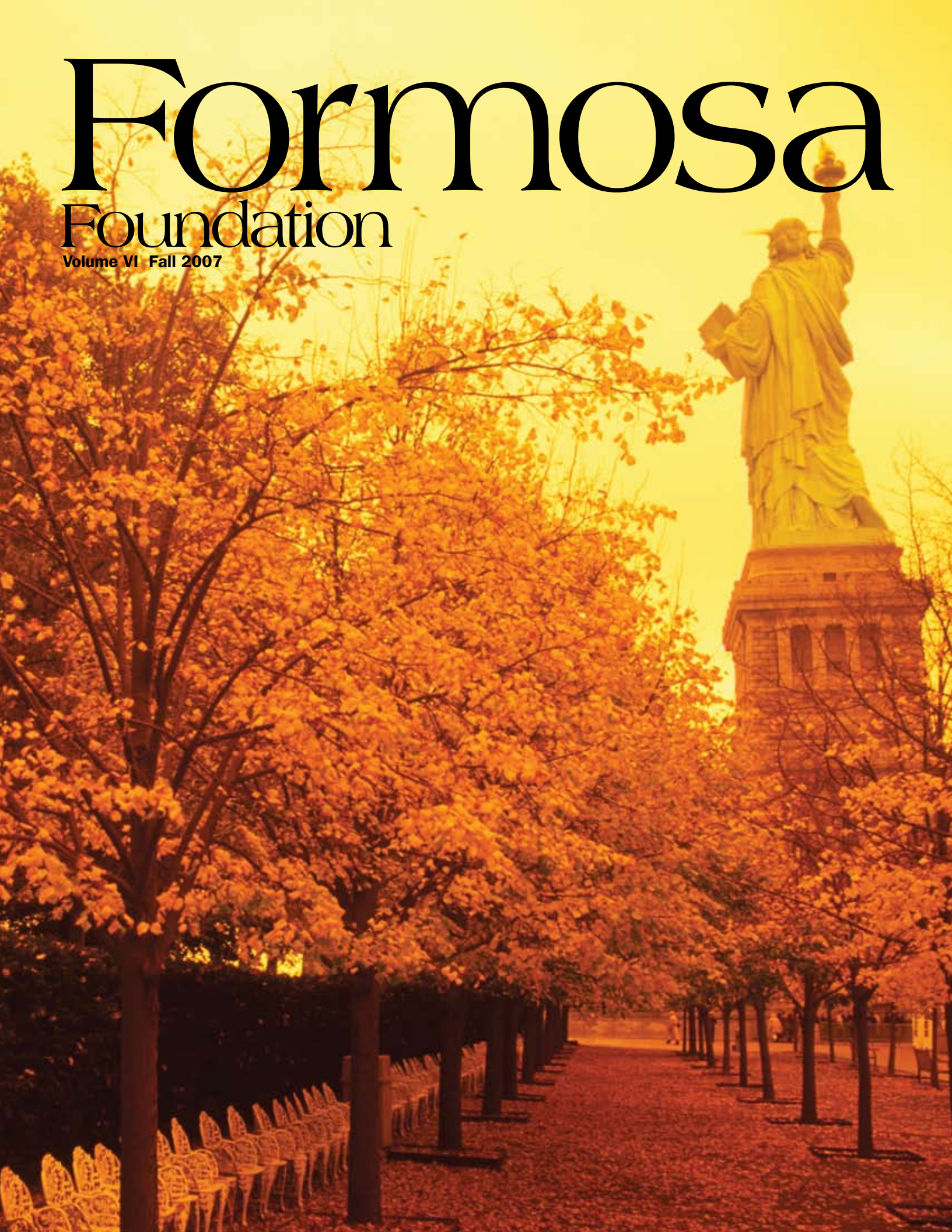


Formosa

Foundation

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Thousands Rally for Taiwan's Membership in United Nations

Secretary General's Rejection Triggers Protest

The continuing battle over the right of Taiwan's self-determination took to the streets in Los Angeles as part of an international protest over recent actions by UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon. More than 24 local organizations were represented by an estimated 1,500 demonstrators at the Federal Building in West Los Angeles on Saturday, September 8.

Similar demonstrations were staged in UC Berkeley, San Francisco, Houston and New York. The demonstrations called for the United Nations to admit Taiwan, and were met with overwhelming support from the local community where people honked horns, wore head bands and chanted slogans with the crowd.

Secretary General Ban Ki-moon recently rejected Taiwan's application for membership without submitting it, as required, to the Security Council and General Assembly for a vote. "Taiwan deserves full diplomatic recognition from the United Nations," says Terri Giles, Executive Director of the Formosa Foundation, a leading proponent of Taiwan self-determination and an organizer of the demonstration. "The notion of 'status-quo' is a farce. The situation in both Taiwan and China has dramatically changed and the world needs to deal with today's realities, not China's wishful thinking."

Since 1998, Taiwan has been pushing for a separate UN seat and has struggled for international recognition as an independent democracy. In July, Taiwan's President, Chen Shui-bian, wrote Secretary General Ban a letter applying for UN membership. Secretary General Ban returned the letter, citing that "the position of the United Nations is that Taiwan is part of China." The United Nations has no official position on Taiwan's sovereignty.

The tensions between China and Taiwan find their roots in the 1949 Chinese revolution, when communists led by Chairman Mao claimed control of China. The Republic of China under Chiang Kai-shek fled to Taiwan. The UN seat

representing all of China was held by the Nationalists (ROC) for over two decades before being lost in Oct. 1971, when the People's Republic of China (PRC) was admitted and Taipei was forced to abdicate its seat to Beijing.

Over the past few decades, rapid economic and political development has made Taiwan one of the world's largest and most dynamic economies and the first indigenous democracy in Asia. Taiwan is now one of the most important nations in democratic Asia. Its population is bigger than 3/4 of the nations in the UN, its GDP larger than Indonesia's and its technology base second only to Japan's.

