

Focus on Taiwan

The International Taiwan
Congress

7. - 13. May 1995
in Linz
AUSTRIA



culture • people • economy

AIESEC



Focus on Taiwan
International Taiwan Congress
7 May - 13 May 1995

Under the Patronage of Dr. Klemens H Fischer
Permanent Austrian Representative to the European Union

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Li Ang

Why Focus on Taiwan ?

It is surprising that only a small number of people know where and what Taiwan actually is. Taiwan certainly has one of the strongest economies in Asia. Apart from that, it is a modern democratic state, which is trying to further integrate itself into the international community and to play a leading role in promoting international understanding.

Taiwan is said to play a key role in trade relations between Asia and the western world after the People's Republic of China's take-over of Hong Kong in 1997. It was for these reasons that we at AIESEC Linz came up with the idea of authentically presenting Taiwan in Europe in order to make people aware of the difficulties Taiwan has to face by trying to integrate itself into the international community and to educate people around the world towards better international and cultural understanding.

The Organizing Committee is convinced that this congress will have major impact on the public opinion especially in Europe and therefore help Taiwan to overcome its difficulties.

The comprehensive cultural programme gives the participants understanding of Chinese, Taiwanese and aboriginal culture. We managed to invite two famous authors: Li Ang and Lung Yingtai. The fine arts of modern and traditional painting is introduced by Wu Len-Shyang. Ten of the most famous Taiwanese films will be shown during the congress. A photo exhibition and a dance performance are also part of the cultural programme.

Moreover, the project Focus on Taiwan should point out the necessity of further projects aiming at promoting international and cultural understanding, as this is the only way if we want to live at peace.

We are not to provoke mainland China, as has been suggested. On studying the programme, it can be seen that Focus on Taiwan deals with present and future challenges for the 21 million people living on the island called Taiwan - and this in economic, social and political respects. AIESEC is independent of any ideology and point of view carried forward in lectures and discussions.

Thanks to those who did not give up on the political request of a certain government.

The Organizing Committee

Preface

Among the world's nations, there is one which is small but rich, prosperous but isolated. With a population of over 21 million, it is 120th in geographic size, yet 13th in world trade and has the second largest foreign reserves in the world. Since 1971, when it was expelled from the United Nations, its people have become international orphans. At times it is confused with Thailand. More often, it is confused with China. That nation is Taiwan.

As a Senator, a former Chair of the Foreign Relations Committee, the President of Taiwan International Alliance, the co-sponsor of this wonderful event, and most importantly, as a Taiwanese, it is my pleasure to welcome you to a very unique presentation of Taiwan in Europe, „Focus on Taiwan“, an AIESEC Global Theme Program. The aim of this ambitious program is to promote cultural, political and economic understanding between Taiwan and Europe, as well as to bring together the young leaders of AIESEC from all over the world.

Taiwan is a unique nation and has much to offer. Unfortunately, due to the overwhelming isolation of my country, our experiences and expertise in democracy, development, and culture are not shared with the world. Nor is Taiwan offered the opportunity to learn from the experiences of our international brothers and sisters. „Focus on Taiwan“ is an excellent opportunity for the people of Europe to learn truth of Taiwan, its people and culture. In under 40 years, the people of Taiwan transformed our island from an agrarian society suppressed by martial law, to one of the most dynamic and stable economies in Asia, a leader in trade relations between Asia and the world, and most importantly a vigorous and democratic state with human rights and the freedom of expression.

I wish all of the „Focus on Taiwan“'s participants an interesting and enjoyable learning experience. I would like to thank the AIESEC Linz Organizing Committee, especially Mr. Christian Schafferer, the OC President, for being given an opportunity to participate in such an important event and wish them the greatest success.

To quote the great Chinese philosopher of our culture, Confucius, „We in the four seas are all brothers and sisters.“ Therefore, I would like to take this opportunity to welcome you to visit Taiwan so that we may keep the spirit of „Focus on Taiwan“ alive. It is my firm belief that this event will be the beginning of a new era of understanding between Austria, Europe and my homeland, Taiwan.

Sincerely,

Hsiu-Lien Annette Lu
Senator, The Legislative Yuan
Ranking Member, The Foreign Relations Committee
President, Taiwan International Alliance

Dr. Klemens H. Fischer
Attaché

**Permanent Representation of Austria
to the European Union**
118, Avenue de Cortenberg
1040 Bruxelles
Belgique
0032-2-688.06.76



Bruxelles, 19.04.1995

Dear Mr. Schafferer,

As a former Student of the Johannes-Kepler-University of Linz, I was glad to hear that a group of socially-responsible and globally-minded students are organizing an outstanding symposium on Taiwan in order to make students all over the world aware of the necessity of promoting international and cultural understanding.

Taiwan certainly is among the countries Europeans know little about. This congress is one of the various ways of introducing this nation and its culture to all the students of different origin.

It has always been in the interest of the Johannes-Kepler-University of Linz to take part in the process of fostering friendly relations with all nations worldwide.

I wish all the participants an interesting and enjoyable congress and may this event help to make this world a better one!

Please accept, Mr. Schafferer, the assurance of my highest consideration.

Dr. Klemens H. FISCHER
Attaché

Mr. Christian SCHAFFERER
AIESEC
Johannes-Kepler-Universität Linz
Altenbergerstraße
4040 LINZ
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Christian Schafferer



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- **Delegates
Assistant**

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- **Finance**

Taiwan & the wind of change

by Christian Aspalter

Taiwan has undergone manifold changes over the past two or three decades. Nowadays, Taiwan emphasizes strongly the remarkable prosperity of the country, the fivethousand years of civilization and the beneficial three principals stated by Dr Sun Yat-Sen: national unity, democracy and public welfare. Indeed, there has been tremendous changes concerning the last two principles.

The economic growth and social change of the past resulted in Taiwan's democratization. Within few years, there has been a bloodless implementation of democracy. Free elections and stimulated political dispute give evidence for the progress being made concerning democracy.

Social well-being, human rights, especially women rights, are of crucial importance to the Taiwanese. During the congress, Senator Hsiu-Lien Annette Lu is giving a lecture on the emancipation of women in Taiwan.

1971 the Republic of China has been expelled from the United Nations. Since that moment Taiwan has had no opportunity to work together with all other countries within all organizations related to the United Nations and therefore no chance to share the worlds responsibility. The integration into the international community is a matter of concern to the 21 million people living on the island Taiwan. There is a urgent need to make people aware of the necessity of Taiwan's integration into the international commuity.

In the years to come, Taiwan will still be the centre of attention in the Asia-Pacific Region. Taiwan has an undefined political identity: some say it is a part of a divided nation and it cannot be called a nation, others think of changing the name of Republic of China into Republic of Taiwan in order to be a nation. This debate seems to last for a while. Nowadays, Taiwan is in the situation of being an isolated nation and a model for many countries at the same time. These are the main problems, Taiwan is facing today.

Furthermore, Taiwan has changed its image a great deal. Most things turned out to be of prosperous nature for the country and its people, but others not: the pollution of the environment, for instance. Compared to an average western country, Taiwan's position is looking good. *Taiwan hao.*

Monday 8 May 1995

Agenda

9:00

Focus on Taiwan

Workshop with an introduction by *Julian Baum*
Various topics will be discussed with leading experts:

- Taiwan's Democracy and Politics
- Taiwan's Economic Miracle
- Taiwan, Mainland China and the World
- Taiwanese Society
- Women and Social Development
- Modern Taiwanese Literature

University of Linz and KHG

12:00

Lunch

14:00

Democratization - Taiwanese Style

Hsiu-lien Annette Lu

Lecture

KHG

14:45

ROC - PRC: one China?

Prof. Kindermann

Lecture

KHG

15:30

Coffee Break

15:50

**The Taiwan Policy of Germany,
Austria, Switzerland**

Prof. Werner Pfeifenberger

Lecture

KHG

15:50 Parallel Programme
**Emancipation of Women in
Taiwan**

Hsiu-lien Lu

Lecture

University of Linz, HS 7

Tuesday 9 May 1995

10:00

Taiwan & the UN

Dr. Bernard T K Joei

Lecture

University of Linz, Repräume

10:45

**Taiwan & the UN - the past
and the future**

Video Film

University of Linz, Repräume

11:30

Lunch

14:00

**Taiwan & the UN - the past
and the future**

Panel Discussion with *Hsiu-Lien Annette Lu*,
Dr. Bernard Joei, *Simon Long* and *Prof. Pfeifenberger*

Moderator: *Julian Baum*

University of Linz, Repräume

Friday 12 May 1995

10:00

Taiwan and the New World Order

John F Copper

Lecture

University of Linz, HS 1

10:45

How Democratic is Taiwan?

James A Robinson

Lecture

University of Linz, HS 1



Taipei, Taiwan 1994

Hsiu-Lien Annette Lu

Curriculum Vitae



- *Senator Taiwan's Parliament*
- *Ranking member of the Foreign Relations Committee*
- *President of Taiwan International Alliance*
- *Taipei, Taiwan*

Senator Hsiu Annette Lu was born in Taiwan in 1944. She passed the entrance exam to the Law Department of the National Taiwan University at the top of her class and graduated in 1967. She was ranked first in the National Taiwan University Graduate School of Law the following year. She received her Masters degree in Comparative Law from the University of Illinois, and her L.L.M. from Harvard in 1978. In 1979 she joined the opposition movement for which she was later arrested, courtmartialled and sentenced to twelve years imprisonment. She served five and a half years. In 1992 she was elected to the Legislative Yuan, Taiwan's Parliament where she is the ranking member of the Foreign Relations Committee. In 1994, Senator Lu chaired in the Third Global Summit for Women in Taipei, Taiwan. Currently, she is campaigning for the Democratic Progressive Party's Vice Presidential nomination for the unprecedented 1996 Presidential and Vice Presidential popular elections. Senator Lu is the founder of Taiwan's Feminist Movement, the Clean Election Campaign, and the UN Bid for Taiwan Movement. She is also the author of thirteen books.

J. Arthur Robinson

Curriculum Vitae

- *President Emeritus*
- *Regent Professor*
- *Political scientist*
- *The University of West Florida*

university president emeritus, political scientist, b. Blackwell, Okla., June 9, 1932; s. William L. and Ethel Bell (Hicks) R.; Children; Adelaide Ethel, William Luke Walton. AB, George Washington U., 1954, DPS (hon.), 1977; MA, U. Okla., 1955; PhD, Northwestern U., 1957; LLD (hon.), Kyungpook (Korea) Nat. U., 1979; cert. Inst. for Ednl. Mgmt., Harvard U., 1986; Instr. polit. sci.

