in on the proposals by Mr. Joseph Nye (see “Nay to Mr. Nye”, in *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 80, pp. 5-9). Mr. Munakata terms Mr. Nye’s proposals a ruinous capitulation to Beijing.

Mr. Munakata then looks back over the past fifty years, and argues that in that period, the United States made two critical errors in its policy towards Taiwan, with disastrous consequences for the island:

1. at the end of World War II, the United States allowed Chiang Kai-shek to occupy Taiwan, which started a repressive 40 year-period of martial law. This occurred in spite of the fact that the U.S. knew that Chiang was extremely corrupt and repressive. As evidence, Mr. Munakata quotes the “China White Papers” published by the State Department in 1949.

2. the second critical error was made in 1971, when the United States could have pushed the Chiang Kai-shek regime to give up its United Nations Security Council seat to the PRC (thereby avoiding the recurrent debate about the “issue of Chinese representation”) while maintaining regular membership in the General Assembly. However, in an error of judgment, the U.S. pushed for the issue to be declared an “important question” — and lost.

Mr. Munakata then argues that the only way to resolve the issue is to accept Taiwan into the international community “...as a sovereign state equal to other nations in the world.” He states that among the 193 nations in the world, Taiwan ranks 43rd in terms

of population, 17th in terms of Gross National Product (GNP), and 25th in Per capita GNP.

Mr. Munakata analyzes the international legal perspective, and states that following the occupation of Taiwan by Chiang Kai-shek in 1945, the legal status only changed in 1951-52 when Japan formally ceded sovereignty over Taiwan, but when it was decided that the future of the island would be decided “.. in accord with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter.”

He then refers to the International Covenants on Human Rights, economic, social and political rights adopted by the United Nations in 1966, which provide that:

“All peoples have the right to self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.”

Mr. Munakata concludes that the United States should urge China and Taiwan to mutually recognize each other’s sovereignty and territory, and strive for peaceful coexistence.

Elections for DPP chairmanship

On 27 May 1998, elections were held within the DPP-party for the position of chairman. It was the first time the DPP chairman was to be directly elected by all party members. Until now, the election took place through a system of party caucuses.

The two major candidates were Mr. Lin Yi-hsiung, a leading figure in Taiwan’s opposition since the late 1970s, and Mr. Chang Chün-hung, an at-large member of the Legislative Yuan and a former Secretary-General of the DPP. According to the DPP headquarters, an estimated 96,000 DPP members were eligible to vote, while the turnout rate was approximately 60 percent.

However, just as vote-counting was about to start in the polling-stations around the island, a group of stick-wielding men entered the polling station in the southern city of Kaohsiung, and broke open and turned over ballot boxes. The fight apparently

resulted from a conflict between two local candidates for the chairmanship of the local section of the DPP, for which voting was also taking place.

The DPP Central office immediately suspended vote-counting, and subsequently decided that there should be a re-election in Kaohsiung on 7 June 1998, and that all votes would be counted on that day.

Lin Yi-hsiung likely winner

As this issue of *Taiwan Communiqué* was going to press, no result was known yet, but it was widely expected that Mr. Lin Yi-hsiung would be the likely winner.

Mr. Lin is known for his highly principled position and high standards, and will provide the DPP with a good headstart for the upcoming elections for the Legislative Yuan at the end of 1998.

Mr. Lin is also the best person to lead the DPP into the 21st century, and under his leadership the DPP will have the best chance to become Taiwan's ruling party in the year 2000, when presidential elections will be held.

Mr. Lin is one of Taiwan's most prominent opposition figures. He became well-known in the late 1970s, when as a young lawyer he became member of the Taiwan Provincial Assembly, and was one of the first people to speak out against the Kuomintang's corruption and repression under its Martial Law, which wasn't lifted until 1987.



Mr. Lin Yi-hsiung

His life took a tragic turn in the aftermath of the Kaohsiung Incident of 1979, when he was arrested, and on 28 February 1980 - while he was in prison - his mother and twin-daughters were murdered in their home in downtown Taipei, while the house was under surveillance by the secret police. A third daughter was injured severely from knife stabbings, but survived. The Kuomintang authorities never solved the murder although there were strong indications of involvement by the secret police.

After “Kaohsiung”, Mr. Lin was sentenced to 12 years imprisonment, but was released after four-and-a-half years due to strong international pressure. After his release he has dedicated himself to improvement of Taiwan’s social structure and enhancement of the Taiwanese cultural identity, instead of the Chinese identity, which has been emphasized by the mainlander-dominated Kuomintang authorities.