Taiwan is also the US' eighth-largest trading partner — with two-way trade at US \$60 billion last year — and its sixth-largest agricultural customer. For more than half a century, Taiwan has been one of the US' important defense and intelligence partners, first as a bulwark against the former alliance between the Soviet Union and China, later in support of forces resisting communism in Southeast Asia and now as a partner counterbalancing China's expanding strategic presence in the Pacific.

Former Senator and Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole recently wrote an article in the Wall Street Journal, that "President Bush should support Taiwan's application for U.N. membership." Dole pointed out that U.S. support for Taiwan's entry to the UN "should be quickly followed by active or tacit support for Taiwan's plans for a popular vote on this issue in March 2008." The former Senator went on to say that "our close Asian friend and ally needs and deserves this recognition and support, which would at the same time advance America's regional and global interest in promoting democratization."





President Bush should support Taiwan's application for U.N. membership. This should be quickly followed by active or tacit support for Taiwan's plans for a popular vote on this issue in March 2008. Our close Asian friend and ally needs and deserves this recognition and support, which would at the same time advance America's regional and global interest in promoting democratization.

- Bob Dole



Heavy Metal Band Rocks the Boat for Taiwan

Formosa Ambassadors Join ChthoniC to Push for UN Recognition

The Taiwanese extreme metal band blazed into Los Angeles on its first American tour as part of this year's Ozzfest. The group hopes that rock's most popular annual event — which has never before featured an Asian band among its performers — will spread awareness among the American public that Taiwan is independent from China in more than name alone.

Led by the Formosa Foundation, members from the Taiwanese American community, including the Taiwanese American Citizens League, met with the band for over an hour on July 23. The Formosa Foundation also arranged an exclusive interview for the band with the Los Angeles Times which subsequently published an in-depth article that was featured on the front page.



From left: Band members Su-Nung and Doris Yeh talk with Formosa Ambassadors Juliana Hung and Herlin Chien.



Band members and representatives of the Formosa Foundation proudly display the "Taiwan Spirit" flag, a central theme in the band's name and musical creations.

Members of the band spoke passionately about their love and support for Taiwan prior to their concert at the House of Blues in Hollywood.

Doris Yeh, bass guitarist and backup vocalist, told the group that ChthoniC's visual inspiration comes from Taiwanese folklore, in which corpse paint empowers certain deities to judge good and evil. Similarly, the band's symphonic black metal features a decidedly Oriental twist, as the group prominently features the "hena," a traditional Eastern two-stringed violin appreciated for its weepy and melancholy sound.

ChthoniC has christened its international tour "UNlimited," in part to protest the United Nations (UN) in limiting Taiwan from joining the world body. The moniker also aims to inspire, says vocalist and

band leader Freddy Lim: "We want to emphasize the 'unlimited' potential of Taiwan and the Taiwanese people. Hopefully, more and more international friends will understand and support Taiwan through the 'unlimited' power of music."

Lim also pointed out that, "the 23 million people of Taiwan are living diligently and sensibly, with the wish to freely thrive in this world as equal partners on our shared planet." He made a point to say that "We are not politicians, and all we can do is to fight our best in our own career, to use the cultural power to fight against Chinese strong military threats, and — through the artistic language — to spread ideals that our countrymen believe about how the international society puts limitations on Taiwan."

ChthoniC derives its name (pronounced "THON-ick") from a Greek word signifying spirits of the underworld, and fittingly, the group's albums — which attempt to bring ancient legends into modern times — reflect similar

mythological themes. The group has recorded a single called "UNlimited Taiwan" and made a short film for the song, protesting their homeland's isolation in the international community:

"We have the land,
the strength, the power /
Rise up, overcome, take it over /
Ignored too long,
we became stronger /
Tear down the walls and
let us run over."

The UNLimited Tour is all part of an effort to drum up sympathy and support among a younger generation of music fans that may not be aware that Taiwan has been self-ruled since the Republic of China fled to Taiwan in 1949 after losing a long-running civil war with communist forces. The ROC was a founding member of the UN and enjoyed a permanent seat in the security council until 1971, when the People's Republic of China was admitted into the UN and ROC was forced to abdicate its seat to Beijing.

In recent years China has escalated its efforts to assert sovereignty over the island, and threatened military action if Taiwan tries to secede, despite the fact that Taiwan was never once under the PRC's rule. The United States, which has a commitment to help defend Taiwan in the event of a Chinese attack, has followed an ambiguous and arcane policy in which the U.S. does not recognize Taiwan as an independent nation nor concur with China's claim over Taiwan.

Seeking international political recognition while asserting its independence has been difficult for Taiwan, Lim says. "In my opinion — and I think the opinion of all the citizens in Taiwan — they consider Taiwan is already an independent country," he says. "We have all rights like the citizens of America: We pay the tax to our own government, we vote for our own president, we have our own army. It is for us an independent country, no doubt. That would be the point we want to mention: Accept 'unlimited Taiwan,' like the song."



Foundation Ambassadors Angela Lee, Juliana Hung, Christina Cheng, Herlin Chien, Fang-yu Hu and Kevin Chen welcome Dr. Keating to Los Angeles.



Right to left: Bright Lang, Terri Giles, Dr. Keating, Ted Anderson and Wencheng Lin meet with the press.

Dr. Keating Examines Taiwan's Democracy in 2008 Elections

More than 150 people packed the Taiwan Center in Los Angeles on August 10, to hear Dr. Jerome F. Keating speak about his observations of the political situation in Taiwan. The event was co-hosted by the Formosa Foundation, Friends of Taiwan and the Taiwan Center Foundation of Los Angeles. Dr. Keating's theme was "Taiwan 2008: Asian Democracy at the Crossroads."

With the ongoing tension in the Taiwan Strait, many people are focused on the legislative and presidential elections that are scheduled for Taiwan in January and March 2008. Dr. Keating joins many others in viewing the results of the elections to be crucial to the preservation of Taiwan's democracy. During his speech Dr. Keating emphasized that the Legislative Yuan election is more crucial, in that the Taiwan government has been in a state of limbo for the last several years because the opposition party legislators who are the majority in the Yuan were determined to blockade many measures proposed by the ruling party.

