



# TAIWAN COMMUNIQUE

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# 88

## Normalize Taiwan Relations

### *It's time to accept a clear reality*

The developments over the past few months are new reminders that it is time for the international community to normalize relations with Taiwan. The island-nation has lingered in its political quandary for too long.

The reasons for the diplomatic isolation are historic: the fact that the Kuomintang authorities there – for all too many decades after they were driven from China — kept up the fiction that they were the rightful rulers of China. From the 1950s through the end of the 1960s, the West went along with this pretense – to the detriment of the PRC.

However, when this situation was redressed with the acceptance of the PRC in the UN in the early 1970s and the normalization of relations between the US and the PRC in the late 1970s, another fiction was created: Taiwan was not considered a full member of the international community and was treated as an international outcast.

The subsequent rise of Taiwan as a major economic player in Asia, and its democratization in the 1980s and



**Taiwan -- ready to join the UN -- is shot in the back by the US, while China crows: "This is what strategic partnerships are for."**

early 1990s, have now resulted in its status as a full-fledged nation-state in East Asia, and a prime example of how people in Asia can bring about a flourishing democracy.

Just like it was correct to end the first fiction in the 1970s, it is high time to end this second fiction as we move into the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The international community – and in particular the United States – should welcome and embrace Taiwan by normalizing relations and establishing diplomatic ties with the island-nation.

As for China: its interests would be best served if its leaders would cease looking at Taiwan through the dark and distorted glasses of its long-gone Civil War, and would start with a clean slate by accepting Taiwan as a friendly neighboring state.

## ***“One China”: Dangerous ambiguity***

As we have argued before, the Clinton Administration has not shown creative thinking on this issue, and has displayed a tendency of drifting towards Beijing’s position by clinging to the ambiguous “One China” doctrine, thereby creating a dangerous situation in East Asia, and for Taiwan in particular.

If one asks Clinton Administration officials whether the US “One China” doctrine *recognizes* China’s claim that Taiwan is part of China, then the result is general confusion: a number of them say no, while some say yes.

The nay-sayers will be able to recite the original text of the Shanghai Communiqué of 1972, in which the US only ***acknowledged*** the Chinese position, which stated that “...all Chinese on either side of the Taiwan Strait maintain there is but one China and Taiwan is part of China.” In this formulation, the United States thus only takes note of the Chinese position, but says that it itself does not take a position.

However, over the years, an increasing number of Administration officials failed to make this distinction, and stated that the US has a “One China” policy – without further elaboration – and thus edging closer to Beijing’s position. When asked recently how the US “One China” definition differed from the one defined by Beijing, one State Department official said he didn’t quite know....

***Taiwan Communiqué comment:*** *If the Clinton Administration wants to be truly impartial on the issue of the future of Taiwan, it needs to return to the position that this matter needs to be determined peacefully, and in accordance with the principles of democracy and self-determination as enshrined in the Charter of the UN.*

*Any statements which display a dangerous bias — such as the reckless and irresponsible “Three noes” pronounced by Mr. Clinton in Shanghai in July 1998 — need to be retracted. It should be replaced by a statement saying that the US will respect the democratic wishes of the people of Taiwan, and will help ensure that other nations in the region will abide by those decisions.*

## ***Some constructive statements***

In spite of the general criticism of the Clinton Administration as indicated above, we have noted some rays of hope: recently there have been some constructive, but little-noticed, statements from several members of the Administration.

In the beginning of September 1999, Deputy Assistant Secretary for East Asian Affairs, **Mrs. Susan Shirk**, addressed a gathering of Chinese businessmen in Bethesda, MD, and issued a wide-ranging rebuke to Beijing for its antagonistic policies towards Taiwan. She warned China that even in the eventuality that Taiwan



declares independence, “...*the use of force would be catastrophic for China as well as for Taiwan, and of course disastrous for U.S.-China relations ...So even in such an eventuality we would urge China not to use force.*”

Mrs. Shirk added that even a limited attack by China in the run-up to Taiwan’s presidential elections next March would likely lead to a reaction by Washington. “*Any military action, no matter how small, is likely to trigger a United States reaction*”, she said.

At the end of September 1999, in another important clarification of US policy towards Taiwan, **Dr. Richard Bush**, the head of the American Institute in Taiwan, stated in a speech to the Taiwanese-American community in Los Angeles: “*.that , because Taiwan is a democratic system, any arrangements concluded between Beijing and Taipei must ultimately be acceptable to the Taiwan public.*”

Furthermore, he commented on the "One-China" concept, saying: "*the United States does not, and never has, shared the PRC's view of the 'One-China' Policy.*"

Dr. Bush also said that the U.S. Administration is **not** taking a position on the "state-to-state" statement made by Taiwan President Lee Teng-hui, since this would go to the substantive core of the differences between Taiwan and China. He emphasized that the U.S. has always addressed the process, stating that it supports a peaceful resolution of the conflict, but the United States does not take a position on the end-result, he added.