Northwestern U., 1958-59, asst. prof., 1959-62, assoc. prof., 1962-64; prof. polit. sci. Ohio State U., Columbus, 1964-71; dir. Mershon Center, 1967-70, v.p. acad. affairs, provost, 1969-71; pres., prof. polit. sci. Macalester Coll., St. Paul, 1971-74; pres. U. West Fla., Pensacola, 1974-88; pres. emeritus, 1988-; Regents prof. polit. sci., mgmt., ednl. leadership, 1988-. Author: (with R.C. Snyder) National and International Decision Making, 1961, Congress and Foreign Policy Making, rev. edit, 1967, House Rules Committee, 1964. Recipient Manning Dauer award Fla. Polit. Sci. Assn., 1992; Congl. fellow Am. Polit. Sci. Assn., 1957-58. Club: Cosmos (Washington)

JOEI, BERNARD T.K.

Curriculum Vitae



- *Senior Advisor, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, ROC 86-;*
- *Ambassadorial rank Senior Advisor for UN Affairs, Taipei Economic and Cultural Office New York, 93-;*
- *Board Member, Research & Planning Board, Ministry of Foreign Affairs 94-;*
- *Prof. of int'l law, Chinese Culture University 93-;*
- *Chairman, Sino Vietnam Industrial & Commercial Association 87-;*
- *General Counsel, Chen & Lin Attorneys at Law 94-;*
- *Member, National Columnist Association 93-;*
- *Board Director, Taipei European Schools; Editorialist, Columnist of The China Post, The Central Daily News, The Independent Evening Post;*
- *Board Director, Taipei European School Foundation 94-;*
Taipei, Taiwan

LL.B., Aurora University, Shanghai; diploma, Académie de Droit international The Hague; graduated from Institut des Etudes politiques, Paris 51; Doctor of international law, Paris University 50; Certificate of Proficiency of English, Cambridge University.

Prof. & Director, Graduate Institute of European Studies, Tamkang University 84-92; Director, Centre for Area Studies, Tamkang University 84-90; Ambassador to Mali 60, Upper Volta 61-68, Gambia 65-68, Cote d'Ivoire 68-83; Alternate Representative to regular sessions of UN General Assembly, 65-71;

Publications: *La diplomatie de Bismarck, La Constitution de la Ve République et la Cohabitation*, „Pragmatic Diplomacy in the Republic of China - History and Prospects“; in *Quiet Revolutions on Taiwan, Republic of China*, Jason C. Hu, editor; some 100 articles in English and Chinese covering international politics, UN affairs, Taiwan's pragmatic diplomacy and domestic politics published in different reviews, magazines and newspapers.

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TEL.: (886-2)718-8053 (O) (886-2)707-8828 (H)
FAX: (886-2)325-0498

Julian Baum

Curriculum Vitae

- *Correspondent and Bureau Chief of the Far Eastern Economic Review, Taipei, Taiwan*

Julian Baum has been the Taipei bureau chief for the Far Eastern Economic Review since 1990.

His university education includes a bachelors degree in government and foreign affairs from University of Virginia, a masters in political science from the Monterey Institute of International Studies in Monterey, California, and a masters in international relations and comparative politics from Columbia University in New York. After graduating from university, he served in the US Navy in the Far East for 4 years, including Japan and the Philippines, before returning to graduate school.

After working for several years in New York as a researcher and analyst on energy policy, Mr. Baum joined The Christian Science Monitor, a US daily newspaper based in Boston, Massachusetts, as an editor on its foreign news desk. He then served as the Monitor's staff correspondent in Beijing (1984-87) and London (1987-89) before joining the Far Eastern Economic Review, a weekly news magazine based in Hong Kong.

Simon Long



Curriculum Vitae

- *BBC World Service, Hong Kong Correspondent, China Business Correspondent, Hong Kong*

Responsibilities: Based in Hong Kong, but to report on Hong Kong, China and Taiwan, with a particular emphasis on business and economic stories, for the full range of BBC outlets - domestic and world service radio and television.

Other: Research Associate, China Studies Centre, School of Oriental and African Studies, London. Author for the Economist Intelligence Unit of quarterly Country Report on China (since 1989. Formerly Taiwan, 1986-1989), and Hong Kong (from October 1993). Weekly columnist, Eastern Express.

1992-Feb 1995, Hong Kong Correspondent, the Guardian (in addition to BBC responsibilities)

October 1991 - June 1993: Editor, „Dateline East Asia“, BBC World Service, a daily 30 minute current affairs radio programme about East Asia. Responsible for commissioning, editing and writing reports and analyses, and compiling features for World Service outlets, and for managing an eight-member „Topical Unit“ in the World Service’s Far East Department. The job included occasional reporting trips (in 1992, to Taiwan, Hong Kong, Thailand and Cambodia).

May 1989 - October 1991: BBC World Service and Guardian newspaper reporter in Beijing. I was also China correspondent of the Sunday Correspondent until its demise, and then wrote for The Economist. I also contributed regularly to Die Tageszeitung in Berlin, for RTHK, and Australian, North American and other radio stations, while servicing many BBC radio outlets, and, after its launch, BBC World Service Television. I reported not just from Beijing, but from many other parts of China, as well as from Hong Kong, Mongolia, Tibet and Taiwan.

1986-1989: Senior producer in the Far East Topical Unit of the BBC World Service. Writing daily reports and commentaries on East Asian affairs, and broadcasting frequently on the region. In 1988, launched „Dateline East Asia“.

1979-1986: Merchant Banker with Morgan Grenfell & Co Limited. Specialised in „project finance“ - the financing of large-scale capital projects. I travelled widely in Europe and to Nigeria.

From 1982-1984, I was based in Singapore, running the banking department of Morgan Grenfell (Asia), and responsible for banking all the ASEAN countries frequently, as well as Hong Kong, China, Taiwan, Sri Lanka, South Korea, Japan and Burma. For three months advisor on a big petrochemical project. On return to London, I was promoted to Senior Assistant Director, responsible for the Group’s banking business in Asia.

EDUCATION:

1963 - 1973: University College School, Hampstead, London
12 „0“ Levels, 3 „A“ levels (English, French and German), Grades A, 2 „S“ level distinctions (English and French). Entrance scholarship to Trinity College Cambridge.

1977 - 1978: Trinity College, Cambridge, studying French, German and Chinese. First class honours degree. British Council Scholarship to China. Harkness Fellowship to the United States. Senior Scholarship at Trinity.

1976 - 1977: Beijing Languages Institute, Nanjing University.
1978 - 1979: The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Boston, studying international relations.

In addition to daily journalism for the BBC, various British national newspapers and magazines, some of which has been anthologised in „The Best of From Our Own Correspondent“, Volumes 1, 2, 3 and 4, and the Bedside Guardian, 1990, I have written more substantial pieces.

„Taiwan: China's Last Frontier“ (Macmillan, 1991)

„Taiwan to 1993: Politics vs Prosperity“ (Economist Intelligence Unit, 1988)

„China to 2000: Reform's Last Chance“ (Economist Intelligence Unit, 1992)

John Franklin Copper

Curriculum Vitae



- *John F. Copper is the Stanley J. Buckman Distinguished Professor of International Studies at Rhodes College in Memphis, Tennessee*

Dr. Copper is the author of seventeen books on Asian and international affairs, including China's Global Role (Stanford: 1980), which won the Clarence Day Foundation Award for Creative Research and Writing. In addition, he has written four monographs, co-edited two books and co-translated two books. He has also contributed to more than forty books and has published over seventy articles in academic journals and magazines and more than one hundred and fifty reviews and newspaper articles. And several of his public addresses have been published.

Dr. Copper has testified before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the House Foreign Affairs Committee and its Subcommittee on Asian and China. He also authored a section of the Candidates' Handbook used by Republican congressional candidates in the 1984 election.

Professor Copper received his B.A. degree from the University of Nebraska (1961), his M.A. from the University of Hawaii (1965), and his PhD degree with distinction from the University of South Carolina (1975). He has also studied at the University of California at Berkeley and at Taiwan Normal University.

Dr. Copper was a member of the Board of Governors of the East West Center (and appointment made by the White House and the Secretary of State) from 1983 to 1989. He is currently a member of the Advisory Board of the Asian Studies Center at the Heritage Foundation and the Board of Directors of the American Association for Chinese Studies. He is also an Associate Scholar at the Ethics and Public Policy Center and the Hudson Institute and is a member of the editorial board of the journal Asian Affairs.

Dr. Copper is listed in Who's Who in the World, Who's Who in America, Who's Who in the South and Southwest, Who's Who in American Education, Men of Achievement, Contemporary Authors, Annual Guide to Public Policy Experts, and Who's Who in Asian Studies. He is the recipient of the Republican Congressional Committee's Medal of Merit.

Dr. Copper has spent more than thirteen years in Asia teaching and doing research. He has spent extended periods of time in nearly every East and Southeast Asian country. He speaks Chinese.

Prof. Dr. Gottfried-Karl Kindermann

Curriculum Vitae



- *Professor for Foreign Policy and International Relations at the Ludwig-Maximilian University, Munich Germany*
- *Co-Chairman, Foreign Affairs Association and Board Member Foreign Affairs Association, Munich Germany*
- *Since 1975 annual guest professor at the Training Academy of the Germany Foreign Office for Far Eastern History and International Relations*
- *Member, Foreign Policy Advisory Council, Christian Social Union (CSU Party)*

Study of Law at the University of Vienna, Austria

Study of Political Science as well as Far Eastern and Russian History at the University of Stanford California and Chicago Illinois

Research Associate, Center for American Foreign Policy, University of Chicago. Ph.D. at that university

Area specialist for East Asia and the United States in the Research Institute of the German Council on Foreign Relations

Senior Research Fellow of UNESCO East-West Major Project in Southeast Asia

1967 appointed Founding Director, Center for International Politics, University of Munich

1991 special guest of German President von Weizsäcker at his state visit in Korea

Founder of Munich School of Realism in International Politics

1985 Fellow at the Harvard University

Decorated with Great Silver Order of Merit of the Republic of Austria, and with Service Cross, 1st class of the Federal Republic of Germany

Two honorary doctorates of Law.

125 publications

Werner Pfeifenberger

Curriculum Vitae

- *Professor of International Politics and Law,
University of Münster, Germany*

23 October 1941	born in Salzburg
1959-1963	study of law in Vienna
1964-1965	advanced international studies in Bologna
since 1970	professor of politics in Salzburg
since 1972	professor of politics in Münster, Germany
1974	guest professor of international politics in Paderborn, Germany
1975-1978	professor of international law in Grenoble
1980-1981	professor of politics in Munich
1983-1985	professor of politics and government administration in Stellenbosch, S. A.
1987	holder of the "Tam Kang Chair" at the Tam Kang University in Taipei
1989	guest professor in Grenoble
since 1990	member of the Committee of Experts of Foreign Policy of the Austrian National Assembly

**DEMOCRATIZATION, TAIWANESE STYLE:
The Success of a Bloodless Revolution**

Synopsis

Hsiu-lien Lu

Introduction

Taiwan is often viewed as an „economic miracle“ due to its rapid and stable economic development. But this is only one aspect of Taiwan. It ignores the greatest accomplishment of the Taiwanese people, their successful democratization of the world's longest lasting martial law regime. Among the 4 Chinese societies, Taiwan distinguishes itself from the others through this bloodless and peaceful revolution. While people living in Hong Kong enjoy freedom without democracy, and people in Singapore enjoy democracy with little freedom, and the Chinese on the mainland enjoy neither freedom nor democracy, it is only in Taiwan that freedom has been restored and democracy installed. This success was not achieved without a great deal of difficulty; many sacrifices have been made and are continuing to be made for this cause. Even though advocates of freedom and democracy in Taiwan faced severe and often brutal repression, we were able to start Taiwan on the road to democratization without taking up arms and without bloodshed.