Dr. Keating named five elements that every Taiwanese voter should be conscious of when making their political decision.

1. *Taiwan must preserve and strengthen its democracy.* "This topic should be the central plank and *sine qua non* of any candidate's campaign platform," stated Keating. "Having a true democracy automatically equals having de facto independence."

2. *The ongoing transitional justice that is still present in Taiwan's society.* Dr. Keating cited the example that the Nationalist party, or Kuomintang, still possesses assets in excess of US \$750 million, most of which were usurped from government holdings, compared with less than US \$1 million from all other parties combined. This creates an uneven playing field and as a result Taiwan cannot have full democracy. Other evidence of transitional justice includes the fact that many crimes of political persecution from the White Terror days remain unsolved and their perpetrators still walk the streets freely.

3. *Taiwan's economy can be an important campaign issue, but must be seen with a global perspective.* As some doomsayers would have the people believe otherwise, Taiwan's economy has been performing consistently better than many countries including the United States and Japan. In comparison to China's economic growth, one must also examine the fact that China has been able to sustain growth mainly because the communist government has allowed other countries to outsource their pollution to China, causing enormous damages to the people as well as the environment, locally and globally. Shamefully, by giving China their pollution, many countries are also giving China a say in their foreign policy in regards to Taiwan.

4. *Taiwan needs to establish a national symbol and strengthen its national identity.*

5. *Unification vs. Independence.*

Dr. Keating cites the European Union as an ideal model of unification, where each country retains its own identity and democracy, but stays united for a common cause. The Taiwanese people must realize that China's idea of unification is nowhere close to the EU model.

The United States has always been ambivalent regarding Taiwan and its policies on Taiwan were purposely ambiguous, from the San Francisco Treaty to the Shanghai Communiqué to the present day. "So much of Taiwan's problems are in some way created by the United States, because the U.S. at first didn't know what to do with Taiwan and therefore always wanted to keep its options open" said Keating. In response to these problems created by ambiguity, the United States tried to force Taiwan into a solution, "like forcing round pegs into square holes." Dr. Keating called on the U.S. government to bear its own share of responsibility in creating the dangers and challenges to Taiwan's democracy.

Jerome F. Keating, Ph.D., is an international training consultant, educator and writer and has been living and working in Taiwan for nearly twenty years. A poignant political observer with a pro-democracy bias, Dr. Keating's most recent book is *Taiwan, the Struggles of a Democracy* (2006); his co-authored book *Island in the Stream: a Quick Case Study of Taiwan's Complex History* is in its 3rd edition (2005).

Student Ambassadors Take Washington by Storm

Foundation Group Meets with 131 Elected Officials in Four Days



The fifth annual Ambassador Program kicked-off on Sunday, June 17, in Los Angeles. Twenty-nine young men and women representing Taiwan and the United States were chosen from a rigorous vetting process to participate in the Ambassador Program.

Like the programs before it, the 2007 Program curriculum was designed to inform, challenge and prepare the participants for their congressional meetings that took place during the last 4 days of the 2-week program. Speakers included leading think tank specialists and famed Taiwan/China scholars from across the country.

Dr. Tsung-kuang Lin, recently retired professor at Drake University, spoke on the birth and rise of the Taiwanese identity, following Dr. Ching-chih Chen, Professor Emeritus of the Southern Illinois University, who lectured on the origin and immigration history of the Taiwanese populace. Dr. Thomas Gold from UC Berkeley gave a firsthand observation

of Taiwan's democratization process from WWII to present day. Dr. Daniel Lynch from University of Southern California warned of any misconceptions that China will eventually democratize. Dr. June Dreyer, head of Political Department at the University of Miami, painted a clear picture of China's potential military presence if Taiwan falls into Chinese hands, and how such presence would jeopardize U.S. national interests. Bruce Herschensohn of Pepperdine University, who served as an advisor to President Nixon when the Shanghai Communiqué was signed, explained the underlying intentions of the original "one-China" policy before it became misinterpreted and wrongly applied by later administrations. Dr. Arthur Waldron of University of Pennsylvania discussed the evolution of the U.S. "one-China" policy which has resulted in today's political quagmire, and offered his solutions for both Taiwan and U.S. governments.

Ms. Carolyn Bartholomew,

Chairperson of the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Mr. Randall Schriver, former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, and retired Ambassador Harvey Feldman all spoke on the issue of Taiwan. The curriculum also included workshops given by current congressional staffers who explained the inner workings of Congress and gave valuable tips on advocacy.

Mr. Li-Pei Wu, founder and Honorary Chairman of the Foundation traveled from Taiwan to speak to the Ambassadors in Los Angeles, urging that Washington should resume diplomatic relations with Taipei. The well respected Dr. Peng Ming-min also came from Taiwan to speak on the legal status of Taiwan.

In addition to attending workshops and lectures in the day, the Ambassadors initiated research in the evening hours. Through team work, they studied the background and voting records of each Congressional member they would

be visiting, as well as the economic relevance of each member's district and state with regard to Taiwan.

Most importantly, the Ambassadors researched and prepared arguments for issues relating to Taiwan. With help from Foundation staff and program facilitators, the Ambassadors honed their presentation skills before taking on Capitol Hill.

"The Ambassador Program is a whole lot more than shaking hands with the big names on Capitol Hill," said Sam Chen, a second-year English major at UCLA. "It has changed my social perspective, attitude and depth of knowledge" about Taiwan.

The 2007 Class met with 131 Congressional offices during the last 4 days of the Program, including 101 Representatives and 30 Senators. In groups of 4, they articulated the importance of Taiwan to the U.S. as a partner in trade, strategic and national interests. They urged the members to support a U.S.-Taiwan trade agreement, citing the economic and political significance of such agreement to each member's district. They pointed out the inconsistencies and danger that belie current U.S. policy towards Taiwan, and urged members to revisit the "one-China" policy. They expressed to the members their strong desire to see a democratic and free Taiwan, not subject to Chinese coercion and military threat. They thanked the members who had previously supported Taiwan's membership in the WHO, and asked that more pressure be put on the Administration in this regard. They urged each member to join the Taiwan Caucus, if they are not yet a member.