*Taiwan Communiqué comment: We welcome these clarifications by these Clinton Administration officials. It would indeed be helpful if they were made by Mr. Clinton himself and by his Secretary of State Mrs. Madeleine Albright.*

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## Earthquake

### *Suddenly ... front page news*

On 21 September 1999, a devastating earthquake struck Taiwan. It claimed more than 2,000 lives, injured approximately 8,000 people, left more than 100,000 homeless. Soon, rescue teams from some fourteen countries arrived in Taiwan for rescue efforts; elite search-and-rescue teams from Virginia and Florida rescued their first survivor within minutes of arriving.

Taiwanese around the world highly appreciate the selfless assistance provided by so many nations around the world. In particular, the fast and efficient help from Japan, Korea, the United States, France, and Mexico showed that these nations cared. Even Turkey, which itself was just recovering from a massive earthquake, sent a search and rescue team.

### *UN and China criticized for politicizing aid*

However, the earthquake also brought to light some lingering confusion on the part of some international aid organizations, as well as some disturbing attempts by China to politicize the event.

The United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) in Geneva as well as the American Red Cross felt it necessary to “consult” with Beijing before sending aid, thus unnecessarily delaying this aid at a time when speed is crucial.

Also, China tried to use the event to assert its claim to sovereignty over the island: China’s Red Cross spokesperson Sun required that all international humanitarian efforts be subject to China’s advanced approval, and that all Taiwan-bound international relief such as food, donations, medication, and rescue teams to be channeled through China.



Photo: Taiwanese Collegian

### The earthquake's destructive force

To add insult to injury, China’s Foreign Ministry offered thanks to various nations that sent rescue teams, under the pretense that it was representing Taiwan. It was also reported that the Russian rescue team that headed for Taiwan was not allowed to land and refuel in China. The Russians had to take an extended route through Japan to refuel thus delaying timely rescue.

In particular the moves by the UN agency in Geneva and the pronouncements by the American Red Cross raised the ire of several of Taiwan’s supporters in the US Congress:

U.S. Congressman **Sherrod Brown** (D-OH) said in a statement issued on 21 September 1999, that the position taken by the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) in Geneva “...is bordering on the absurd.”

He added: “hundreds of people are fighting for their lives, and the bureaucrats at the UN are worried about offending Beijing’s dictators. China has absolutely no right to

interfere in this situation. China should be leading and not hindering the effort to help the Taiwanese people deal with this catastrophe.”

On September 21st, the day after the earthquake, OCHA official Rudolf Mueller told Reuters that his office could do little “...because it does not recognize Taipei.” He said he was “... waiting for the government in Beijing to request foreign assistance before it can do more than pass on information on the quake.” Taiwan had asked for international assistance, but, Mr. Mueller stated “...we as the U.N. cannot act on the basis of a request from Taiwan, because it is not an officially recognized government.”

In the overseas Taiwanese community, the statements by Chinese president Jiang Zemin that the disaster “hurt the hearts of people on the mainland as the Chinese people on both sides of the Taiwan Strait are as closely linked as flesh and blood,” were dismissed as political propaganda.



**China aiming "love our compatriots missile" at earthquake-stricken Taiwan**

Overseas Taiwanese organizations also dismissed the Chinese announcements that Beijing was donating \$100,000 in disaster aid and another \$60,500 worth of relief supplies as an attempt to capitalize on the disaster. A press report from Hong Kong even dared to suggest that with these meager amounts, China “led” international offers to help Taiwan recover from the massive earthquake.

US Representative **Howard L. Berman** (D-CA), a senior member of the House International Relations Committee, also criticized the United Nations for seeking approval from China before sending a disaster assessment team to Taiwan following the recent devastating earthquake.

“Politics should be put on the back burner when lives are hanging in the balance,” Berman said. “It is absolutely unconscionable that the people of Taiwan, in their hour of need, should have to wait for the U.N. to jump over political hurdles erected by China.”

“Taiwan is a strong democracy and a responsible member of the international community,” Berman continued. “Over the years Taiwan has generously provided assistance to many countries suffering from their own natural disasters, including China. There should be no hesitation when the tables are turned.”

“The current situation only strengthens my belief that Taiwan should be admitted to the World Health Organization and other international organizations,” Berman continued. “The health and well-being of the Taiwanese people should clearly transcend any and all political considerations.”

The president of the Washington-based **Formosan Association for Public Affairs** (FAPA), professor Wen-yen Chen, echoed Mr. Berman’s remarks. He said: “It is a disgrace that Beijing has to give the go ahead to the UN for sending relief aid to Taiwan. When will the world realize that Taiwan and China are two separate independent countries? It is quite saddening that politics are being played over the heads of the victims of this devastating earthquake.”