Report from Washington

Senate hearing on Taiwan Relations

On 14 May 1998, at a hearing before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, two testimonies were presented on U.S. relations with China and Taiwan.

Mr. Stanley Roth, the State Department official responsible for East Asian and Pacific affairs tried to assure the U.S. Senate that Taiwan’s interests will not be sacrificed during the upcoming visit of US President Clinton to China.

However, the Administration’s policy was criticized by Prof. Arthur Waldron, who is Lauder Professor of International Relations at the University of Pennsylvania, and serves a Director of Asian Studies at the Washington-DC based American Enterprise Institute.

Professor Waldron found the Administration’s policy towards East Asia fundamentally flawed, because it is staking too much on a potentially-unstable China, while neglecting states that share common political and economic values, such as Japan, Korea, and Taiwan.

Professor Waldron pointed out that the “engagement” policy of the Clinton Administration lacked the necessary second component, “deterrence”: the willingness to counter Chinese threats, support allies, and brave Beijing’s displeasure — which “..is often expressed with the extravagant rhetoric of calculated over-reaction.”

Professor Waldron also criticized the tendency of some in the Clinton Administration “...to sign chits on Taiwan’s future as a way of appeasing China today.” He urged Mr. Clinton to refuse to incorporate the “three noes” in any official U.S. statement, and urged the Administration to improve its relations with a democratic Taiwan.

The full text of Prof. Wadron's testimony can be found on the Taiwan, Ilha Formosa website at <http://www.taiwandc.org>

Assistant Secretary of State Stanley Roth said he wanted to "take this opportunity to categorically deny that progress at the summit will be achieved at Taiwan's expense." Despite widespread rumors to the contrary, he said: "There will be no 'fourth communiqué' regarding (US) arms sales to Taiwan."

Roth also said that the US position on Taiwan remains unchanged. "We remain committed to our relationship with Taiwan in accordance with the three US-PRC joint communiqués and the Taiwan Relations Act, and continue to support the peaceful resolution of the Taiwan issue," he said.

In an effort to justify the administration's engagement with mainland China, the assistant secretary said that Washington's efforts to improve relations with Beijing are intended "to strengthen peace and stability in East Asia and in that sense will benefit the region as a whole, including Taiwan."

Mr. Roth stated that the Administration's policy was to have a "strong, stable, secure and open China", but forgot to mention democracy as an expressed goal of the Clinton Administration.

* * * * *

Hearing in the House: US reassures Taiwan

On Wednesday, 20 May 1998, at a hearing before the House of Representatives' Subcommittee on Asian-Pacific Affairs, Clinton Administration officials also attempted to assure Congress that the United States attaches great importance to its commitment to preserving Taiwan's security.

Testimony was given by former U.S. Ambassadors Jim Lilley and Nat Bellocchi, and by former U.S. Administration official Douglas Paal. Mr. Bellocchi urged the Congress and the Administration to provide greater encouragement to Taiwan by making the "six assurances" to Taiwan a matter of public record through a statement from the Administration or through legislation.

Mr. Bellocchi also suggested that the U.S. should establish a policy that the U.S. supports Taiwan's participation in international organizations "...to which it can make a clear contribution", and that the U.S. should have more realistic opportunities for dialogue with Taiwan, including at senior levels. The full text of Mr. Bellocchi's statement can be found on the Taiwan, Ilha Formosa website at <http://www.taiwandc.org>

Both Susan Shirk, deputy assistant secretary of state for East Asian and Pacific affairs, and Kurt Campbell, deputy assistant secretary of defense, stressed at the hearing that the US won't engage mainland China at the expense of Taiwan.

They also reaffirmed that no agreements unfavorable or harmful to Taiwan will be signed during a summit meeting between US President Bill Clinton and his mainland Chinese counterpart, Jiang Zemin, scheduled for late June in Beijing.

Shirk told the Asia-Pacific subcommittee of the House Committee on International Relations that the US has consistently insisted that issues or disputes between the two sides of the Taiwan Strait be resolved strictly by peaceful means.

She further said the US will continue fulfilling its obligations under the Taiwan Relations Act (TRA) concerning Taiwan's security and sales of defensive arms to the island. The TRA, the 1979 US law regulating Washington-Taiwan relations in the absence of official ties, requires the US to furnish Taiwan with adequate defensive arms to safeguard its security.