The Ambassadors' collective persuasion was effective in getting enough co-sponsors for HCR 136 to pass the House International Relations Committee. The resolution called for the lifting of restrictions on visits to the U.S. by high-level Taiwanese elected officials. HCR 136 was passed in the House on July 30.

Real power comes from empowering others. "The Formosa Foundation has certainly empowered me to participate in America's democracy and to become a voice for Taiwan," said Frank Ling, a post-doctoral chemistry fellow at UC Berkeley. "Despite limited budget, the Foundation has empowered a legion of passionate Taiwan supporters." Frank is a volunteer producer and host to the UC Berkeley campus radio show "Berkeley Groks."

Charlotte Colon is a native of Puerto Rico and fourth-year student at Syracuse University. She was impressed for being "taken to be part of [Taiwan's] struggle and...to build a partnership based upon common values of good: freedom, justice and democracy." Said Charlotte, "I was given the opportunity to address the inconsistency in U.S. policy...because I am a U.S. citizen who is proud to represent freedom, justice and democracy as American values above greed and fear."

The Program concluded on June 29 in Washington D.C. The Ambassadors were treated to a sumptuous dinner compliments of the Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office, Taipei's de facto embassy in Washington.



Melissa Chuang, Frank Ling, Timmy Wang and Charles Pan sit down with Rep. Ron Lewis (R-KY).



From left: Jeana Shoji, Pattie Chang, Senator John Rockefeller (D-WV), Crystal Tang, Yichun Liu.



Ambassador from Taiwan, Dr. Joseph Wu, (right) gives Formosa Ambassadors a formal welcome at Twin Oaks.



From left: Chinling Chen, Samuel Chen, Senator Chuck Hagel (R-NE), Albert Chou, Lucy Chen, Enoch Chang.



From left: Enoch Chang, Pokuan Wu, Daniel Koo, Melissa Chuang, Grace Kuo, Lucy Chen, President Chen, Li-Pei Wu, Ling Jen Lee, Echo Lin, Angela Ma, Justine Chen, Annie Chen, Jason Tsai.

President Chen Welcomes Student Leaders

Foundation Ambassadors Brief Taiwan President on Washington Meetings

Representatives of the 2007 Ambassador Program met with Taiwan President Chen Shui-bian in Taipei in the Presidential office on August 3. Since 2005, the President personally meets with the group of young men and women who have just graduated from the Ambassador Program.

The President patiently listened as each Ambassador told of their experience in Washington D.C., and the results of their advocacy for Taiwan. The 2007 class met with a total of 131 members of Congress from 31 states, including 101 House and 31 Senate members. During their week in Washington D.C., they helped sign up enough co-sponsors to the House Concurrent Resolution 136, so that it could be presented in the House for discussion and vote. HCR 136 called for lifting all restrictions on high level visits to the United States by Taiwanese elected officials. The resolution was passed in the House on July 30.

Pokuan Wu, a PhD student from

National Taiwan University and research analyst at the Taiwan WTO Centre of the Chung-Hua Institute for Economic Research, summarized the progress of a potential U.S.-Taiwan free trade agreement. Although bilateral trade talks have yet to begun, the Ambassadors met several members in Congress who are very supportive of a potential FTA, and who have agreed to initiate in the future resolutions calling for trade talks to begin.

While in Washington, the Ambassadors met quite a few congressional staff who have visited Taiwan and as a result are very sympathetic towards Taiwan. The Ambassadors applaud the programs by Taiwan's foreign ministry in promoting better understanding of Taiwan.

The President expressed appreciation to the Ambassadors for their accomplishments in grassroots diplomacy. Taiwan faces great difficulty in getting international recognition. Of the limited number of international organizations that allows Taiwan's participation, Taiwan is often

forced to make concessions forgoing its formal legal name and limited from displaying its national flag.

The President used the 2004 Olympics as an example. Taiwanese were jubilant when two Taiwanese athletes won two gold medals. Unfortunately, that sense of pride was doused at the awards ceremony, when they could not play Taiwan's national anthem nor raise Taiwan's flag.

Chen told the group that "Taiwan's future lies in the hands of every Taiwanese and those who love democracy." Despite efforts by China to isolate Taiwan, President Chen encouraged the Ambassadors to keep challenging themselves to engage in more grassroots diplomacy on Taiwan's behalf.

"My own political consciousness has been awakened by the Ambassador Program experience," said Grace Kuo, a senior at National Taiwan University studying literature and foreign languages. "I feel that I have the obligation to educate my fellow Taiwanese people about what I've learned."

Taiwan's Vice President Lu Holds Roundtable With Foundation Ambassadors in Los Angeles

In the late hours of July 12, the representatives from the Formosa Foundation Ambassador Program met with Taiwan's Vice President Annette Lu inside the Tom Bradley International Terminal at LAX. Led by the Foundation's Executive Director Terri Giles, the Ambassadors discussed with the Vice President a wide range of issues, including the recent accomplishments of the 2007 Ambassador Program in Washington D.C. The Vice President was making a transit stop in Los Angeles, before returning home from a diplomatic visit to some of Taiwan's diplomatic allies in Central America. The Taiwan government was unsuccessful in negotiating an overnight stay for the Vice President and her crew, and instead was given a 4-hour layover to refuel at LAX.

In a large, private VIP conference area, the space was filled to capacity with staff members, prominent Taiwanese businessmen, community leaders and well-wishers. The Foundation Ambassadors were ushered into a separate conference room, where they were warmly greeted by the Vice President and Ambassador Joseph Wu, whom the Ambassadors had recently met in Washington D.C.