### *Chris Cox introduces “Earthquake resolution”*

On 5 October 1999, Congressman Chris Cox (R-CA) introduced an important joint resolution, H.J.R. 70, in the U.S. House of Representatives. Angered by reports that organizations such as the **American Red Cross** and the **UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs** (OCHA) in Geneva first sought permission from Beijing before deciding to provide disaster relief to Taiwan, Mr. Cox decided that it was necessary to ensure that all US and international humanitarian and disaster relief organizations can provide assistance to Taiwan without seeking approval of, or coordinating with, Beijing.

The Joint resolution also provides that the President shall take all necessary steps on behalf of the United States Government to support the membership of Taiwan in international humanitarian and health organizations, such as the Red Cross, the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, and the World Health Organization.

When he introduced the resolution, Mr. Cox stated: “*Sometimes it takes an enormous tragedy such as this earthquake to bring home how futile it is for us to maintain the political differences that we do have across the globe. I think everyone watching on television saw that the people of Taiwan are not the dangerous “splittists” so often derided by the Communist government in Beijing, but men, women and children fighting for a better life, just like all of us.*”

# Medium Kingdom China

## *Gerald Segal: The myth of Chinese power*

“Does China matter?” is the question posed by Dr. Gerald Segal, director at the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London in the September / October 1999 issue of **Foreign Affairs**. He argues that, economically, China is a relatively unimportant small market; militarily, it is less a global rival like the Soviet Union than a regional menace like Iraq; and politically, its influence is puny. The Middle Kingdom is a middle power. China matters far less than it and most of the West think, and it is high time the West began treating it as such.

He says that China has mastered the art of “*diplomatic theater*”, which has us willingly suspending our disbelief in its strength. In fact, China under President Jiang Zemin is better understood as a theatrical power. He argues that after 50 years of Mao’s revolution and 20 years of reform, it is time to leave the theater and see China for what it is.

Dr. Segal calculates that in terms of its share of world GNP, per capita GDP or almost any other economic indicator, China is only a medium or even a small performer. He argues that its growth rates are usually inflated to the extent that even Chinese Prime Minister Zhu Rongji distrusts them. Taking all these qualifications into account, China’s economy is effectively in recession.

In terms of international trade and investment, the story is much the same: China is a seriously overrated power. China made up a mere 3 percent of total world trade in 1997, about the same as South Korea and less than the Netherlands. China now accounts for only 11 percent of total Asian trade. Despite the hype about the importance of the Chinese market, exports to China are tiny. Only 1.8 percent of U.S. exports go to China (this could, generously, be perhaps 2.4 percent if re-exports through Hong Kong were counted) — about the same level as U.S. exports to Australia or Belgium and about a third less than U.S. exports to Taiwan.

China is also a second-rate military power — not first rate, because it is far from capable of taking on America, but not third rate, as are most of its Asian neighbors. China accounts for only 4.5 percent of global defense spending (the United States makes up 33.9 percent) and 25.8 percent of defense spending in East Asia and Australasia. China poses a formidable threat to the likes of the mighty Philippines. China is in no military

shape to take the disputed Senkaku Islands from Japan, which is decently armed. Beijing clearly is a serious menace to Taiwan, but even this most acute security concern on China's front door cannot be resolved by China because the United States stands in its way. Not much of a great power!

Dr. Segal states that because China challenges Western authority, it matters to some extent. But it does not matter so much that it can't be constrained. But the fact that a country can directly threaten the United States is certainly not a reason to pretend that China is a strategic partner — in fact, the United States and China have no important common strategic interests.

Dr. Segal's conclusion: Any way you look at it, China matters far less than people think; and as a result the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary was nothing to celebrate. The true time for celebration will come when China has engaged in thorough political reforms and genuinely gives its people the ability to stand up tall in the world.

## *William Pfaff: Overrating China*

In his article "*Let's overcome an old American habit of overrating China*" in the **International Herald Tribune** (9 October 1999), political commentator William Pfaff comes to similar conclusions as Gerald Segal. Using new information from an upcoming documentary, titled "*Playing the China Card*", Mr. Pfaff argues that Messrs. Nixon and Kissinger conducted themselves as "tribute bearers" to the Chinese Imperial Court, and that the U.S. received little in return for their generous gifts to China.

Mr. Pfaff then shows how this "strange pattern of unsolicited U.S. diplomatic gifts" — pressed upon the Chinese despite their failure to reciprocate — continued under the Bush and Clinton Administrations. He says that Mr. Clinton's "strategic partnership" with China has weakened American relations with Japan.

He also emphasizes that Taiwan today is not only a democracy but an economic and trading power of greater international importance than China itself, and that Mr. Clinton's proclaimed "one-China policy" seems to endorse China's claim to Taiwan on Beijing's terms. He argues that the US should stop holding the illusion about China that says "size plus population equals power."

## *Harvey Feldman: US policy counter to US interests*

In a well-written essay published in **Taiwan Perspective**, a publication of the Taiwan Research Institute, former Ambassador Harvey Feldman — who served on the State Department task force that helped draft the Taiwan Relations Act of 1979 – laid out a critical view of the present US policy towards Taiwan and China.