The History of Democratization

After the Second World War, Taiwan was occupied by the forces of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. On May 19, 1949, he established martial law in Taiwan to quell the growing dissent of the Taiwanese people. Under martial law, the military courts tried citizens accused for vague offenses said to „threaten the internal security of the state“ or offenses against public order and public safety.

1979 Kaohsiung Incident

The efforts of the democracy fighters came to a head on December 8th, 1979 in Kaohsiung, the second largest city in Taiwan. To commemorate International Human Rights Day, the democracy activists held a rally. Calls for democracy, Taiwan independence, women's rights, and workers' rights rang out. In their fear, the government acted as all authoritarian regimes do, with violence. At first, people were so frightened, but soon they came to realize that it was the government, the KMT, who was attacking the people. Full of indignation they began to defend themselves from the security forces with bamboo sticks, iron bars, bricks, anything they could find. This was one of the few times that violence was met with violence in our long struggle for democratization. Soon after all of the active oppositionists were arrested. Eventually fifty-one were indicted, and eight of the key leaders were court-martialed on charges of sedition. The Kaohsiung Incident was the democratic turning point of Taiwan's political system. Democracy became a crucial right that the people of Taiwan

demanded after seeing their vulnerability in the Kaohsiung Incident.

Opposition Party

On September 28, 1986, after being released from jail, opposition politicians defied martial law and established Taiwan's first opposition party, the Democratic Progressive Party. Its platform called for a general parliamentary elections and „self-determination“ for the future of Taiwan. Following the establishment of the DPP, demonstrations for political and non-political causes became a general practice in Taiwan. In July 1987 Chiang Ching-kuo, the heir of the dictatorship from his father, Chiang Kai-shek, finally lifted martial law.

Conclusion

Through the peaceful, non-violent, but persistent pressure of Taiwan's freedom fighters and democracy advocates, the process of democratization war begun. By catalyzing Taiwan's political consciousness, we managed to affect democratization without the extent of bloodshed or violence so characteristic of the struggles of freedom fighters in most other places. Moreover, it must be stressed that the process of democratization is far from over in Taiwan. But our system is far superior to that of freedom fighters who have democratized their nations through bloodshed. Violence breeds violence as civil wars in these nations sometimes demonstrate. Instead of working out differences in the ballot box, violence and civil war are revisited again and again. Yet, in Taiwan, political conflicts are mostly thrashed out through democratic means. This cultural and social institutionalization of democracy as the only means to solve problems is without doubt Taiwan's greatest achievement. I hope that today, and in the future, we Taiwanese can share our success with the international community and that the international community will share your success with us.

BARRIERS OVERCOME: A Hen Who Crows at Dawn

Synopsis

Hsiu-Lien Lu

I stand before you, a person, a woman, a feminist, a prisoner, and a senator. My life experiences have been a reflection of the modernization of Taiwan. My life has also been a reflection of women's emancipation in this century. To be born female in a Confucian society is not viewed as an advantage. In such a patriarchal culture, daughters are often considered a burden rather than a blessing. Furthermore, sex roles have been rigidly defined. Traditionally, „men focus on the outside world; women focus on the household world“. The Chinese have an expression for women who are active in the outside world: a hen who crows at dawn. Because it is the usual duty of a rooster to crow at dawn, this expression ridicules any woman who dares to engage in a man's profession. As I stand before you as a person, a woman, a feminist, a prisoner and a senator, I also stand before you as that hen.

In my book, [On Feminism](#), I explain that the basic principles for a Feminist are:

1. Be a person, than a woman or a man.
2. Be what you are, and
3. Let your talent be fully utilized, regardless of your gender.

Indeed, ever since I was born a girl, I've been struggling to overcome social and political barriers to reach my goals. No matter what I do, I think of myself as a person rather than as a woman. Whatever role I play, I always try to do my best, not as a man or a woman, but as a person. I never let my gender be a barrier to prevent me from achieving my dreams. I will always apply myself in a field where I am most qualified and where I can most benefit my country, politics.

Throughout history men have been the politicians, the ones who have declared war upon each other. These wars have devastated countless human lives, destroyed property and ruined the environment. With very few exceptions, men have started wars while women have been the unheard victims. When I was a political prisoner of conscience, many people, known and unknown to me, worked very hard to rescue me. Years after my release, I was surprised to discover that most of them were women. In fact, I have found that there are many women human rights activists, but very few female dictators. Women have long served as the ones who are responsible for cleaning up and rectifying the mistakes of others. Can't we have more women in decision making position, so that political corruption and violence can be prevented from happening in the future? Now is the time for a new era of gender equality and gender harmony. It's time for men to share leadership with women and for women to share responsibility with men. If this results in a portion of us being that hen who crows at dawn, well what's wrong with that? After all, while a rooster crows to make nothing but noise, a hen crows to lay eggs, her eggs for a better future.

HOW DEMOCRATIC IS TAIWAN?

James A Robinson

Synopsis

„Democracy“ and its variations, „democratic“ and „democratization“, are among the looser words. To appraise Taiwan's democratization, we apply Robert A. Dahl's five criteria of democracy. 1. Effective participation: Citizens have adequate opportunity, and equal opportunity, for placing questions on the agenda and for expressing preferences about the final outcome of a process of making decisions that bind them, that is with which they are expected to comply. 2. Voting equality at the decisive stage: Citizens have equal opportunity to express choices that are counted equally at the decisive stage at which binding decisions are made. 3. Enlightened understanding: Citizens have adequate and equal opportunities for discovering and validating the choice that they believe would best suit their interests. 4. Agenda control: Citizens have exclusive opportunity to decide what matters are to be placed on the agenda of matters that are to be decided. 5. Inclusiveness: Citizens include all adults subject to binding decisions of the collectivity.

These criteria pertain to polities, although we recognize that democracy also may be defined as „a way of life“ and equivalent criteria applied to institutions other than the polity, including the economy, family, etc. This paper assesses Taiwan on each criterion, briefly compares Taiwan with other polities, and notes discrepancies between ideal and actual performances.

Taiwan and the New World Order
John F Copper

Synopsis

Taiwan, or the Republic of China, was at the center of the East-West bipolar struggle. As the global System changed it had to adjust quickly: to Beijing's admission to the U.N., loss of diplomatic recognition, etc. Since 1989, it has had to adjust again, and has done so quite well. Its policy has changed in domestic affairs, foreign policy, economic policy and security policy to adjust to the „new world order“. It has advertised its democratization (to demonstrate to the world community that it should have the right to chose its future), adopted a flexible foreign policy (pursuing relations with former and still communist countries while abandoning its one-China view), used its economic clout (to pursue external policy goals), and has built up its defenses (since Beijing's threat is even more formidable not having any longer to worry about the Soviet Union). Having had to accomodate to the policy shifts of the superpowers in the past, Taipei was better able to adjust to the end of the Cold War and may be a model for other countries having adjustment problems.

Republic of China on Taiwan and the United Nations
Dr. Bernard T.K. Joei¹

Synopsis

In 1912, the first republic in Asia, the Republic of China, was founded. From 1912 to 1949, the Republic of China existed as one nation, also known simply as China. It was this very Republic of China, together with other 50 nations, that created the United Nations in San Francisco in 1945 and became one of the five permanent members of the Security Council.

Later on, China has been divided into two political entities, with the ROC on Taiwan and the PRC on the mainland, both claiming to be the sole legitimate government of the whole of China.

The question of „Chinese representation“ was brought up and debated at the United Nations from 1949 to 1971, when the U.N. adopted Resolution 2758, the so-called „Restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China“, admitting Beijing to the United Nations while expelling the Republic of China, a founding member, from the world body. For almost half a century, the ROC and the PRC have not been subject to each other's rule. The claim by the PRC that it represents all of China is clearly a pure fiction.

By adopting this resolution, some were perhaps hoping that the people of Taiwan would be absorbed by the Communists, thereby conveniently resolving the thorny China question once for all without any annoying moral discomfort for themselves. But this was not to be. The PRC's jurisdiction never extended over Taiwan, despite its unlawful and anachronistic claim of sovereignty. The Republic of China was neither annexed by the PRC, nor did it disappear.

On the contrary, the Republic of China has thrived and continues to maintain a well-defined international presence in the international community. It has, without any doubt, exercised effective control over Taiwan since the island's restitution by Japan in 1945.

Today, China is divided. The division has been officially acknowledged by the ROC's recognition of the Chinese communist authorities as a separate political entity in May 1991, when Taipei announced the termination of the Period of Mobilization for Suppression of Communist Rebellion.

Therefore, until reunification of the entire Chinese nation at some point in the future, both Taipei and Beijing should be regarded as exercising effective rule over the areas under their control, and both should be entitled to represent their citizens and participate in international matters on the international scene. Regretfully, the international community has been reluctant to accept the ROC because of the false impression created by Beijing that the communist regime's sovereignty extends to Taiwan.

The 1971 U.N. resolution was ostensibly passed on the basis of the principle of universality, which ironically left the 21 million people in Taiwan without a voice in the world forum and deprived them of their fundamental human rights to be represented as a people, in flagrant violation of the very principle of universality.

Even taken as it was, the resolution in question amounted to a negation of the ROC's claim to be the sole legal government of the whole of China, but not of the sovereignty of the Republic itself.

U.N. Resolution 2758 was a product of ideological confrontation during the Cold War era two decades ago. It no longer reflects the current international political landscape. Today the ROC has surpassed most U.N. members in GNP (with the world's 20th largest economy), trade volume (the world's 13th largest), foreign exchanges reserves (the world's second largest), and population (larger than that of two-thirds of U.N. members). Following the precedent of dual representation for divided nations set by Germany and Korea, a strong case can be made for allowing the Republic of China on Taiwan a place in the United Nations.

On the occasion of celebrating the U.N.'s 50th anniversary, it is ironic to see that something is still holding back the world body from acting on its own best principles. That is that Beijing's stubborn insistence on a cold-war era myth that only one Chinese government can represent all Chinese people, no matter where they live. The ROC government, in fact has always been and continues to be committed to the idea of one China, implying eventual reunification with the mainland one day.

However, if one thinks pragmatically for a moment, the fact is that there is indeed a government separate from Beijing that has ruled the island and its 21 million people continuously since 1949. In other words, in China today there are in reality two governments, the PRC and the ROC, and each legitimately rules the area it controls. Both are part of China. Neither one alone can pretend to represent all of China. This is the reality, which flies in the face of the position taken by the PRC that there can be only one legitimate government for one China.