Terri Giles gave a quick introduction of the Ambassador Program and the members present. Ms. Giles also briefed the Vice President on the accomplishments of the Foundation's annual Program, which by now has grown to 130 Ambassadors, who collectively held a total of 676 meetings with members of Congress in Washington D.C. during the last 5 years. The objective of the annual visits to Washington D.C. was to gain traction in Congress on the salient issues affecting Taiwan, including the lifting of restrictions on visits by Taiwan's high-level officials, Taiwan's membership in the WHO, a U.S.-Taiwan free trade agreement, and revisiting of the One China policy.

The Vice President was not unfamiliar with the Foundation's work, as her English speech writer and political consultant Enoch Chang had graciously volunteered as a Program Facilitator for the past three years. This meeting afforded Vice President Lu to finally meet the faces that had been profoundly touched by the work of the Formosa Foundation.

The meeting was short but nevertheless exciting for the young men and women. The 8 Ambassadors were David Chang, Sachiko Marukami, Johnny Po Lin, Linda Hou, Herlin Chien, Amy Valencia and Jason Tsai. The Vice President listened intently as each one of them told of their own interest and motivations in taking up Taiwan's cause.

Upon closing, the Vice President thanked the Ambassadors for their dedication and positive influence in advocating for Taiwan's causes in the United States. The Vice President stressed that grassroots efforts such as the Ambassador Program are as vital as diplomatic maneuvers at the state level in developing stronger U.S.-Taiwan ties.

David Chang was a participant in the 2007 Ambassador Program. He is pursuing an MBA at Duke University to develop skillset in social entrepreneurship. Previously, he worked in real estate consulting and was a former Peace Corps volunteer in Bangladesh. David hopes to intersect his interest in real estate and passion in working in emerging economies to build sustainable ventures.



Foundation Ambassadors brief Vice President Lu on their advocacy efforts in Washington D.C.



From left: Linda Hou, Herlin Chien, Terri Giles, translator, Vice President Lu.

Taiwan Inside the Beltway

Reflections from Capitol Hill

“Taiwan is a troublemaker.” As a Taiwanese-American, it is extremely disturbing to hear this quote, along with many others that tarnish Taiwan’s image in our nations capital. Being a recent graduate from the Formosa Foundation’s Ambassador Program, I had the opportunity to meet with Taiwan experts from several leading think tanks in Washington and speak on Taiwan’s behalf to many Congressmen and Senators and their aides to try and dispel some of the propaganda that is currently being spread in D.C.

As a voter and a constituent, my colleagues and I were successful in attaining one-on-one meetings with Senators and Congressmen. Our elected officials were in fact very eager to hear what we have to say about U.S.-Taiwan relations.

While it was always uplifting to speak with members of Congress who are already strong supporters of Taiwan, I found it much more important to engage with members who are critical or skeptical of supporting Taiwan, to understand and address their issues of concern.

Taiwan’s image, status, and the upcoming presidential election are all hot topics inside the beltway. Many in Washington look upon President Chen with distaste as he continues to “rock the boat” with China. Negative perceptions like these prevent Taiwan from forming a solid and trusting relationship with Washington.

Moreover, Washington is frustrated with Taiwan’s lack of progress in the democratic institution building. I had several opportunities to explain to the Congressional staff that since Taiwan is a new democracy, the country suffers typical growing pains and should be encouraged and not scolded.

Several members of Congress offered advice and recommendations as to what they would like to see Taiwan do. Taiwan’s message should be pro-Taiwan rather than anti-China, and they should emphasize their sovereignty. Taiwan should highlight its economic relationship with the United States by strengthening its technological developments and partnerships with the U.S. and continuing to buy agricultural products.

China’s incredible economic success greatly impacts and influences the US business community but Taiwan is also important to America’s economic vitality.

With the China lobby increasing in strength and political sophistication both inside and outside of Washington, Taiwan must be more strategic and focused in their approach with congressional representatives.

After each trip to the Capitol, the Formosa Foundation makes strides in highlighting Taiwan and reinforcing how Taiwan is a democracy, loyal ally to the United States, and responsible stakeholder in the global community. With Iraq, China, and immigration issues distracting and occupying Congress, it is essential that we continue to send the Formosa Foundation Ambassadors as constituents to Capitol Hill to advocate for Taiwan and to remind Washington of Taiwan’s importance.

Julie Lin was a 2007 Formosa Foundation Ambassador and works full-time at JP Morgan Chase in Baltimore where she manages 55 people, and speaks 4 languages fluently. She also maintains a perfect 4.0 GPA in the Johns Hopkins’ M.S Organization Development and Strategic Human Resource program.



From left: Pokuan Wu, Sachiko Marukami, Rep. Charles Wilson (D-OH), Julie Lin, Grace Kuo.



From left: Amy Valencia, Sachiko Marukami, Pokuan Wu, Rep. Jean Schmidt (R-OH), Julie Lin, Grace Kuo.

WHO Will Speak for Taiwan?



Linda Ann Hou

Taiwan reached an important milestone this year, as 2007 marks the tenth year in a row that 23 million Taiwanese have been denied their fundamental right to join the World Health Organization (WHO), the international body dedicated to promoting health for all inhabitants of this planet. The WHO, charged with promoting international cooperation in the fight against disease, has failed in its mission repeatedly by excluding Taiwan at the behest of the People's Republic of China. The annual PRC-led ritual of rejecting Taiwan's application to the WHO only undermines global health and the WHO's constitutional objective to ensure "the attainment by all peoples of the highest possible level of health."

After all, Taiwan fully meets criteria for WHO membership as outlined in the WHO constitution. Like the universality of its objective, the membership requirements are minimal. UN membership is not required; after all, Switzerland, the Cook Islands, and Niue, are all full members of the WHO despite not being full members of the UN. Furthermore, full sovereignty is not a prerequisite for joining the WHO, as the Vatican, Palestine and the Sovereign Order of Malta are all members of the WHO. To join, an entity simply needs to apply and receive a majority vote within the organization. Why then, is Taiwan, an island with 23 million residents and its own democratically elected government that conducts its own foreign policy, continually denied membership?