He states that the “Clintonian engagement policy” of the U.S. Administration, gives far too much weight to China, and is overly attuned to Beijing’s sensitivities. He says that this central focus on Beijing is wrong, since it is incorrect to assume that Washington somehow can manage China’s emergence on the world stage. He also faults the Administration for its “pre-emptive concessions” to China, and – in the process – severely damaging America’s long-term interest in promoting democracy and free-market economics in the region.

He writes that this “Clinton-Kissinger construct” ignores that China remains a one-party dictatorship in which the Communist Party has exclusive franchise, and any other grouping is crushed, and that the famous China market remains more myth than reality. He says that American exports to China are about equivalent to what the US exports to tiny Singapore. US exports to Taiwan are much higher, amounting to the highest purchases of American goods per capita than any population other than Canada’s.

Ambassador Feldman also emphasizes that China maintains a vast internal empire of subject peoples — Tibetans, Uighurs and other Turkic peoples, and Mongols – and that the resulting instability creates a need for constant repression. He argues that China’s pledges on non-proliferation, human rights, and protection of intellectual property are noteworthy for the ease with which Beijing breaks them and the willingness of the Clinton administration to turn a blind eye.

Mr. Feldman argues that China is neither our ally nor necessarily our enemy, but follows its own view of its interests. As long as it remains a communist dictatorship, those interests, international and domestic, often will be antithetical to our own. He concludes that we should go back to basics, understanding that Japan and South Korea are democracies, and are essential to our security posture.

He emphasizes that Taiwan too is a democracy, and both its government and its people share our values of rule of law, political inclusiveness, human rights and personal freedoms, including free economic institutions. We should understand as well that

assisting Taiwan's democracy, preserving the right of its 22 million people to determine their future free of coercion or repression, remains very much in America's long-term interest.

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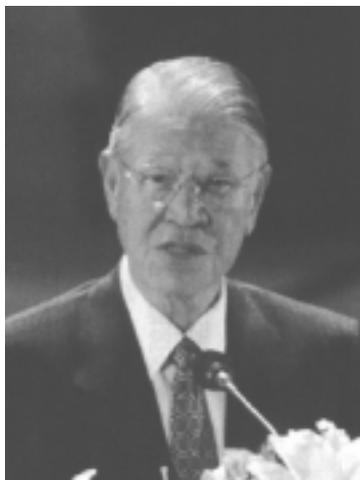
## “State-to-state” follow-up

### *President Lee sticks to his principles*

In spite of a continuing barrage of insults and threats from China, and often not-so-subtle pressure from the Clinton Administration, President Lee Teng-hui has refused to budge and has stuck to his “state-to-state” pronouncement, made in an interview with German *Die Welle* radio on 9 July 1999.

Most recently, Mr. Lee Teng-hui reiterated his statement in a message prepared for the Kuomintang's National Day on 10 October 1999. He said: “We deem the relationship between the two sides of the Taiwan Strait to be a special state-to-state relationship, which is a historical and legal fact.”

During the past two months, a number of U.S. and international magazines and newspapers also published further articles supportive of what Mr. Lee had said. For an overview of articles during the first few weeks, see “*Press debates the issues*” in *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 87, pp. 6-8.



**President Lee Teng-hui**

Below we present a brief summary of three of the most outstanding more recent commentaries.

### *Caspar Weinberger: “Taiwan is the victim”*

In an article in the 6 September 1999 issue of **Forbes Magazine**, titled “Taiwan is the victim – not the villain” former US Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger criticizes the Clinton Administration for its appeasement of Beijing, in particular following

President Lee's July 9<sup>th</sup> statements. He compares the U.S. response to that of Neville Chamberlain in 1938, who criticized Czechoslovakia for disagreeing with the Munich Pact – which sold out their homeland to Hitler and Mussolini.

Mr. Weinberger discounts statements by the State Department which says it is acting “scrupulously neutral.” Mr. Weinberger says that, to the contrary, the US is encouraging the PRC “in an extremely dangerous way.”

He also expresses support for the Taiwan Security Enhancement Act, saying that it would clear up any misconceptions left by the Taiwan Relations Act and the so-called “Three Communiqués”. He says it has become necessary because the Clinton Administration has time and again answered requests from Taiwan for defensive arms with excuses and delays.

### ***W. Scott Thompson: “Behind the war on words”***

Another interesting commentary was published in the Boston Globe on 12 September 1999. It was titled “*Behind the China-Taiwan war on words*”, and written by W. Scott Thompson and his son Nicholas Thompson. The senior Thompson is professor at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University, where he serves as director of the Southeast Asia Studies program.