Therefore, it would be in the PRC's own best interest to change its intransigent attitude toward Taiwan, agreeing to participate in a peaceful reunification, where both parties are on an equal footing. In this light, Beijing should have no objection to the ROC's U.N. bid, which symbolizes this equality and may ultimately facilitate the reunification process.

¹ Ambassador Bernard T.K. Joei, former ROC alternate representative to the United Nations General Assembly is a professor of international Studies at Chinese Culture University in Taipei. He is also a senior advisor and a board member of the Research and Planning Board of the ROC's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, a columnist in the Taiwan English daily, *The China Post* and a law firm general counselor.

Taiwan and the UN

Hsiu-Lien Lu

Synopsis

The „Republic of China“ government on Taiwan represents one of the founding nations of the United Nations and the first nation to sign the UN Charter in 1945. As a founding member, Taiwan retained a permanent seat on the Security Council. As soon as the PRC was established, its leaders started petitioning to enter the UN, but, insisting that it was the sole representative of China, the ROC excluded the PRC from the UN. The first call for PRC membership was made by the Soviet Union on January 10, 1950. In 1971, the UN General Assembly passed Resolution 2758, restoring the rights of the People's Republic of China (PRC) as the sole legitimate representative of China and expelling Chiang Kai-shek's representatives from the UN. The people of Taiwan have not been represented in the UN since that time.

As China ceded Taiwan to Japan in the Treaty of Shimonoseki of 1895 „in perpetuity“, as the PRC government has never for one day held sovereignty over Taiwan, and as for over forty, Taiwan has been a de facto independent sovereign nation, with permanent land, population, a stable economy, and a functioning government, 21 million Taiwanese deserve an international status equal to their political and economic achievements. The Taiwanese people have overcome the effects of years of colonization, poverty, dictatorship and exploitation. Through hard work, determination, and an emphasis on education, the Taiwanese have pushed their nation forward politically and economically. Taiwan now asks that the UN to respect its right of representation, and Taiwan wishes to use this right to contribute its experiences to the promotion of the well-being of all humanity.

Taiwan - world player in economics?

by Christian Aspalter

There even are people in Europe who think that Taiwan is a poor country. The opposite is true. In our day-to-day surroundings there are hundreds of products made in Taiwan, not just computers and plastic toys. The Taiwanese economy is surprising in many ways and it is worth learning more about it.

The history, the current situation and the future development of the Taiwanese economy are presented during this economic symposium. The purpose of the symposium is to point out the difficulties as well the opportunities of companies trading with Taiwan and not to refer to the outstanding economic growth by reading statistics and stating an euphoric hymne of praise.

The trade relations of Taiwan with mainland China, Hong Kong, the European Community and Austria are discussed in detail. Taiwan as well as South Korea are models for economic management for many third world countries and even for mainland China.

The main determinants of the gradual development of Taiwan's economy are: the land reform, import substitution, export-orientated economy. Furthermore, there attention will be drawn to the transition of labor-intensive industries to capital-intensive ones and its consequences by taking the example of the wood processing industry.

The government policies in Taiwan helped to increase the welfare of the nation to a large extent. The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade opens up new prospects for Taiwan and pave the way for a controlled and therefore smooth international trade. At this economic symposium the participants get the opportunity to look back and analyse the Taiwanese miracle, *and at the same time discover the future opportunities of the Taiwanese economy.*

Tuesday 9 May 1995

Agenda

- 9:00
Trade Relations between Taiwan and Austria
Dr. Bruno Breinschmid
Lecture
Economic Chamber, Hessenplatz 3
- 9:45
Economic Integration of Mainland China and Taiwan
Prof. C Herrmann-Pillath
Lecture
Economic Chamber, Hessenplatz 3
- 10:30
Coffee Break
- 10:50
The Role of Government in the Economic Development - a Case Study of Taiwan
Prof. John-ren Chen
Lecture
Economic Chamber, Hessenplatz 3
- 11:30
Lunch
- 14:00
Taiwan and the World Trade Organization
Dr. Helmut Klemesch
Lecture
Economic Chamber, Hessenplatz 3
- 14:45
Wood-processing Industry in Taiwan - Future prospects
Ing. Peter Golzar
Lecture
Economic Chamber, Hessenplatz 3

Wednesday 10 May 1995

- 9:00
Trade Relations between Taiwan and the EU
Prof. Richard Grant
Lecture
Economic Chamber, Hessenplatz 3
- 9:45
Taiwan's Economic and Political Stability
Julian Baum
Lecture
Economic Chamber, Hessenplatz 3
- 10:30
Coffee Break
- 10:50
Payment and Banks in Taiwan - Import and Export Payments
Dr. Manfred Weißmann
Lecture
Economic Chamber, Hessenplatz 3
- 11:30
Lunch
- 14:00
Taiwan's Model of Economic Management
Dr. Peter Ferdinand
Lecture
Economic Chamber, Hessenplatz 3
- 14:45
Trade Relations between Taiwan - Hong Kong - Mainland China: prospects after 1997
Simon Long
Lecture
Economic Chamber, Hessenplatz 3

Dr. Peter Ferdinand

Curriculum Vitae



- *Currently Director of the Centre for Studies in Democratisation, University of Warwick.*
- *Previously Head of the Asia-Pacific Programme, Royal Institute of International Affairs, London.*

Leader of the China team, International Business Outlook Conferences for Oxford Analytica.

Former Specialist Adviser, Foreign Affairs Committee, House of Commons. Author of Communist Regimes in Comparative Perspective: the Evolution of the Soviet, Chinese and Yugoslav Models (1991); editor, The New Central Asia and Its Neighbours (1994) and of Take-Off For Taiwan? (1995), plus over twenty articles on politics and economics in the Asia-Pacific region, China, Taiwan, S.Korea, Japan, the former Soviet Union, the former Yugoslavia, Mexico and Italy.

RICHARD L. GRANT

Curriculum Vitae



- *Head, Asia-Pacific Programme, Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, UK*

May 1990 to November 1993
Executive Director, Pacific Forum/CSIS Honolulu

January 1988 to May 1990
Special Assistant to the Vice Chairman of the Board of Trustees and Fellow in National Security Studies for Henry Kissinger
Chair in National Security Policy, Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), Washington, D.C.

April 1987 to January 1988
Executive Assistant to the President, Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)

October 1985 to April 1987
Director of the Political Committees North Atlantic Assembly (NAA) Brussels

May 1983 to October 1985
Assistant to the Secretary General and Information Officer North Atlantic Assembly (NAA)

EDUCATION

- 1982 Masters Degree in International Business Law
(Maitrise en Droit International des Affaires),
Université de Paris I, Panthéon-Sorbonne, Paris
- 1981 International Law Degree with Honors
(Licence en Droit International des Affaires)
Université de Paris I, Panthéon-Sorbonne, Paris
- 1980 DEUG Law Degree
Université de Paris I, Panthéon-Sorbonne, Paris
- 1978 Degree in Political Studies
Institut d'Etudes Politiques, Paris
- 1975-1977 School of Political Science
Washington & Lee University, Lexington, Va.

PUBLICATIONS

The 1990s: Decade of Challenge for the Asia Pacific (Pacific Forum/CSIS Policy Report, 1991); editor, with Amos A. Jordan of APEC: The Challenge Ahead (CSIS Significant Issues Series, 1990); editor with Gerrit W. Gong of Security and Economics in the Asia-Pacific Region (CSIS Significant Issues Series, 1991); editor of Strengthening the U.S.-Japan Partnership in the 1990s: Ensuring the Alliance in an Unsure World (CSIS Significant Issues Series 1992); China and Southeast Asia: Looking Toward the 21st Century (CSIS Significant Issues Series, June 1993); Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific (CSIS Significant Issues Series, June 1993). Articles in the International Herald Tribune, The NATO Review, The Atlantic Quarterly, NATO's Sixteen Nations, The Washington Quarterly, National Defense, The Honolulu Advertiser, Business Week, The World Today, The Korean Journal of Defense Analysis.

PERSONAL

Born, November 3, 1957; Married; excellent health; fluent French

Office: The Royal Institute of International Affairs
Chatham House, 10 St. James's Square
London SW1Y 4LE
telephone: 0171 957-5707
fax : 0171 957-570

Dr. Bruno Breinschmid

Curriculum Vitae

- *Director Far-East 1, Foreign Trade Department,
Federal Economic Chamber, Vienna, Austria*

Born March 6th, 1935
Married, 3 sons

- | | |
|----------------|---|
| 1953 - 1958 | University of Economics, Vienna |
| 1958/59 | Messrs. Martell et Cie, Cognac/France
Export Department |
| Since 1960 | Austrian Federal Economic Chamber,
Foreign Trade Departement |
| 1960 - 1974 | In charge of administration and personnel for
Trade Delegation network of the Chamber |
| 1974 - 1978 | Austrian Trade Delegation in Zurich, Switzerland |
| 1979 - 1984 | African Desk of the Foreign Trade Department, Vienna |
| 1984 - present | Coordinator for Asia and in charge of the
Far East Desk within the Foreign Trade
Department, Vienna |

Dr. Helmut Klemesch

Curriculum Vitae

- *Head of GATT-desk,
Deaprtment of Foreign Trade and Trade Policy,
Austrian Federal Economic Chamber, Vienna, Austria*

Born on 14 September 1938 at Innsbruck, Austria
married, one daughter

- | | |
|-------------|--|
| 1957 - 1962 | University of Innsbruck, Studies in law |
| since 1965 | employed with the Austrian Federal
Economic Chamber, Vienna |
| 1966 - 1970 | Austrian Assistant Trade Commissioner for Israel,
Tel Aviv |

1970 - 1972	Secondment to the Int. Trade Center (UNCTAD/GATT) Geneva
1974 - 1978	Austrian Assistant Trade Commissioner in Frankfurt, Germany
1981 - 1987	Austrian Trade Commissioner for West Africa, Abidjan, Cote d'Ivoire
since 1988	Department of Foreign Trade and Trade Policy Head of GATT-desk

Prof. Dr. Carsten Herrmann-Pillath

Curriculum Vitae

- *Professor of Chinese Economic Studies, University of Duisburg, FRG*
- *Researcher in Evolutionary Economics, University of Marburg, FRG,*
- *Lecturer in Evolutionary Economics, University of St. Gallen, Switzerland*

Main fields of research: *comparative economic systems, economic theory of institutional change (interdisciplinary approaches), economic development and systemic change in China, economics and philosophy.*

Current projects: *Culture and economic change in China, economic and social integration between Taiwan and the Chinese mainland, biological foundations of mind, power and economics.*

Born February 24, 1959, in Dessau/Germany.

1979-1988:	Studies in economics, sinology, Romance languages, Russian, and linguistics at the University of Cologne.
1984:	Master of Arts degree in sinology and Romance languages.
1987:	Master's degree (Diplom-Volkswirt) in economics.
1987-1988:	Researcher at the Institute of Economic Polica, University of Cologne.
1988:	Ph.D. in economics.
1988-1992:	researcher at the Federal Institute for Eastern European and International Studies, Cologne, specializing on the Chinese economy and society.
1990-present:	co-director of the research projekt „European Project on China's Modernization: Contemporary Patterns of Cultural and Economic Change“, together with Prof. Helmut Martin, University of Bochum, funded by the Volkswagen Foundation.