Political considerations aside, we must consider the health ramifications

of Taiwan's continual exclusion from the WHO. Taiwan's inhabitants are often denied access to the expertise of WHO. For example, in 1999 after a massive earthquake struck central Taiwan, China blocked WHO regional experts from visiting the site and even delayed relief efforts by the Russian Federation and the Red Cross, leading to needless suffering by many Taiwanese who lost everything.

Furthermore, Taiwan — and the entire world — are extremely vulnerable if Taiwan continues to be left out of the WHO, especially in an infectious disease epidemic scenario. This is best illustrated by the recent SARS crisis of 2003.

During the height of the SARS epidemic, China — the country that had initially denied the existence of SARS and continued to hinder international efforts to contain it — again delayed WHO expertise to Taiwan, leading to unnecessary deaths of Taiwanese patients. China also blocked WHO shipments of special N-95 masks to Taiwan that were needed by medical professionals taking care of SARS patients.

China's petty behavior only stopped after numerous WHO officials, including then-director Gro Harlem Brundtland, lambasted China in the international media; WHO officials ended up ignoring China's bluster and visited Taiwan anyway at the behest of Dr. Brundtland, who recognized that SARS was something that transcended international boundaries.

The SARS crisis not only highlighted the inherent willingness of the Chinese government to cover up a deadly disease, leading to a total of 774 deaths worldwide, but more importantly, it demonstrated the need for the WHO to include everyone — including Taiwan — in its surveillance, monitoring, and containment of infectious diseases. With the threat of avian influenza looming, the WHO, now more than ever, must disregard its politics and kowtowing to China by voting to allow Taiwan to join.

Taiwan has much to offer the WHO as well. Numerous Taiwanese NGOs have engaged in countless medical assistance projects around the world, from relief

project in Afghanistan to AIDS prevention in Chad. Many doctors and nurses from developing countries have trained in Taiwan. Many Taiwanese medical specialists have served (unofficially) as WHO consultants in epidemiology, toxicology, AIDS research, and pharmacology. Given Taiwan's highly qualified medical community, why does the WHO continue to refuse Taiwanese participation in WHO programs that could strengthen the health and well-being of the entire Asia-Pacific region?

We need to continue to push for Taiwan's membership in the WHO. China's continual protests against Taiwanese membership in the WHO is short-sighted,

With the threat of avian influenza looming, the WHO, now more than ever, must disregard its politics and kowtowing to China by voting to allow Taiwan to join.

petty, and dangerous, not just to Taiwan, but to the entire world, as leaving Taiwan out of WHO epidemiological infectious disease surveillance networks only leaves everyone at risk, most recently evidenced by the SARS epidemic. After all, infectious diseases do not respect national boundaries, and we must abandon the notion that politics supercedes the health and well-being of the 23 million Taiwanese people—and the 6.6 billion people of the world.

Linda Ann Hou is currently a fourth year medical student at the Keck School of Medicine at USC interested in pursuing an internal medicine residency with eventual specialization in gastroenterology. She is a 2003 Formosa Foundation Ambassador and has previously written a senior honors thesis in international relations on the WHO and its response to SARS. As a 1.5 generation Taiwanese-American, Linda credits the Formosa Foundation with awakening her love for Taiwan.

Righting Chiang Kai-shek's Wrongs



Stephen Yates

The leaders of the US and Taiwan appear to be caught in a negative spiral at which Beijing can only smile.

Recent blunt exchanges aimed at defending or opposing referendums advocating that Taiwan seek membership in the UN under the name “Taiwan” or “Republic of China” are the latest manifestation of a troubling long-term trend. Notions of sovereignty, independence, leadership and respect fill the airwaves. The Taiwanese people and their leaders face myriad pressures from China — economic, military, diplomatic and even in their domestic politics.

On top of that is pressure from Washington, which is urging patience — and in many cases — inaction, as a sizable segment of Taiwan’s population demands that its elected leaders push back against the tide.

In Washington there is a widespread sense of annoyance with Taiwan, which is perceived to be pushing issues known to create tension with Beijing at a time when the US is preoccupied elsewhere and working with Beijing to manage denuclearization of North Korea.

In Taiwan there is a sense of abandonment — that the Bush doctrine does not apply to China and Taiwan, that the US is looking for ways to qualify its commitment to Taiwan’s defense and that Washington is colluding with Beijing in ways that hold back the aspirations of the Taiwanese people.

There is also a perception that Washington does not trust the people of Taiwan or respect the democratic processes at work there — which, like

most democracies, at times are noisy and fail to deliver results.

The diagnosis of these problems is not complicated, but a prescription to get out of this negative spiral is quite difficult.

The circumstances that led the Bush administration to adopt what is seen as an increasingly negative approach to Taiwan show no signs of changing for the remainder of US President George W. Bush’s term in office.

Similarly, given the widespread support across political parties in Taiwan for a vote expressing strong popular sentiment against international isolation, there is no doubt that plans for a referendum will proceed no matter what Washington says or does.

The seeming lack of creativity and flexibility on both sides to find common ground or alternative approaches is disappointing and has long-term implications.

There is also a perception that Washington does not trust the people of Taiwan or respect the democratic processes at work there — which, like most democracies, at times are noisy and fail to deliver results.

Taiwan cannot afford to be passive and wait for the US to finish what is often called a “long war” or “generational challenge” against the forces of radicalism in the Muslim world.

China is not being passive as the war on terror is waged and one has to imagine that the imbalance of power in the Taiwan Strait will be overwhelming in less than a generation — sooner if Taiwan is passive.

The US has not effectively engaged the forces driving decisions in Taiwan’s

democracy, in part because it does not feel it should have to.

Instead the US has opted to seek commitments from the “leader of Taiwan” that he is to then impose on his electorate by “exercising leadership.”