The article referred to President Lee's “state-to-state” pronouncement, and says that “*not since the little tyke declared that the emperor had no clothes was any more obvious fact laid bare.*”

The article says that among the many possible reasons for President Lee's statement, the most likely real reason is that he wanted to “*...move Taiwan one notch up from the inappropriate isolation into which the international community, under Beijing's pressure, has pushed it.*” In the meantime, he (Lee himself) would function as a lightning rod for Chinese fulminations, but after he has left the scene after next year's elections, Taiwan and Beijing can negotiate on a new basis of relative equality.

The article states that the primary reason for Beijing's continuing attempts to isolate Taiwan are not that the island is the last bastion of the losing side of the Chinese Civil War, but the fact that Taiwan presents to the world (and to China) “*...an embarrassing procession of successes.*”

The article states that “*while we stand in awe of its culture, respect its economic achievements, and wish it the greatest success as a major power in international affairs, we do not condone the harassment of a small country...*”

The article concludes by urging the leaders in China to accept Taiwan, to respect what the Taiwanese have accomplished, and to deal with Taiwan in the way London deals with Ottawa or Canberra. Then “*...the world will have one less tinderbox to worry about.*”

## ***Ross Terrill: “Beijing vs. Taipei”***

Last, but certainly not least, in the series of commentaries on president Lee’s remarks is an article titled “*Beijing vs. Taipei*”, written by Ross Terrill of the Fairbank Center for East Asian Research at Harvard University, and published in **The Weekly Standard**, 23 August 1999.

Dr. Terrill writes that The United States has become locked into a “*Beijing’ flavored One-China policy based on a fiction. Once, it may have been a useful fiction. Now it has become a dangerous one.*” Dr. Terrill presents a historical perspective of the developments between Taiwan and China from the 1940s through the 1970s.

He says that at the time of the U.S. opening to China in the early 1970s, “*Chiang Kai-shek’s outlook and the political situation within Taiwan ... lent credence to the Chinese Communists’ view, making it plausible for countries that extended recognition to Beijing to settle for the One China concept.*” However, he argues that developments in Taiwan starting in the 1980s — in particular the coming of democracy in the ’90s — have created a fresh context.

He states that “*...the fiction of One-China has lost its credibility, and Lee’s mode of coping with its erosion is reasonable.*” He also states that President Clinton’s dealing with Taiwan has “*proved inconstant*”. He writes that President Clinton “*...is apparently unable to discern the difference between Washington’s “acknowledging” in 1972 that “Chinese on both sides of the Taiwan Strait” saw Taiwan as part of China and Washington’s “embracing a One-China policy,” as he said it had done when he was in China in June 1998.*”

Dr. Terrill continues: “*Equally, he failed to distinguish between avoiding support for Taiwan’s recognition as a nation and standing in the way of such recognition. Or*

*between leaving Taiwan's relationship with the PRC up to the two sides to work out, and himself declaring reunification to be the American agenda, as he did in his remarks at Beijing University. He needlessly breathed new life into Beijing's concept of One-China."*

Dr. Terrill also strongly criticizes "some in Washington" for their "stunning failure to grasp the meaning of the transformation of the Taiwan issue in the 1990s." Terrill goes on to quote Chas W. Freeman Jr.'s article in **Foreign Affairs** in 1998, and says: "*To speak of a consensus on the "imperative" of achieving One-China is a piece of elitism that disregards a large segment of grass-roots sentiment in Taiwan. And it is simply false to say the United States has ever endorsed the "imperative" of reunification.*"

Dr. Terrill also strongly criticizes Chas Freeman's statement that "[N]o unilateral change in the status quo — precipitated by either side — is acceptable." Terrill asks: "*But is there not a difference between a change in the status quo brought about by a military invasion — one of Beijing's ideas — and a **change brought about by the will of the people expressed in free elections** - which is what led to the new thinking in Taiwan?*" (emphasis added – Ed.)

Dr. Terrill then proposes a new U.S. policy, which is directly tied to the will of the people involved. He says that the U.S. should increasingly lean towards an acceptance of Taiwan's separateness as a fact of life. He argues that this policy would be compatible with supporting Taiwan's membership in a number of international organizations. He states that "*...It is a victory for Beijing, with its relentless pressure for reunification, that Clinton officials are so quick to speak out of the merely "unofficial relations" between Washington and Taipei.*"

He concludes his article by stating that "*...a Taiwan that was separate from China but non-hostile to it, as Finland was to the Soviet Union, or Panama is to the United States, could be in Beijing's interests.*" He also emphasizes that "*... Washington's responsibility, given the Taiwan Relations Act, the high stakes of stability in East Asia, and our fundamental commitment to democracy, is to eschew ambiguity and make it crystal clear that a military move against Taiwan would be resisted by the United States. President Clinton should pick up the phone and say to President Jiang Zemin, in the words of President Reagan, that any attack by Beijing on Taiwan would damage U.S.-China relations beyond repair.*"