- 1992-present: Professor of Chinese Economic Studies at the University of Duisburg.
- 1992: Winner of the Ludwig-Erhard-Award (Förderpreis) for economic literature.
- 1993: Visiting Scholar at the Centre of Asian Studies, Hong Kong, and Visiting Professor at the Keio-University, Tokio.
- 1994-present: Lecturer in Evolutionary Economics at the University of St. Gallen, Switzerland.
- 1994-present: Advisor to the German Academic Exchange Organization (DAAD).
- 1994-present: Advisor to the Federal Institution for Political Education (Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung).

Ing. Peter Golzar

Curriculum Vitae

- *Chairman of Interwood GLT HandelsgesmbH*

Vocational development:

1994 until today: Chairman of Interwood GLT HandelsgesmbH, which is working in the field of engineering, consultancy, and deliveries for the wood processing industry. The company is specialized in technological engineering and delivering, installation and take into operation of industrial plants.

1988 till 1993: Project leader and export manager at Zuckermann Industrieanlagen GesmbH, a company producing machines and industrial for the wood processing industry. Responsible for the installation of various production lines, especially in the field of solid wood products, like parquet, furnitures, chairs, timber, etc. Projects were carried out in all over the world, mainly Russia, China, Malaysia, Indonesia, and overseas.

Until 1988: Various jobs throughout the wood processing industry. Both in the production sector and in the construction departments.

Education:

HTBLA and VA Mödling for wood technology

Some semesters at the Vienna University for Agricultural Science and the Technical University Vienna

Dr. Manfred Weissmann

Curriculum Vitae



- *Deputy General Manager,
Finance Division, Oberbank, Linz, Austria*

- 1957 Born in Linz/Danube, Austria
- 1976 High School Certificate in physical science, Linz
- 1976 Military Service in the Tyrol and start of military career with present rank Captain in the Austrian Army

- 1981 Command of Austrian Force Reserve Unit, UN-Forces in Cyprus
- 1982 Doctorate in Law, University of Linz
- 1982 Harvest Management, Unilever Hannover, Germany
- 1983 Law practice at the local Courts of Linz
- 1984 International Department in Oberbank with various responsibilities:
- 1991
 - Deputy Manager, Documentary Business
 - Assistant Manager, International Business
 - Manager Marketing and Customer Service, International Business
- 1992 Deputy General Manager, Holder of Procurement and Deputy Head of Finance Division in Oberbank
- 1992 Commercial visits in approx. 20 countries worldwide,
- 1995 especially Eastern Europe and South East Asian Region

Additional Function:

Executive Secretary in the Corporation of Austrian Economists, Upper Austria

John-ren Chen

Curriculum Vitae



- ***Professor of Economics, University of Innsbruck, Austria***

economics educator; b. Shi-gin, Yun-lin, Taiwan, Mar. 27, 1936; s. Bau-Ko and Mao (Wu) C.; married; children: Peter, Willy. B degree, Nat. Cheng-chi U., Taiwan, 1961; D degree, U. Frankfurt, Fed. Republic Germany, 1969. Asst. U. Frankfurt, 1965-69; asst. prof. U. Berlin, 1974 - 80, U. Bielefeld, Fed. Republic Germany; prof. U. Innsbruck, Austria, 1980-. Author: The World Cotton Market, 1970, A Macroeconometric Model for Taiwan, 1976, Importrestriction, 1983, Terms of Trade, 1985. Pres. Formosa-Assn. in Germany, 1970 - 71; active European Alliance for Dem. Rule in Taiwan, Fed. Republic of Germany, 1979-. Mem. Verein Socialpolitik, The Econometric Soc., European Assn. Devel. Rsch. and Tng. Insts., Academia Scientiarum et Artium Europaea. Home: Karl Innerebnerstr. 88, 6020 Innsbruck Austria Office: U of Innsbruck, Innrain 52, A-6020 Innsbruck Austria

Taiwan's Model of Economic Management

Dr. Peter Ferdinand

Synopsis

This talk will firstly outline the main periods of the Taiwanese government's strategy for rapid economic growth since the 1950s land reform import substitution and then export-oriented strategies. It will highlight the role which the state played in them. Then it will consider the social policies which contributed to this success: the high savings ratios, the emphasis upon education, the maintenance of equality without government welfare programmes. Finally it will consider the economic challenges resulting from its success: increasing pressure from the US to open its markets and control counterfeiting, competition from other rapidly developing Newly Industrialising Economies in Asia, the need to raise the level of technology in industry, membership of the World Trade Organisation, and the challenges from society and the environment.

Economic Integration of Mainland China and Taiwan

Prof. C Herrmann-Pillath

Synopsis

Between ROC and PRC a process of rapid economic integration takes place which leads to a deepening of the regional division of labour between both countries. Whereas at the beginning stages of that process this division of labour focused on the relocation of labour-intensive manufacturing from Taiwan to the Mainland, today Taiwanese companies also put a lot of emphasis on exploiting human capital and technology of the socialist urban and industrial sector.

However, integration proceeds under an Institutional regime which suffers from the impact of political tensions between both Chinese governments. Although recently steps towards a formalization of the Integration process have been taken, the main channels still belong to the informal networking between Taiwanese entrepreneurs and Mainland Chinese local officials. The lecture gives a survey of the main steps towards ROC/PRC integration, its potentials and its risks. It is based on a recently published book-length study by the speaker as well as of ongoing data-collection and observation at the Gerhard-Mercator-University of Duisburg.

Taiwan - the heritage of three cultures

by Christian Aspalter

The aboriginals settled on the island long before the first Chinese arrived. They are considered to be Malayan or Indonesian origin. The local people are living in the mountainous and thinly populated eastern part of the country. The so-called Taiwanese culture was brought to Taiwan from the Fukien and Kwangtung (Canton) province. In 1949, about two million mainland Chinese fled to Taiwan. They came from various part of the mainland and introduced the mainland Chinese culture, such as the Beijing opera.

Twenty of the most famous Taiwanese films are to be shown during the Taiwanese film festival, mainly films by Lee Ang and Hou Hsiao-hsien. *Wedding Banquet*, which will be shown during the congress, was nominated for best foreign film.

We have got the honour to listen to authors like Li Ang and Lung Yin-Tai, who wrote several bestsellers. In addition to that, Prof. Helmut Martin, the European expert on Chinese literature, gives a lecture on literature in Taiwan. As to music, Prof. Hsu Tsang Houei, whose discourse will be dedicated to the contemporary music in Taiwan.

Traditional and modern Taiwanese paintings by Wu Len-Shyang are shown at a local gallery. The Taiwanese rap-artist, Jutoupi, and the Li-Yi Yang and Dancers enrich the evening performances.

This splendid cultural programme make the participants familiar with the traditional heritage of the three Taiwanese cultures, this means the aboriginal culture, the Taiwanese Chinese culture (of the Fukien Chinese & Hakka people) and the mainland Chinese culture. Especially the recent boom of the Taiwanese literature and movies refute the assertion of those who say that Chinese culture lives of the conservation of the old.

The comprehensive presentation of the culture of the people living on Taiwan certainly promotes international and cultural understanding between the west and the east, as this is the aim of AIESEC.

Tuesday 2 May - Friday 12 May 1995

Agenda

Taiwan Art

Wu Len Shyang
Exhibition
University of Linz, Gallery

Monday 8 May 1995

19:00

Taiwan Dance Performance

Lily Yang & Dancers
Dance Performance
Volkshaus Dornach

20:30

Taiwan Rap

Jutoupi
Rap Music
Volkshaus Dornach

Tuesday 9 May 1995

20:00

**Between China and the West -
The History of Taiwanese movies and
Contemporary Taiwanese Film Art**

Stefan Kramer
Lecture
University of Linz, HS1

20:45

Wedding Banquet

Film by Lee Ang
Performance
University of Linz, HS1

Wednesday 10 May 1995

16:15

**A Prose that Does Not Tell Lies -
Observation on German and
Chinese Reading Habits**

Dr. Lung Yingtai
Lecture
University of Linz, HS 10

20:00

Als Asiatin in Europa
[in German with discussion in English]

Lung Yingtai
Lecture
Ursulinenhof Linz, Kleiner Saal II

20:00 Parallel Programme

Strawmann

Film by Wang Tung
Performance
Jugendgästehaus Linz, Stangelhofweg 3

Pushing Hands

Film by Lee Ang
Performance
Jugendgästehaus Linz, Stangelhofweg 3

White Teeth and Black Skin

Film by Yang Li-Kuo
Performance
Jugendgästehaus Linz, Stangelhofweg 3

Thursday 11 May 1995

Agenda

10:00

Introduction to Taiwanese Music
[in Chinese with English translation]

Prof. Hsu Tsang Houei
Lecture
Jugendgästehaus Linz, Stangelhofweg 3

10:45

Lecture on New Music in Taiwan
[in Chinese with English translation]

Prof. Hsu Tsang Houei
Lecture
Jugendgästehaus Linz, Stangelhofweg 3

14:00

Literature in Taiwan

Prof. Helmut Martin
Lecture
University of Linz, HS 2

20:00

Essays and Prose

Li Ang
Lecture
Ursulinenhof Linz, Kleiner Saal II

20:00 Parallel Programme

L'Air du Temps

Film
Performance
Jugendgästehaus Linz, Stangelhofweg 3

Dust in the Wind

Film
Performance
Jugendgästehaus Linz, Stangelhofweg 3

Taipei Story

Film by Edward Yang
Performance
Jugendgästehaus Linz, Stangelhofweg 3

Friday 12 May 1995

20:00

The Story of Taipei Women

Film
Performance
Jugendgästehaus Linz, Stangelhofweg 3

Osmanthus Alley

Film by Hou Hsiao-hsien
Performance
Jugendgästehaus Linz, Stangelhofweg 3



- *Taiwan's leading expert on aboriginal Taiwanese music*
- *Director National Symphony Orchestra*
- *Former Dean of the Department of Music,
National Taiwan Normal University, Taipei, Taiwan*