Shirk said she is convinced that the US has created a favorable climate for cross-strait rapprochement and reconciliation by continuously implementing the above-mentioned policies. While reinforcing engagements with both Taipei and Beijing, Shirk said, the US will continue encouraging them to embark on regular dialogue. By so doing, she added, the three parties and the entire Asia-Pacific region will benefit.

Shirk went on to say that the US has decided to increase engagements with Beijing in hopes that mainland China will remain stable, abide by international norms and cooperate with the US in establishing a regional security mechanism and international order. In the process, Shirk said, the US will never sacrifice Taiwan's interests. "There will not be a fourth joint communiqué. Our relations with Taiwan will not be tampered or sacrificed at all."

Speaking on the same occasion, Campbell said it is important for the US to reassure Taiwan that Washington will not improve ties with Beijing at the expense of Taipei.

He said the US must admit that its previous efforts to develop ties with Beijing once hurt Taiwan.

Campbell also stressed the importance that the US has attached to its security commitment to Taiwan. He said that Pentagon considers the obligations to furnish Taiwan with sufficient defensive arms an integral part of the US Asia-Pacific policy.

* * * * *

Senators write Clinton a letter

On 21 May 1998, twelve prominent members of the United States Senate urged President Clinton to resist Chinese pressure to reduce America's commitment to Taiwan's security and to call on China to renounce the use of force against Taiwan.

In the letter to the president, drafted by Senator Frank Murkowski R-Alaska and signed by Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott, R-Miss., and Minority Leader Tom Daschle, D-S.D., among others, the Senators noted that China is often eager to persuade the United States "to compromise our support for Taiwan and its democracy."

Specifically, the letter urged that: The President call on Beijing to renounce the use of force and the threat of it against Taiwan. The U.S. neither alter its policy of selling defensive arms to Taiwan nor promise to consult Beijing before future transfers. The President not participate in a new Beijing-Washington joint statement on Taiwan - what is often called the "Fourth Communiqué." And that the Taiwan Relations Act be left intact.

In addition to Murkowski, Lott and Daschle, other signers of the letter include Foreign Relations Chairman Jesse Helms, R.-S.C. Gordon Smith, R.-Ore. Craig Thomas, R.-Wyo., chairman of the East Asia and Pacific Affairs Subcommittee of the Foreign Relations Committee Robert Torricelli, D.-N.J., Chuck Hagel, R.-Neb., Larry Craig, R.-Idaho, Tim Johnson, D.-S.D., Connie Mack, R.-Fla., and Alfonse D'Amato, R.-N.Y.

The text of the letter follows on the next page:

Washington, May 21, 1998

Dear Mr. President: As you prepare for your summit with the leaders of the People's Republic of China in Beijing, we thought it appropriate to share with you our thoughts regarding U.S. relations with the people and the government of Taiwan.

We believe Taiwan has made extraordinary progress in recent years as that nation has moved to establish a vibrant democracy with free elections, free press, and improved trading practices.

We believe the American people are united in their support for freedom and democracy on Taiwan. Time and again, Congress has made clear our commitment to Taiwan, beginning with the 1979 Taiwan Relations Act, and through many resolutions and bills since then.

Although we do not know what will be on the summit agenda, we do know that the PRC is often eager to try and persuade the United States to compromise our support for Taiwan and its democracy.

Mr. President, we urge you to oppose any efforts at the summit by the PRC leadership to diminish American support for Taiwan. We believe it is important for the United States to make clear at the summit that while the U.S. supports a peaceful dialogue between Taipei and Beijing, the U.S. has committed not to pressure Taiwan on this issue and to not play any mediation role.

You should reiterate statements made recently by members of your administration calling on the PRC to renounce the use of force or the threat of force against Taiwan. Further, we urge you to reject any plans for a "Fourth Communiqué" on issues related to Taiwan to not weaken our defensive arms sales commitment to Taiwan (either by agreeing to set an end date or by agreeing to hold prior consultations with the PRC) to not make any commitment to limit future visits by the elected representatives of Taiwan to not agree to revise the Taiwan Relations Act and to not alter the U.S. position regarding sovereignty over Taiwan.

We in Congress are prepared to reiterate the commitment of the American people to freedom and democracy for the people and government of Taiwan. We look forward to your reassurance on these issues in advance of the summit.

Notes

WHO-bid rejected

On 11 May 1998, Taiwan's bid to join the UN-affiliated world body as an observer was rejected at the third plenary meeting of the WHO's general assembly opening on 11 May 1998. Four of Taiwan's diplomatic allies — The Gambia, Grenada, Nicaragua and Senegal — raised a proposal on behalf of 15 other nations, demanding that the WHO allow Taiwan to enter and asked that the proposal be put on the annual gathering's agenda.