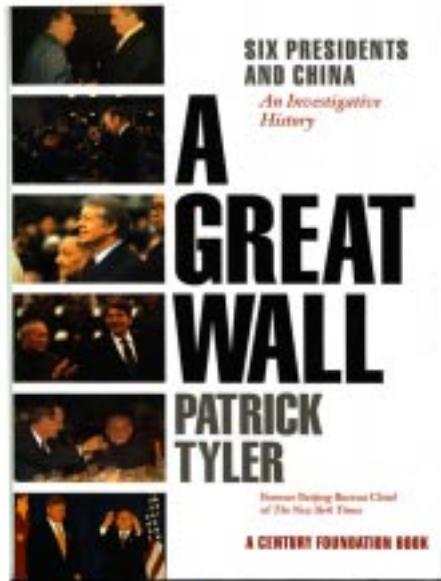
# A Great Wall, by *Patrick Tyler*

## *Tales of Treachery and Deceit*

Anyone interested in finding out how U.S. policy towards Taiwan and China is really made, should read the new book, titled “A Great Wall, Six presidents and China, an investigative history”, by New York Times correspondent **Patrick Tyler**.

The book describes in great detail how during the successive American administrations, Taiwan was betrayed and deceived by vain people in high places, whose main concern was “engagement” with China – virtually at any cost.

First and foremost of the deceitful and betraying bunch was Henry Kissinger, who reportedly made a secret promise to Chou En-lai that the US “...did not seek two China’s, or a one-China, one-Taiwan solution, nor did it seek an independent Taiwan” (bottom of p. 98). The bad thing is, that Clinton Administration officials referred back to this secret promise, when they attempted to defend Mr. Clinton’s infamous “Three No” pronouncement of July 1998 in Shanghai.



Our counter-argument is, that a policy is only a nation’s policy if it is 1) publicly stated, 2) decided on at the highest levels, and 3) discussed with, and agreed to by Congress. Mr. Kissinger’s sinister maneuvering did not fulfill any of these criteria.

Another schemer who betrayed Taiwan was President Jimmy Carter’s national Security adviser Zbigniew Brezinski. He pushed through the “normalization” of relations with China behind the back of the then-Secretary of State Cyrus Vance. His main purpose seemed to try to outmaneuver Vance.

**Taiwan Communiqué comment:** *We urge the US Administration and the American people to learn from these fundamental mistakes, and to move towards a policy which*

*accepts Taiwan as a full member in the international community and normalizes relations with our homeland.*

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# Report from Washington

## *Taiwan Security Enhancement Act moves in the House*

For the past few months, the Taiwanese-American community has worked hard to generate support in Congress for the Taiwan Security Enhancement Act. If passed by both the House and Senate, this bill would authorize the sale of a wide array of defensive weapons to Taiwan.

Of equal importance is, that the bill states that the United States has *never* "...adopted a formal position as to the ultimate status of Taiwan **other than** to state that status must be decided by peaceful means. Any determination of the ultimate status of Taiwan must have the express consent of the people on Taiwan."

The bill (S.693 in the Senate, and H.R. 1838 in the House) deserves the strongest support from the Taiwanese-American community as well as from all other Americans.

It was thus gratifying to learn that the Committee on International Relations in the U.S. House of Representatives is starting moves to mark-up the bill, increasing the chance that it will move to the floor for a vote in the near future.

However, now comes word that the Clinton administration has mobilized the business community and its own officials to try to block or dilute this bill (**Washington Post**, October 3rd 1999). The ostensible reason is "... *that the administration fears could complicate its relationship with China.*"

**Taiwan Communiqué comment:** *We have news for Mr. Clinton: if his administration fails to support this bill, this will complicate relations with us Taiwanese-Americans. We are voting citizens in this country, and our (traditionally strong) support for your Democratic Party will disappear altogether.*

*As for American companies lobbying against this bill: we suggest that this be stopped immediately. You are damaging Taiwan's interests as a free and democratic nation.*

*We remind you that Taiwan purchases more products from the US than China does. And last, but not least: The PRC is an undemocratic, totalitarian state, in which political stability — and your chances to do profitable business — will be highly questionable for a long time to come.*

## ***House passes “Taiwan into the WHO” Bill***

On 4 October 1999, the U.S. House of Representatives unanimously passed HR-1794 in support of World Health Organization membership for Taiwan.

The bill was introduced in mid-May by Congressman Sherrod Brown (D-OH). It urges Taiwan’s membership in the World Health Organization (WHO) and requires Secretary of State Madeleine Albright to report to the Congress, not later than 1 January 2000, on the efforts of the Secretary to fulfill the commitment made in the 1994 Taiwan Policy Review to more actively support Taiwan’s participation in international organizations, in particular the World Health Organization (WHO).