Social Positions

- 1954: regular member of Taiwan Provincial Orchestra
- 1961 - 1968: Organizer, Chinese Composers Forum
- 1961 - 1963: Organizer, Music Premier Concert
- 1961 - 1963: Music Critic, „Wenshin“ Magazine
- 1964 - 1968: Vice-President, Chinese Youth Orchestra
- 1966 - 1967: Director, Composition Class organizing by local Musicians Association, at Taichun and Chang Hua
- 1967 - 1968: Director, Chinese Folkmusic Research Center
- 1968 - 1970: Music Critic, „Yoshe-Wenyi“ Magazine
- 1969 - 1974: Chairman, Chinese Society for contemporary Music Research
- 1971 - 1972: Adviser, Symphony Orchestra of Taiwan Television Company
- 1972 - 1974: Music Critic, „China Daily News“
- 1972 - 1973: Adviser, Symphony Orchestra, Chinese Culture University
- 1974 - 1980: General Secretary, R.O.C. Section, Asian Composers League
- 1975 - 1990: Vice-Chairman, Executive Committee, Asian Composers League
- 1975 - 1976: Adviser, Chinese Orchestra, China Broadcasting Company
- 1975 - 1978: Member, Committee of The Collection and Reclassification of Chinese Folksongs, Government Information Office
- 1976 - 1978: Member, Committee for Conservation of Aboriginal Culture, Taiwan Provincial Government
- 1979 - 1990: General Secretary, Chinese Folk Arts Foundation
- 1979 - 1981: Member of judge, „Golden Horse Prize“ for film, Government Information Office
- 1980 - 1990: Chairman, R.O.C. Section, Asian Composers League
- 1980 - 1983: Administrative member, National Foundation for Literature and Arts
- 1980 - : Chairman, Music Copyright Committee, Copyright Holders Association of R.O.C.
- 1980 - : Member of judge, „Golden Bell Prize“ for Broadcasting and Television, Government Information Office
- 1981 - 1983: Member of judge, Wu San-Lian Foundation for Literature and Arts
- 1982 - : Member of Music Committee, Council for Cultural Planning and Development, Executive Yuan
- 1982 - : Member of Cultural Heritage Committee, Council for Cultural Planning and Development, Executive Yuan
- 1982 - : Member of Academic Evaluation Committee, Ministry of Education

- 1984 - 1990: General Secretary and Vice-President, Chinese Folk Arts Foundation
- 1985 - : Member of judge, „Shinchuan Prize“ for the Heritage of Traditional Arts, Ministry of Education
- 1988 - : Member, Arts Education Committee, Ministry of Education
- 1988 - : Member of judge, Committee of Important National Arts and Artists
- 1989 - : Chairman, Music Copyright Holders Association, R.O.C.
- 1989 - 1991: President, Composers Association, R.O.C.
- 1990 - : Director, Preparatory Committee for the National Center of Chinese Traditional Music, Council for Cultural Planning and Development, Executive Yuan
- 1991 - : President, Chinese Society for Ethnomusicology
- 1991 - : Director, Graduate Institute of Music and Chairman, Department of Music, National Taiwan Normal University
- 1991 - : Chief of committee for the seasonal concert at House of the President
- 1991 - : Advisor of Taiwan Provincial Orchestra
- 1991 - : Chairman of alumni association of Dept. of Music, NTNU

Prof. Dr. Helmut Martin

Curriculum Vitae

- **Professor of Chinese Literature,
University of Bochum, Germany**

Ruhr-Universität Bochum, Department of East Asian Studies
44801 Bochum, Germany
fax 49-2302-71683

Helmut Martin, born March 5, 1940 in Kassel, Germany, married to Tienchi Martin-Liao, MA, lecturer of Chinese, Ruhr University, one daughter Katja.

Professor of Chinese language and literature with the Ruhr University Bochum since 1979 and Research Fellow for China with the Hamburg Institute of Asian Affairs 1972-1979. 1980-1982 founder and first director of the Institute of Arabic, Chinese and Japanese languages (State of North-Rhine Westfalia), in Bochum, which provides practical language training for journalists, diplomats, businessmen and students. 1984-1986 chairman of the Department of East Asian Studies. He has published several books on Chinese literary problems, domestic politics and Maoist ideology, edited a Chinese-German dictionary of political language in the PRC and has been introducing contemporary Chinese literature to the Western public during the 80s. Since the early 90s writing a history of Taiwan literature. Since 1992 directing the Richard Wilhelm Research Centre for Translation, with Tienchi Martin-Liao, MA. 1990-1994, together with Prof. C. Herrmann-Pillath, directing the Volkswagen Foundation's European Project on China's Modernization: (a bibliographic survey of publications from this project is S. Elies comp., Contemporary Patterns of Cultural and Economic Change.

Übersicht der Publikationen und Forschungsergebnisse 1991/92, Bochum 1992).

Studied sinology and slavistics in Munich, Belgrade, Paris and Heidelberg, PhD in Chinese literature at University of Heidelberg 1966. Assistant professor (Assistant) Heidelberg 1966-67. Postdoctoral research at National Taiwan University 1967-1969, at Kyoto-University 1970. Research Fellow at Michigan University 1979/80. Exchange Professor at Tokyo University, 1981/82. Visiting Professor at Tongji-University, Shanghai 1984. Carl Schurz Memorial Professor at the University of Wisconsin, 1985. Research Linguist, Contemporary Chinese Language Projekt, Center for Chinese Studies, University of California, Berkeley 1987/88. Exchange Professor at Tokyo University 1990. Research Professor Center for Chinese Studies, National Taiwan Library, Taipei, 1992. Humanities Visiting Research Professor, University of Queensland, Brisbane 1993. Regular visits to the PRC, Taiwan, Hong Kong etc. since 1975.

Editor of *neue chinesische bibliothek*, Diederichs publishers, Cologne, 1985-87, a series of translations from modern Chinese literature; of the series *China-themen*, and its sub-series European Project on China's Modernization, Bochum (Brockmeyer Publ., 7 and 80 vols.)

Dr. Lung Yingtai



Curriculum Vitae

- **Lecturer in contemporary Taiwanese literature at the University of Heidelberg, Germany**
- **Author**

- | | |
|-------------|---|
| 1952 | Born in Kaohsiung province, Taiwan |
| 1969 | Entered National Cheng Kung University to study English |
| 1975 - 1983 | In the United States, obtained Masters degree in American Literature (Bowling Green University) and PhD in English Literature (Kansas State University), Lecturer at New York City University and Mercy College in New York |
| 1983 | Returned to Taiwan; became associate professor of English at National Central University |
| 1984 | Book reviewer and regular columnist in a monthly Taiwanese periodical. Essays such as You Chinese, Why Are You Not Outraged? appeared in the national daily newspaper, China Times |
| 1985 | Lecturer at Tamkang University; Collected Essays Of Literary Criticism and Wild Fire Compilation published |
| 1987 | Wild Fire Sequel published |

- 1988 Observations In Europe published
1991 Lecturer in contemporary Taiwanese literature, Heidelberg University, Germany

Letters from Home—Observations on how the Chinese and the Europeans deal with their historical pasts and the present written alternately in the essay form as well as in the style of short stories. 1992.

Look How Fin de Siècle Comes Towards You—Essays and short stories about growing up in Taiwan, the obsession with the self of the Chinese intellectuals, visits to China and Palestine, the German phenomenon of unification, historical guilt and atonement, etc. 1994.

Take Your Time, Kids—Short stories based on the everyday life of a mother with her two small children, 1994.

Work in Progress—A novel about women, their adventures into emancipation, prices they have to pay, failures and disillusionment...to be published in April 1995

Li Ang

Curriculum Vitae



- *Author, Taipei, Taiwan*

Li Ang was born on 7 April 1952 in Lugang and started to write at the age of thirteen. She studied literature in Taiwan and the USA. With the novel *The Butcher's Wife*, Li Ang succeeded in getting internationally known. Today Li Ang lives in Taipei and teaches literature at the Culture University there.

Len Shyang Wu

Curriculum Vitae



- *Painter, Taipei, Taiwan*

- 1968: Born in Taipei
- 1992: Graduated from Fu-Hsiang Kang College, the Fine Art Department
The 47th Taiwanese oil pictures
- 1993: The oil picture exhibition in Peng-Hwong gallery
- 1994: The Ming Chang Chan & Len Shyang Wu oil picture exhibition in Taipei's Yun-cheng gallery

Stefan Kramer

Curriculum Vitae

- *Researcher of Chinese film, University of Bochum, Germany*

Stefan Kramer, born June 19, 1966 in Essen, Germany, married to Hu-Chong Kramer. Studied film and media, Chinese literature and politics in Bochum and Beijing, lecturer in Chinese movies, will complete his Ph.D. at Ruhr-University Bochum in summer 1995. Regular visits to China, interviews with Chinese major film directors, film research for the 'American Chinese Arts Society', San Gabriel, California.

Published in 'film-dienst', translated Chen Kaige's autobiography, Zhang Yimou's film script 'Story of Qiuju' and the novel by Chen Yuanbin. Now preparing several publications on the movie industry in PR China, Hongkong and Taiwan

Jutoupi

Curriculum Vitae

- *Rap Singer, Taipei, Taiwan*

Jutoupi was born in February 1966 as Yu Ywe-hsin in Tainan, the oldest city on the island. He is considered the first true Taiwanese rap singer.



Chris Chi-feng Chang

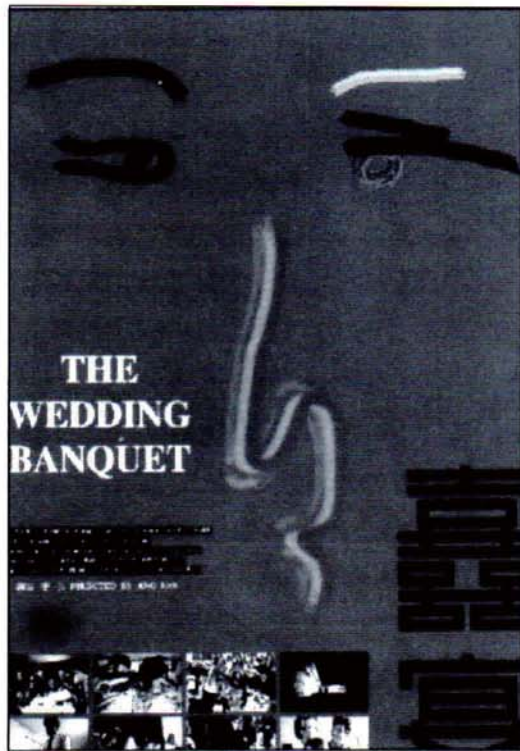
Curriculum Vitae



- *Special Advisor to the Organizing Committee, International Taiwan Congress*
- *Production Manager, Taipei Philharmonic Foundation for Culture and Education*

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Legislative Assistant
The Legislative Yuan (Parliament)
Education: 1990 Bachelor of Law
National Taiwan University
Reference: Prof. Dirk Du Hei
Executive Director of Taipei
Philharmonic Foundation for Culture
and Education
Mr. Hsi-shan Lin
Legislator (Parliament Member)



Wedding Banquet

**A Prose That Does Not Tell Lies -
Observations on German and Chinese Reading Habits**

Synopsis

Dr. Lung Ying-tai

When one compares the best-seller lists of Germany and Taiwan, one notices a curious phenomenon, that is, under the listing of „Belletristik“ in Germany, for that matter in the West, only works of fiction are to be found whereas in Taiwan, the majority of the best-sellers understood as „literature“ are non-fictional prose. Why does the genre of fiction play a minor role to the Taiwanese readers? Why do they prefer non-fictional writing? The speaker probes the phenomenon and tries to offer some explanations from historical as well as literary perspectives.