The health ministers of Chad, Gambia and Nicaragua also spoke out in the meeting to support Taiwan's bid to join the WHO, stating that the island should not be excluded from the international organization since public health problems are not a political issue. The basic human rights of the 21 million people of Taiwan should be respected and it is unfair to isolate Taiwan, a constructive member of the international community, they noted.

However, the proposal was turned down by Bahrain Health Minister F.R. Mousawi, who chaired the meeting, after representatives from Communist China and Pakistan voiced opposition.

U.S. Congressmen immediately voiced strong disapproval of the move: Ohio Democrat Sherrod Brown — who had initiated Congressional action in favor of Taiwan's WHO membership — wrote in a letter to US Secretary Donna Shahala: "It is very disappointing to learn that in the past few days the PRC has effectively torpedoed any consideration of this important issue by the assembly...."

Such bullying is unacceptable, and the U.S. must play a more assertive role in promoting Taiwan's participation in international organizations. This support would be entirely consistent with the spirit of the "Taiwan Policy Review" conducted by the State Department in 1994."

A few days earlier, on 7 May 1998, several dozen US congressmen had jointly urged US Secretary of Health and Human Services Donna Shalala to back Taiwan's bid to enter the World Health Organization (WHO). The request was initiated by Congressman Sherrod Brown (D-Ohio).

The 52 members of the House of Representatives said in the letter that a resolution providing for Taiwan's future participation in the WHO is expected to be placed before the Assembly for a vote in the May 11-20 conference, and urged Shalala, head of the American delegation to the meeting, to lend her firm support to the proposal and declare the US stand on supporting Taiwan's efforts to become a part of the organization.

It explained that according to the WHO's organic rules, every nation in the world has the right to join the organization. Being a country populated by 21 million people, Taiwan's status obviously meets the regulations, but the country is still being excluded from the organization, the letter said.

The letter also described Taiwan's distinguished achievements in health matters, including the fact that people on the island enjoy a longer average lifespan than other Asian peoples, that Taiwan has a low mortality rate among pregnant women and babies, diseases such as smallpox, malaria and bubonic plague have been eradicated there, and that Taiwan is listed as the first Asian country to have eliminated the virus which causes polio, as well as being the first country in world to provide free vaccination for children against hepatitis-B.

The letter said that these achievements prove that Taiwan is qualified to enter the WHO and make its contribution to the organization founded with the goal of seeking the highest possible level of human health around the world.

However, in the current circumstances, not only is Taiwan unable to contribute its abundant health resources to the promotion of the WHO goal, hundreds of thousands of children in Taiwan also cannot profit from the most modern medical knowledge and expertise provided by the WHO, the letter said.

The joint letter was promoted by the Washington-based Formosan Association for Public Affairs (FAPA), which revealed that a number of Taiwan's allies, including Nicaragua, Grenada, the Gambia and Senegal, have requested the WHO's policymaking body to list Taiwan's application for observer status in the international organization on the agenda of this year's conference. Discussions on the proposal are expected to be held, a FAPA spokesman said.

A similar application was filed by the Taiwan health authorities last year, but the request was voted down, due to pressure from Beijing.

New book about “February 28th” published

As was announced in *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 79, we are publishing a new book about the events surrounding “February 28th”. It is written by Mr. Allan J. Shackleton from New Zealand, who served as Industrial Rehabilitation Officer with the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) in Taiwan in 1947.

After World War II had ended, Mr. Shackleton - who had served as a young soldier in the First World War, and fought in Northern France against the Germans - volunteered to serve as an officer in UNRRA.



Allan Shackleton (right) during his travels through Taiwan in 1947

Not long after he arrived on the island, the “February 28th Incident” happened, followed by large-scale executions of Formosans at the hands of Chinese Nationalist troops brought over by Chiang Kai-shek from the mainland.

During this period, Mr. Shackleton traveled widely through the island, and was a first-hand observer of the brutality and repression. After his return to New Zealand in December 1947, he was so appalled at what he had seen that he spent many weeks writing “Formosa Calling.”

Although Mr. Shackleton’s manuscript was referred to by George Kerr in his monumental work “Formosa Betrayed”, it was never published until now. Mr. Shackleton passed away in New Zealand in 1984 at the age of 87.

The book can be ordered by sending US\$ 15.— (includes postage in the US, for other countries add US\$ 3.— for airmail postage) to our address: *Taiwan Communiqué*, P.O. Box 15182, Chevy Chase, MD 20825 USA