During the debate on the bill, Rep. Sherrod Brown also referred to the delays in aid to Taiwan during the recent earthquake, and said:

*“We know why they were forced to wait for help, even though they themselves, the Taiwanese as a people, have provided hundreds of millions of dollars in assistance to victims of wars and famines and disaster all over the world. That is because even in Taiwan’s darkest hour, the United Nations first had to receive permission from the People’s Republic of China before they could help Taiwan.*



**Congressman Sherrod Brown (D-OH)**

*That is the reality of the One China policy. No matter how dire the situation, the human rights and the Taiwanese people take a back seat to Cold War geopolitics that frankly no longer serve any useful purpose. Unless we start doing something*

*about it, unless we start to stick up for what is right, unless we start helping Taiwan instead of hindering it, then we will wind up letting China's dictators think they can continue to deny their people and the Taiwanese people their fundamental human rights."*

In his conclusion, Mr. Brown called attention to the right of self-determination for the people of Taiwan: "*Passing this bill would send a clear message that the American people fully support the people of Taiwan's right to determine their own future, as is laid down in article I of the UN Charter, and gives hope to the millions of Taiwanese who live under the shadow of a hostile, belligerent neighbor.*"

As is usual with Taiwan-related initiatives in Congress, the bill received wide bipartisan support from both Democrats and Republicans. The Senate version of the bill will be introduced shortly.

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## Notes

### *Mr. Clinton's New Zealand visit*

On Saturday, 11 September 1999, Messrs. Clinton and Jiang Zemin met in Auckland, New Zealand, prior to the start of the APEC meeting. According to press reports, American and Chinese officials emerged from the two leaders' hour-long meeting "*brimming with confident assessments of the encounter.*"

While such positive purring would in general be welcomed, the next sentence in the report is reason for caution. It reads "*Chinese officials appeared particularly pleased that Clinton had been openly critical of President Lee Teng-hui of Taiwan for his statements that described the island as a separate state.*" (**New York Times**, "*Clinton and Jiang heal rift and set a new trade course*", September 12 1999).

To add insult to injury, President Clinton's national security adviser Sandy Berger is quoted as saying that President Clinton had told Mr. Jiang that President Lee "*had made things more difficult for both China and the United States.*"

Berger reportedly added, that Clinton had also warned China that "there would be grave consequences" if Beijing resorts to military force against Taiwan.

While the latter message is slightly reassuring, the overall result of the meeting is still that Mr. Clinton seems to want to improve his relations with China at the expense of Taiwan.

Mr. Clinton even failed to extract from Mr. Jiang a promise to renounce the use of force against Taiwan. Just prior to the Auckland summit, China had held provocative military exercises on the coast just opposite Taiwan, and even practiced mock invasions. Perhaps Mr. Clinton should have mentioned that *these exercises* “...make things more difficult for both the United States and China.”



Uncle Sam to PRC: "I am stitching his (Pres. Lee's) mouth shut until you're satisfied"

Mr. Lee Teng-hui's statements that Taiwan and China should treat each other as equals and have nation-to-nation relations are plainly common sense. It would thus be helpful if Mr. Clinton would recognize that reality, and stop hiding behind the anachronistic "One China" fiction.

## *The American snub at the UN*

As we reported in our previous issue ("*Taiwan applying to the UN, again*", **Taiwan Communiqué** no. 87, pp. 22-23), twelve of Taiwan's allies in Central America and Africa submitted a request to UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan, proposing that the issue of Taiwan's membership would be put on the agenda.

As has become customary during the past few years, the issue was debated at a session of the General Assembly steering committee — which decides on agenda items — and then rejected, as China's supporters there generally outnumber Taiwan's supporters. In these debates, Western nations, and particularly the United States, have in the past not voiced their position.

However, this year the Clinton Administration edged yet another notch closer to Beijing, and told the U.N. panel that it did not support putting UN membership for Taiwan on the General Assembly agenda "...so as to reiterate its commitment to a one-China policy."

**Taiwan Communiqué comment:** *By taking such a position, Mr. Clinton and his Administration are regrettably – again — siding with a repressive dictatorship in Beijing against a free and democratic nation, Taiwan. Mr. Clinton should realize that he is losing any credibility with the democratic people of Taiwan, and any support from the Taiwanese-American community.*

*Americans themselves should find the lack of support for Taiwan's membership in the UN incomprehensible, and incompatible with the basic principles of democracy and human rights for which the United States stands. It is sad to see that Mr. Clinton and his Administration seem to have forgotten about those principles.*

## ***Message to China at 50***

The Washington Post, in its September 25th issue, carried an important ad, placed by Taiwan's County Magistrate of Taoyuan County, Ms. Annette Lu Hsiu-lien.

Below is the text of the message:

### **Message to the PRC from the People of Taiwan**

As Beijing celebrate the 50th anniversary of the founding of the PRC today, the people of Taiwan, while still recovering from the recent devastating earthquake, express our sincere greetings on her birthday.

The conflict between China and Taiwan is a relic of the past half-century, of the confrontation between the Communists and then Nationalists. Since Taiwan's government has given up claim to sovereignty over China and its president is democratically elected by the Taiwanese people, old enmities need not continue. The time for reconciliation is here.