Current Facts about Taiwan

Taiwan International Alliance

Geography

The island of Taiwan, sometimes called Formosa, and officially the Republic of China, lies in the Pacific Ocean, 165 kilometers from Mainland China. Seventy percent of Taiwan's 20,8 million population lives along the industrialized west coast. The Taiwan island group also includes fifteen islands of the Pescadores. Taiwan also controls the islands of Quemoy and Matsu.

Population

The first inhabitants of Taiwan were Malayo-Polynesian people from the South Pacific. Early settlers from China, Hoklo-speaking Han Chinese escaping high taxes and war, drove the native population into the mountains. Of Taiwan's present population of approximately 21 million, seventy-five percent are descendants of the Hoklo-speakers. In the 17th century, Hakka-speaking people emigrated from the Chinese province of Guangdong; they now comprise fifteen to twenty percent of the population. Between 1945 and 1965, 1 million mainlanders came over of which 500.000 remain today. The aborigine population is now around 340.000.

Government and Constitution

The government of Taiwan, as outlined in the Constitution, deems the National Assembly to be the supreme council of the people. The National Assembly has the power to impeach the President and Vice-President, and may amend the Constitution and redefine national borders. Before the constitutional revisions of 1994, which paved the way for Taiwan's first ever popular Presidential and Vice-Presidential elections to take place in 1996, the National Assembly was the sole institution invested with the power to select Presidents and Vice-Presidents. The President is the commander-in-chief.

Under the President are the Yuans, the five subordinate branches of the government. The Executive Yuan, which includes the office of the Premier, is responsible for executing laws. The Legislative Yuan, akin to a parliament or congress, has the power to question national policy, audit the national budget, and to enact legislation and propose constitutional amendments to the National Assembly. The Control Yuan is in charge of monitoring and disciplining government agencies and officials. The Judicial Yuan supervises the nation's courts, and the Council of Grand Justices, under the Judicial Yuan, has the right to interpret the Constitution. Finally, the Examination Yuan administers examinations and certifies public officials.

Economy

Taiwan's economy has grown more than fourteen-fold in real terms since 1949. Between 1952 and 1987, Taiwan's growth averaged nine percent a year. Taiwan sustained 8,3 percent growth in the 1980's and had a growth rate of 7,2 percent in 1989 and 5,3 percent in 1990. The GNP for Taiwan in 1991 was

US\$ 180.3 billion, ranking 21st in the world. In 1994 the GNP was US\$255.2 billion with a per capita income of over US\$11,604 per annum.

Taiwan's economy relies heavily on exports. Key industries like Evergreen Lines shipping, Acer computers, Mitac, and Formosa Plastics are primarily involved in electronics, textiles, plastics, petrochemical products, and light machinery. The United States alone purchases around US\$ 22,3 billion worth of goods, or 45-50 percent of Taiwan's exports. Hong Kong, Japan and Europe follow respectively in terms of imports from Taiwan. This has allowed Taiwan to accumulate over US\$95.2 billion in foreign reserves as of February 1995. The government directs the economy by channeling contracts, capital, and other resources to favored industries. State monopolies accounted for 52 percent of output in the 1950's, but their share has fallen to 10 percent by the 1990's. The government maintains monopolies in sectors such as ship-building, steel, electric power, refining, and tobacco and alcohol. State industries provide a large portion of state revenues. Presently, the government is implementing the Six-year National Development Plan in an effort to raise national income, continue industrial growth, promote the balanced development of various regions, and to upgrade infrastructure.

Rising labor costs on Taiwan have sent more and more local manufacturers to Southeast Asia and Mainland China. While laws for investment in China have developed slowly, cheap labor, plentiful resources, low property costs, and lax environmental and labor laws have encouraged many companies to relocate to the Mainland. Officially, there are 2,500 registered Taiwanese companies investing US\$ 950 million on the Mainland. The number of unregistered companies is estimated to bring the figure to US\$ 8 billion, with as many as 12,000 companies taking part. Seventy percent of this investment is concentrated on the southern coastline of China. Investment is limited to industries that do not adversely affect businesses on Taiwan or compromise limits on technology transfer. Direct investment is felt to be too risky, as the PRC has not retracted its threat of force; the government is wary of becoming dependent on China's economy.

Trade across the Taiwan Straits reached US\$ 7 billion in 1992, accounting for over four percent of Taiwan's total trade volume, but it is the ROC's official policy to allow only indirect trade, via Hong Kong.

Education

There are 133 institutions of higher learning in Taiwan: 22 universities, 29 colleges, and 73 junior colleges. Over 100,000 students take the Joint College Entrance Exam each year, and around 38 percent of the college age population enroll in institutions of higher learning. On the average, more than 6,000 students go abroad each year to study, 93 percent to the US.

Males must serve a mandatory two years of military service after graduating from college. Females make up nearly fifty percent of the university population, though they are often discouraged from studying sciences or engineering. In general, as throughout the world, women receive lower wages than men, though the number of professional and independent women is rising.

The History of Taiwan

Colonization

Throughout its history, Taiwan has been colonized and exploited by foreign regimes. From the 13th century on, Japanese traders and pirates used Taiwan as a port. During the 17th century, Spain and the Netherlands colonized parts of Taiwan. The Dutch controlled Taiwan for thirty-eight years until a refugee Ming general named Koxinga defeated them in 1662 and made Taiwan his temporary base against the Ch'ing dynasty. The Ch'ing established marginal control of Taiwan for the first time in 1684 with the defeat of Koxinga. However, it was not until 1887 that China made Taiwan a province. Eight years later, however, China ceded Taiwan to Japan in the Treaty of Shimonoseki, after the Sino-Japanese War. Once again, Taiwan's fate was to be determined by a foreign colonialist and not by the Taiwanese themselves.

Japanese Rule

After the Sino-Japanese War of 1894, China ceded Manchuria, Taiwan, and the Pescadores to Japan „in perpetuity“. Before Japan took over their new territory though, the Taiwanese people claimed independence and founded the first Republic of Taiwan, which lasted four months before being crushed by the new colonists. For fifty years, Japan used Taiwan to provide for the motherland and as a cog in its war machine, providing industrial and agricultural support for its war with the Allied powers. In 1945, when Japan surrendered, Chiang Kai-shek was commanded to accept Taiwan on behalf of the Allies.

KMT Takeover

In 1949, Chairman Mao proclaimed the establishment of the People's Republic of China, and Chiang Kai-shek fled to Taiwan for refuge. Between 1945 and 1960, 1 million mainland government officials, military men, and their families moved to Taiwan. Mismanagement, corruption, and brutality caused friction between the mainland forces and the native Taiwanese. This tension erupted in riots on February 28, 1947. The KMT response was brutal; from 20.000 to 30.000 people are estimated to have been massacred, and more imprisoned in what has come to be known as the „2-28 Incident“.

Martial Law and the Threat of Invasion

In order to suppress local resistance, Chiang Kai-shek declared martial law in Taiwan, Quemoy, Matsu, and the Pescadores. For thirty-eight years, until 1987, martial law remained in effect. The fundamental human rights of the Taiwanese were suppressed, and tens of thousands of people were arrested, tortured or executed.

The PRC might have invaded if the Korean War had not prompted the US to dispatch the Seventh Fleet to the Straits of Taiwan. KMT propaganda still promised to retake the Mainland, while the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) vowed the „liberate“ the people of Taiwan. During martial law, Taiwan was under constant alert; the government began a massive military buildup on Taiwan, with the US donating more than US\$ 2,5 billion in military aid to protect Taiwan from China. The US maintained a mutual security relationship and continued to support Taiwan internationally.

Democratic Struggle

Over the past century, despite the draconian colonial rule of the Japanese and authoritarian rule under the KMT's martial law, the Taiwanese people have valiantly resisted unjust rule and suppression. Numerous uprisings and protests have occurred over the years. In 1986, Taiwan's first opposition party under KMT rule, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), was established in defiance of the KMT's ban on such democratic activity. In 1987, due in large part to the efforts of the DPP, martial law was repealed, and the freedoms of expression and assembly were returned to the people. Taiwan's present international legitimacy as an open and democratic nation has been a result of the DPP's efforts at democratization in large part. In 1991, Legislative Yuan (parliament) members who were elected on the Mainland and had not been subject to an election for four decades were forced to resign. In 1992, an entirely new and native Legislative Yuan was elected, in which the DPP earned 32 percent of the seats.

On December 3, 1994 for the first time ever, an election was held for the Governor of Taiwan. Mayoral elections were held for the first time after 30 years for the nation's capital, Taipei which was won by the DPP candidate, and after 15 years for the large southern city of Kaohsiung. In early 1996, Taiwan will hold the first ever popular elections for President and Vice-President.

The PRC and the ROC on Taiwan

Period I: Military Confrontation (1949-1978)

During the period of military confrontation, the PRC wanted to „liberate“ Taiwan from KMT and American hegemony. The PRC constantly proclaimed that Taiwan and the surrounding islands were an inseparable part of China, and that relations between Taiwan and China were an internal affair not subject to international interference.

Period II: Peaceful Opposition (1979-1987)

In response to American recognition of Mainland China in 1979, Deng Xiaoping announced that the PRC had renounced the policy of „liberating Taiwan“. Troops in Fujian Province stopped their ritual shelling of the islands of Quemoy and Matsu. The PRC's People's Assembly issued a „notification to Taiwanese subjects“ emphasizing the „respect for current conditions on Taiwan“ and insisting on the doctrine of „one China, no Taiwanese independence“. At the same time, Deng announced his „one country, two systems“ policy to allow for the peaceful unification of Taiwan and relegated to an autonomous status with control of the military and economy only. Sovereignty and diplomacy would be subject to Beijing. This „one country, two systems“ proposal would give Taiwan roughly the same status as post-1997 Hong Kong, that of a colony, not as an individual political entity. Finally, the PRC proposed the „Three Exchanges“, the exchange of business, postal services, and direct transportation links.

Period III: Peaceful Competition (1987 to present)

In response to the „Three Exchanges“ proposal the ROC government delivered its „Three No's“ policy of no contact, no talk, and no compromise with the Chinese Communists. It was not until after the government of Taiwan lifted

the ban on travel in 1987, and residents of Taiwan were allowed to visit relatives on the Mainland, that large scale exchanges across the straits began. Private go-between organizations grew to handle legal, financial, and other practical issues arising from increasing economic relations. The ROC established the National Unification Council (NUC) in 1990 and the Mainland Affairs Council (MAC) and the Straits Exchange Foundation (SEF) in 1991. The NUC is an advisory board to the President keeping him informed of research and approaches to PRC relations. The MAC is an agency of the Executive Yuan that is in charge of overall planning, coordination, partial implementation, and evaluation of ROC government policy towards the PRC. The SEF is funded by government and business but is registered as a private institute and is not authorized to deal with political issues.

Historic Talks in Singapore

From April 27-29, 1993, for the first time in four decades, Taiwan and China held semi-official talks in Singapore to discuss problems arising out of bilateral exchange. The two governments met by proxy, Taiwan being represented by the Straits Exchange Foundation (SEF) and the PRC being represented by the Association for Relations Across the Taiwan Straits (ARATS).