While this is not the impression the US seeks to convey, it is not far from the mark in describing the attitude driving the US’ approach. Needless to say, this does not go over well in Taipei, but more importantly it does not produce the result the US says it seeks.

Taiwanese leaders share responsibility for the negative spiral in relations with the US. Chinese Nationalist Party (KMT) leaders polarized Taiwanese politics by rejecting election outcomes, shaking hands with the Chinese Communist Party but not President Chen Shui-bian and stalling high-profile defense procurements for years.

Democratic Progressive Party leaders polarize international perceptions of Taiwan by articulating initiatives in ways easily construed by opponents as anti-China or motivated only by near-term domestic considerations.

Lost in all of this is an appreciation for a long-term struggle in Taiwan that the US and even China should easily identify with — undoing the mistakes of Chiang Kai-shek and the means he used to impose the will of a minority.

After all, China itself saw his leadership as sufficiently flawed to justify a violent revolution and a new constitution.

The people of Taiwan have taken a different path in their struggle.

The independence movement in Taiwan is difficult to assess because it has many voices and motivations.

What seems to give it broadest support, however, is not anti-China sentiment. It is the deliberate struggle over time to develop democratic institutions that remove the means used by Chiang to dominate the people of Taiwan, and replacing them with means to prevent any person or party (foreign or domestic) from imposing its will on the people

without their consent.

Rolling back Chiang's influence is not de-Sinification. It is liberation, just as it was seen in China.

This drive of course is aimed at China, however, as it is the dominant outside force currently seeking to impose its authority over Taiwan. But it is not limited to China. It is aimed at limiting the ability of any future leader of Taiwan to enter agreements that determine Taiwan's future without public consent.

And as the US is finding out, it can be aimed at others (including allies) who seek to impose their interests on the Taiwanese people.

The current tussle over the proposed UN referendum is caught in these deep undercurrents.

Even if the Taiwanese people cannot achieve UN membership through the process, a large segment of the electorate sees it as important for the US and the international community to respect their desire to use a democratic process to assert who speaks for their interests. They want to underscore that they do this themselves — not Beijing, not the UN, not the UN secretary-general and not even allies.

On top of the sensitivity attached to the use of referendums as a democratic tool to push back against international isolation, the issue of membership in the UN is linked to undoing one of Chiang's strategic blunders.

He insisted on withdrawing from the UN even though not required to do so by Resolution 2758, ironically defying hard work by the US aimed at keeping Taiwan in the UN while ceding the Security Council seat to Beijing.

For those who struggled for decades for basic civil rights and democratic institutions in Taiwan there is profound insult and injury in the current circumstance that few in the international community can appreciate. How can it be that three decades after the death of a dictator that the people of Taiwan are still held down by the choices he made without their consent?

And how can it be that the US government — which worked against his decision to withdraw — now appears an ally in the cause to make Chiang's mistake permanent?

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Poll Shows Support for Taiwan

A majority of Americans appear to support Taiwan becoming a member of the UN, a new poll shows. The poll, conducted by Zogby International, questioned 1,205 adults across the US between Sept. 6 and Sept. 10. The poll's margin of error was 2.9 percent.

Asked whether Taiwan should be offered UN membership:

- 55% of respondents agreed.
- 27% of respondents disagreed.

When asked whether the US "should not oppose" Taiwan's UN bid if "the people of Taiwan pass a referendum" for UN membership:

- 70% agreed
- 17% disagreed

In response to a question that specifically mentioned China's opposition to Taiwan's membership:

- 52% of respondents favored Washington helping Taiwan establish UN membership
- 34% opposed such US help.

Respondents also showed a broad lack of familiarity with Taiwan.

- 39% said they were "familiar" with Taiwan.
- 61% said they were unfamiliar with the nation.
- 6% said they were very familiar.
- 34% were "not at all familiar."
- Only 3% had ever visited Taiwan.

When asked about Taiwan's democracy:

- 35% of respondents described Taiwan as "moderately democratic,"
- 14% thought the nation was not democratic
- 42% were not sure.

Respondents to the poll held an overall favorable opinion of Taiwan's relationship with the US. Participants were asked to evaluate the relationship between Washington and five Asian countries — Taiwan, Japan, China, the Philippines and South Korea.

- 52% said US-Taiwan relations were favorable and 22% rated them as unfavorable.
- 79% said US-Japan relations were favorable and 13% unfavorable.
- 46% saw US-China relations as favorable and 46% saw them as unfavorable.

Cooperation is Key to Taiwan Advocacy



Donald S. Lee

As the 2008 presidential elections in Taiwan approach, we are running out of time to make major changes in the United States' Taiwan policy. In recent years, Taiwan's position with the U.S. government has grown weaker, while China's ability to influence U.S. politics, business and public perception has only become more powerful, whether or not deserved. It is critical that we take steps now as a community and make some cohesive and smart decisions about what we want to be and what we want to accomplish.

The Taiwanese-American community has always had tremendous potential as a political constituency. Taiwanese immigrants who came to this country in the 1960s and 1970s in search of new opportunities were mostly highly-educated professionals who excelled as doctors, engineers and professors. These immigrants have been a huge success story. They have achieved great financial wealth and prominence in the communities in which they live. Their children have graduated from the best universities, overachieved in their careers and assimilated deeply into American social and political culture, fluent in both the English language and American cultural norms.

The Taiwanese government has spent tens of millions of dollars on lobbyists and advocates for Taiwan in the U.S. government in an attempt to develop relationships with influential decision-makers to protect Taiwan's interests. Taiwanese-Americans have formed many organizations that are designed to influence America's Taiwan policy and have an active presence in Washington, D.C.

Yet with all of these resources and advantages, Taiwan keeps slipping in the eyes of Americans. Why?

In my view, the Taiwanese lobby in the United States, quite frankly, has not only underachieved, it is rapidly losing credibility. There are a number of reasons for this. First, we as a community have not done an effective job of presenting our goals and our concerns to American policymakers and to the American public. Taiwan issues are already complicated, and we often get too bogged down in the details of the issues while losing sight of our larger message. When making our case, we have to assume that not everyone in our audience has a deep understanding of the history of Taiwan-China-U.S. relations. One of the goals of lobbying is to persuade. To be persuasive, we need to deliver a clear, direct and compelling message about why a sovereign, democratic Taiwan is in the best interests of the United States.