Indeed, Taiwan and China have a unique relationship among all nations in the world. We are distant cousins and close neighbors, sharing cultural and linguistic ties.

Yet we have developed completely independently from each other. While Taiwan has grown into flourishing democracy with its thriving free market economy, China remains an authoritarian one-party system with extensive state control over the economy and people's lives.

In the coming century, each nation's power will be based upon the well-being of its people rather than upon military force or old concept of territorial sovereignty. China will never become a leading nation in the modern world by bullying Taiwan and exploiting her tragedy, or by manipulating



**The 50th anniversary of the PRC is creating earthquake tremors in Taiwan**

the benevolence of the international community and efforts to send earthquake relief, in order to assert territorial sovereignty over Taiwan. Instead, Taiwan and China should join together to enhance their people's economic, political, and social development.

Taiwan reaches out to China in peace with sincere hope that we may leave behind past animosity and work together toward sustainable development; as distant cousins and close neighbors, we should coexist in harmony without hatred, without war.

***The time for peaceful coexistence is now.***

Hsiu-lien Lu President, Institute for National Development, Taipei, Taiwan

Fax 886 2 2356 7472, E-mail: ind888@ms27.hinet.net

## ***Ross Munro: What China really wants***

The 11 October 1999 issue of the **National Review** published an extensive analysis by Mr. Ross H. Munro of China's intentions regarding Taiwan and the American response to the issue.

Mr. Munro became well-known in 1997 when he co-authored -- with Richard Bernstein -- **The Coming Conflict with China**. Mr. Munro is director of Asian studies at the Center for Security Studies in Washington, DC.

In his present analysis, Mr. Munro writes that the often overheated, nationalistic and emotional rhetoric from Beijing's spokesmen and leaders regarding the Taiwan issue are in reality quite rational and calculated: they are aimed primarily at the American audience, and are designed to hide China's real intentions.

The real motive is that, in the eyes of the PRC leaders, Taiwan is first and foremost a strategic target that must soon be subjugated if China is to realize its goal of becoming Asia's dominant and unchallenged power.

Mr. Munro faults the Clinton Administration for *progressively distancing itself from Taipei*, and thereby *...only encouraging Beijing to take an increasingly shrill and aggressive stance on the Taiwan issue*.

He argues that during the 1980s, China maintained a relatively low-key stance on Taiwan, in part due to the Reagan Administration's quiet but firm insistence after 1982 that it wouldn't make any further concessions on the Taiwan issue. China was thus forced to aim for a long-term policy of trying to woo Taiwan by offering business and investment opportunities in the coastal regions of China.

He also presents evidence that -- while China's leaders insist that all Chinese support unification -- the Chinese general public has long been apathetic about the issue, and that it is of minor concern to the large majority of the people in China. He quotes one opinion poll, which shows that only 36 percent of those questioned want Washington to end support for Taiwan.

Mr. Munro writes that the democratisation in Taiwan and its resulting gradual drift away from China is certainly a significant factor in China's saber rattling, but that

another factor played perhaps an even more important role: a momentous shift in Chinese Grand Strategy in the first half of the 1990s. Mr. Munro argues that this shift was partly the result of the collapse of the Soviet Empire: this "lucky strategic windfall" opened the way for China to set out to become the dominant and undisputed power in East Asia.

This "opening" coincided with the high economic growth rates and the coming to the forefront of a new generation of political and military leaders. They saw the opportunity, but also noted that Taiwan was "in the way."

Thus, by the end of 1993, beginning of 1994, the PLA started to plan and implement exercises designed to prepare for an invasion of Taiwan. At the end of 1994, the Chinese military establishment reportedly held a closed-door "Invade Taiwan" pep rally, designed to spread the word and map out further strategy.

It is significant that all this *preceeded* the now well-known visit of President Lee Teng-hui to Cornell, which was then taken by the Chinese as a major excuse to start military exercises and missile firings.

Mr. Munro then goes on to criticize the Clinton Administration for failing to see the real reasons of China's words and actions. He terms the present policy "recklessly naïve" and suggests that the U.S. should make it unambiguously clear to China that any further threats and military actions by China will result in American military intervention in support of Taiwan.

He states that the United States has a moral commitment to Taiwan that overshadows any strategic interest: *Taiwan is a democracy, indeed a democracy as full-fledged as the United States. Its people overwhelmingly oppose putting their fate in the hands of Beijing, and they are ready to fight to prevent that from happening. If the United States fails to come to Taiwan's aid, it would forever diminish itself.*

Mr. Munro concludes by saying that if the United States were to abandon an old and democratic friend to Chinese aggression, U.S. credibility in Asia would collapse.

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Taiwan Communiqué supports a free, democratic, and independent Taiwan, and campaigns for full and equal membership of Taiwan in the international community, including a seat in the UN.  
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