The talks concerned investment law, registered mail, smuggling, and other practical issues. A timetable for future talks was set up as well. While the talks were unofficial and limited in scope, they demonstrated the easing of tensions between the PRC and Taiwan.

There have since been three rounds of vice-chairman level talks, as well as, seven rounds of technical talks have been held between the two intermediary bodies, the SEF and ARATS.

Taiwan and the World

Prior to 1971

Indisputably, the decade of the 1970's was a crucial decade for Taiwan's foreign relation. The ROC was one of the founding members of the UN and a member of the Security Council. Insisting that it was the sole representative of China, the ROC excluded the PRC from the international area. For twenty-two years, this strategy was successful. By the end of the 1960's, the Taiwan enjoyed membership in thirty-nine IGO's such as the UN and UN organization. Furthermore, Taiwan maintained official diplomatic relations with over seventy countries.

Taiwan and the UN

As soon as the PRC was established, its leaders started petitioning to enter the UN. The first call for PRC membership was made by the Soviet Union on January 10, 1950. For a good portion of the Cold War, the allies of the PRC petitioned the UN, fighting against the West's anti-Communist sentiments. The „China Question“ came to a head in 1971 with two major proposals placed before the General Assembly.

The Albanian Proposal

The PRC convinced seventeen member states, led by Albania, to submit a proposal demanding „the restoration of the lawful rights of the People’s Republic of China“ and the expulsion of „the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek from all organs of the UN and related organizations“. The proposal stated that the ROC had effectively stolen China’s rightful seat in the UN and claimed the right to all powers associated with that seat.

The US Proposal

The US and eighteen other nations supporting Taiwan wanted the Albanian Proposal to be part of a general discussion on the „China Question“ subject to a two-thirds vote. This proposal stated that the UN should take cognizance of the existence of the ROC and allow it continued membership in the General Assembly while replacing the ROC with the PRC on the Security Council. The United States stated that any proposal that expelled Taiwan would run counter to the principles of the UN Charter.

Other Proposals

In addition to the US and Albanian proposals, Saudi Arabia and Tunisia submitted amendments to the Albanian proposal. The Saudi Arabian proposal stated that the UN had neither the right nor the power to force the people of Taiwan to merge with China. It suggested allowing the ROC to retain control over those areas it governed presently until such time that a plebiscite, under UN supervision, could be held to allow the people of Taiwan to choose whether they would like to be represented by the PRC or be an independent nation. The Tunisian proposals suggested giving the China seat to the PRC but not denying the people of Taiwan the right to join the UN (under the name of Formosa). The Tunisian and Saudi Arabian proposals were defeated by role-call vote, and the General Assembly voted for the Albanian proposal.

Nixon Defeated US Proposal

Had it not been for a diplomatic move on the part of President Nixon, the US proposal would most likely have passed. The US had already convinced the KMT to give up their outdated claims to the Mainland in 1971, and the ROC was prepared to accept the US proposal. Simultaneously, however, Nixon had secretly sent Secretary of State Kissinger on his historic visit to Beijing. When the news leaked, many previous supporters of the US proposal dropped their support.

ROC Expelled

The resolution to expel the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek and replace them in all bodies with the PRC passes 76 to 35 with 17 abstentions. A month later, in November, 1971, the PRC began replacing the ROC in the UN.

After Expulsion from the UN

As Richard Nixon began a policy of detente with Beijing, the ROC’s

the ROC's expulsion from the UN, countries moved quickly to establish ties with the PRC. By the end of the 1970's, forty-nine countries had withdrawn formal relations with the ROC while only two had established diplomatic ties with the ROC. Japan recognized the PRC in 1972, severing all official relations with Taiwan. The US followed suit, reassessing its China policy with the 1971 Shanghai Communique. Later, in 1978, the US extended full recognition to the PRC although it continued supplying military aid and maintained trade relations with Taiwan under the Taiwan Relations Act. The ROC suffered another blow in August, 1992 when it lost its last significant ally in Asia, South Korea, to the PRC.

Limited Participation in International Governmental Organizations (IGO's)

Membership in IGO's has been problematic for Taiwan, currently, Taiwan is seated in only eleven IGO's. In many of these organizations Taiwan must bow to PRC pressure and accept titles such as "Taipei, China" in the Asian Development Bank or "Taiwan, China" in Interpol. In 1990, Taiwan applied to enter the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) as the "Customs Territory of Taiwan, Penghu, Kinmen and Matsu".

Successful Unofficial Relations

The ROC government has been more successful at establishing bilateral relations for economic, cultural, scientific, and sports purposes. In the last few years, Taiwan has increased its trade representative offices abroad to fifty-eight, but only seventeen use "Republic of China". In Taiwan, thirty-eight countries have similar trade offices that act as de facto consulates (e.g., the American Institute in Taiwan, the Ano-Taiwan Trade Committee, the Australian Trade Office and the Canadian Trade Office).

Paradoxical Claims by Both Sides

Both the KMT and the PRC maintain the paradoxical positions that they are the one and only true rulers of China, Taiwan, the Pescadores, Matsu, and Kinmen. This is the official line of both governments. However, in reality, Taiwan and China are separate and independent of each other.

Pragmatic „Three China Policy“

In recent years, in an attempt to stem its international isolation, the ROC government has been pursuing a pragmatic more than ideological foreign policy. While the 1993 *Foreign Policy White Paper* issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs states that the ROC could "continue to abide by the "One China" principle" President Lee Teng-hui has been gradually implementing an implicit "Three China Policy". This policy accepts the status quo: the PRC on Mainland China and the ROC on Taiwan. At the same time, the policy envisions a third, theoretical China in the future, a China both democratic and prosperous. This approach has allowed the ROC government to appease pro-Taiwan-independence supporters while easing tensions with the Mainland and placating hardliners in the KMT.

The "Three China Policy" is the ROC's formula for breaching its international isolation and legitimizing the bid for UN membership. The Premier of the

ROC, Lien Chan, stated in an interview with CNN that Beijing should recognize the reality of Taiwan and China's political separateness and de facto independence. He stated that the PRC had no basis to represent Taiwan in the international community.

Myths and Facts - Who Owns Taiwan?

Old Myth/New Myth

When the UN expelled Chiang Kai-shek in 1971, the old myth that the ROC represented China was dispelled, but a new myth moved into its place. By insisting that Taiwan is a part of China, Beijing has excluded Taiwan from participating in the international arena just as the ROC under Chiang Kai-shek excluded PRC in the past. The PRC actively aims to destroy Taiwan's relations with other countries and to prevent Taiwan's participation in international organizations and events. While PRC's slogans have changed from „liberate Taiwan“ to „use peaceful means to liberate Taiwan“ to the current „one country, two systems“, the PRC has not renounced the possible use of force against Taiwan to solve this issue of „territorial integrity“. But the question remains, who owns Taiwan?

The PRC argues that since it defeated the ROC in the Chinese civil war, it is the inheritor of all rights previously enjoyed by the ROC. This was the argument used to circumvent the ROC's Security Council veto power in 1971 and remove the ROC from the UN. This continues to be the PRC's rationale for requiring nations to recognize only the PRC.

Does China Own Taiwan?

The PRC's claim to own Taiwan fails to be supported by legal evidence. Ethnically, most of the Taiwanese are descendants of Chinese immigrants to Taiwan 400 years ago, but the relationship ends there. Even into the late 19th Century, Ch'ing government officials repeatedly disclaimed responsibility for Taiwan. When aborigines ambushed Okinawan traders, and the Japanese government demanded retribution, the Ch'ing argued that the incident "occurred outside of its jurisdiction".

Owned by Japan

According to the Treaty of Shimonoseki of 1895, China ceded sovereignty over Taiwan to Japan in perpetuity. For the next fifty years, Taiwan was a Japanese colony. Therefore, claims of Chinese sovereignty are dubious at best. At the end of World War II, Chiang Kai-shek, as the Allies representative, was intended to be a temporary trustee until such time as Taiwan sovereignty could be determined and settled.

Cairo and Potsdam

In 1943, Chiang, Roosevelt, and Churchill stated in the Cairo Declaration that "Formosa and the Pescadores shall be restored to the Republic of China". These terms were reiterated in the Potsdam Declaration in 1945. However, these two documents were considered to be statements of war goals; these leaders were not vested with the authority to make such decisions, and as such, these statements are not legally binding. Moreover, the declarations were

not ratified by the respective countries nor were the treaties signed by the defeated adversaries. Most grievously, these statements ignore completely the voice of the Taiwanese for self-determination.

San Francisco Peace Treaty

When Japan fell, Supreme Commander of the Allied Forces, General MacArthur granted Chiang Kai-shek the authority to accept Japanese surrender in the name of the Allies. Nonetheless, when Chiang declared Taiwan one of China's provinces in 1947, Taiwan was still officially a legal part of Japanese territory. Not until 1951, when Japan signed the San Francisco Peace Treaty, was Japan's claim over Taiwan officially relinquished. Neither the ROC nor PRC were signatories to the treaty, having not been invited given their growing contest over Taiwan.

Hence, the ROC signs a separate peace treaty with Japan in 1952. Neither treaty, however, uses the words "cede" or "cession", as is customary in peace treaties. Neither the PRC nor ROC was listed as sovereign over Taiwan in the treaties.

PRC's Claims to Sovereignty over Taiwan Not Universally Recognized

The PRC requires countries to break off formal ties with the ROC in order to enter into relations with the Beijing. However, in diplomatic treaties with Beijing, few countries formally recognize the PRC's claims over Taiwan. Instead, more ambiguous wording is used, and countries pledge to "acknowledge, take note of" or "understand" Beijing's position in the matter. Of the ninety-two countries that recognized the PRC from 1970 to 1990, only ten use the word "recognize" in their communiqués; eight "acknowledge" the PRC's claims; sixteen "take note of"; two "understand and respect" while one "respects". Another nation „is aware of“ China's claim to Taiwan.

Of the remaining nations that have official relations with the PRC, thirty-seven do not even mention Taiwan when discussing the PRC as the legitimate ruler of China. Lastly, the communiqués of seventeen nations fail to mention China's claim to Taiwan at all.

Taiwan is Taiwan, China is China

While there is only one China, the PRC, Taiwan is by no means a part of it. Since the founding of the PRC in 1949, China has not once exercised sovereignty over Taiwan. Taiwan legally, culturally, economically, historically, and politically is separate from China.

The hostile relations of the past, between the KMT and the PRC, has nothing to do with the people of Taiwan. The Taiwanese people are only interested in friendly relations with all the nations of the world, especially with China. Finally, the future of Taiwan should depend on the will of the Taiwanese people, not on the whims of international powers.

The people of Taiwan deserve an international status equal to their political and economic achievements. It is time for the United Nations to open its doors, and for the Taiwanese people to share their wisdom and wealth with the world.

Thank you very much for your support

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