To be persuasive, we as a community need to deliver a clear, direct and compelling message about why a sovereign, democratic Taiwan is in the best interests of the United States.

That leads to the second point — what exactly should the message be? One of the reasons the Taiwan issue is so confusing to many people is because there are so many different messages being communicated about Taiwan, which is certainly further clouded by the open political war that exists in Taiwan between the forces of Pan-Green and Pan-Blue.

We need to come up with a single message that is very clear and which resonates with Americans: *The United States should follow a "one-Taiwan, one-China" policy because it is in the strategic interests of the United States to do so.* To support this position, we should emphasize several basic tenets:

- Taiwan is both a practicing democracy and a vibrant free market which plays an important role in the global economy and community;
- China is not a democracy and has no foreseeable prospects of becoming one;
- China is and will always be a geopolitical rival, not an ally, of the United States, no matter how much business is conducted between the two countries;
- It is strategically important for the United States to have Taiwan as an ally, along with Japan, South Korea and Australia, to counter-balance China's growing economic and military strength and ambitions;
- A revised U.S. policy on Taiwan based on the above points would reflect strategic, economic and political realities.

There are many sub-issues to be advocated, including Taiwan's admission into international organizations, a U.S.-Taiwan free trade agreement, permitting high level visits by Taiwanese governmental officials to the United States, etc., but they all fall within the larger message and picture that we must convey. If we passionately argue for Taiwan's admission into the United Nations, for example, we cannot do so in a vacuum — the argument needs to be made within the context of the broader message that Taiwan's economic strength, defensible borders

and self-government justify recognition as a sovereign entity, regardless of Chinese pressure.

Third, after we deliver the message, we must ask for meaningful outcomes. In addition to persuasion, lobbying is about results, and results on the Taiwan issue are getting fewer and further in between. When asking favors of members of Congress or other policymakers, we need to make sure we are asking for the right things, and we have to make sure we ask in a way that makes people want to help us, rather than create aggravation.

The Formosa Foundation has received feedback from members of Congress and other organizations that have an interest in the Taiwan issue that the Taiwan lobby has not been effective in large part because the lobby does a poor job of defining its message or prioritizing what issues or requests are important. For example, congressional staff members have told us that they do not appreciate last minute fire drills to co-sponsor or vote on legislation when they have not received adequate briefing in advance. We would help our cause dramatically if we took the time to educate members and their staffs and build long-term relationships where we can expect more results for our efforts.

This leads to my next point: Taiwanese-American organizations need to work together and cooperate and support one another. There are too many Taiwanese-American organizations with too little collaboration and coordination. In the past, efforts to align organizations' human and financial resources have been met with apathy and resistance. Unfortunately, individual agendas and egos have gotten in the way of being a stronger community. The most obvious example has been political contributions. The Taiwanese-American community's political voice would carry much more weight if there was more communication and coordination in the way funds were distributed and if Congressional members who receive our political contributions were held accountable for their votes on issues important to

our community. Individual members of the Taiwanese-American community can work together through political action committees ("PAC"), which represent a legal way to pool funds for political candidates. Following the AIPAC model of the Israel lobby, one significant recognized Taiwanese-American PAC to which all Taiwanese-Americans contributed would go a long way to increasing the power of Taiwanese-American dollars. The Taiwanese American Action Council – PAC was formed in Los Angeles several years ago to accomplish this goal, but the concept of contributing to a PAC has been slow to take hold in our community.

Taiwanese-American organizations need to work together and cooperate and support one another.

Finally, I believe that one and one-half and second generation Taiwanese-Americans are underutilized in Taiwanese-American advocacy. The first generation always speaks of the younger generations grabbing the torch of Taiwan advocacy, but many younger Taiwanese-Americans feel that their efforts are not taken seriously and are not supported by the first generation. Our community organizations should be open to the innovations and changes suggested by their younger members. The children of the first generation are highly-educated, speak English fluently and steeped in American culture. Yet, unlike most Americans, young Taiwanese-Americans also have a special emotional bond with Taiwan and truly care about Taiwan's future, which makes them a unique and invaluable resource in Taiwan advocacy in the United States. Please, let's not squander this resource.

I am very proud to be Taiwanese-American. Yet, I cannot help but feel disappointed at the inability of the Taiwanese-American community to "move the dial" when it comes to influencing American policy on Taiwan. The results of the 2008 presidential elections in Taiwan could dramatically change the future course of Taiwan's relationship with China. China's economic and military strength grows with each passing day. We cannot be assured that future presidents and legislators of the United States will be supportive of a sovereign Taiwan. If we are unable to capitalize on this opportunity to state a clear message and have a meaningful political impact, we may not have many more chances. The Formosa Foundation is committed to this principle of collaboration and will continue to offer its support for such efforts. It is time for Taiwanese-Americans to act like a community, and I urge all Taiwanese-Americans to commit to that community and to work together to get meaningful results for our efforts.

Donald S. Lee is a corporate and securities partner in the Business Practices Group in the Los Angeles office of Buchalter Nemer. His practice includes venture capital investment, mergers and acquisitions, corporate finance, representation of businesses as outside general counsel and securities law. He represents venture capital, private equity and hedge funds, and emerging growth and middle market companies in a variety of industry sectors, including technology, internet ecommerce, consumer goods and financial services. Don received his BA in Political Science, with honors, from Stanford University in 1988, and his JD from The University of Kansas School of Law in 1994. Prior to attending law school, he served on the legislative staff of U.S. Senator Bob Dole (R-Kan.) from 1988 to 1991. Don is a member of the Board of Directors and past Chairman of the Formosa Foundation and previously served on the Board of Directors of the Formosan Association for Public Affairs.

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