

Appendix 1

The April 2001 U.S. Arms Sales to Taiwan

(Unless specified, it is unclear how many of each item Taiwan will receive.)

- Four *Kidd*-class destroyers.
- Twelve P-3C *Orion* aircraft.
- Eight diesel submarines
- *Paladin* self-propelled artillery system.
- MH-53E mine-sweeping helicopters.
- AAV7A1 Amphibious Assault Vehicles.
- Mk 48 torpedoes without advanced capabilities.
- *Avenger* surface-to-air missile system.
- Submarine-launched and surface-launched torpedoes.
- Aircraft survivability equipment.
- The United States will also give Taiwan a technical briefing on the *Patriot* anti-missile system.

Source: “Weapons the U.S. Will Sell Taiwan”, Associated Press, 23 April 2001.

Appendix 2

The One-China Principle and the Taiwan Issue

**Statement issued by the Taiwan Affairs Office and the
Information Office of the State Council, 21 February 2000.**

Foreword

On October 1, 1949, the Chinese people won a great victory in the new democratic revolution and founded the People's Republic of China (PRC). The Kuomintang (KMT) ruling clique retreated from the mainland to entrench in China's Taiwan Province in confrontation with the Central Government with the support of foreign forces. This is the origin of the Taiwan issue.

Settlement of the Taiwan issue and realization of the complete reunification of China embodies the fundamental interests of the Chinese nation. The Chinese government has worked persistently toward this goal in the past 50 years. From 1979, the Chinese government has striven for the peaceful reunification of China in the form of "one country, two systems" with the greatest sincerity and the utmost effort. Economic and cultural exchanges and people-to-people contacts between the two sides of the Taiwan Straits have made rapid progress since the end of 1987. Unfortunately, from the 1990s, Lee Teng-hui, the leader of the Taiwan authorities, has progressively betrayed the One-China Principle, striving to promote a separatist policy with "two Chinas" at the core, going so far as to openly describe the cross-Straits relations as "state to state relations, or at least special state to state relations". This action has seriously damaged the basis for peaceful reunification of the two sides, harmed the fundamental interests of the entire Chinese nation including the Taiwan compatriots, and jeopardized peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region. The Chinese government has consistently adhered to the One-China Principle and resolutely opposed any attempt to separate Taiwan from China. The struggle between the Chinese government and the separatist forces headed by Lee Teng-hui finds its concentrated expression in the question of whether to persevere in the One-China Principle or to create "two Chinas" or "one China, one Taiwan".

In August 1993, we issued a White Paper entitled “The Taiwan Question and Reunification of China”, which systematically expounds the fact concerning Taiwan as an inalienable part of China, the origin of the Taiwan issue, and the Chinese government’s basic principles and related policies regarding resolution of the Taiwan question. We deem it necessary here to further explain to the international community the Chinese government’s position and policy on the One-China Principle.

I. The Basis for One China, *De Facto* and *De Jure*

The One-China Principle has been evolved in the course of the Chinese people’s just struggle to safeguard China’s sovereignty and territorial integrity, and its basis, both *de facto* and *de jure*, is unshakeable.

Taiwan is an inalienable part of China. All the facts and laws about Taiwan prove that Taiwan is an inalienable part of Chinese territory. In April 1895, through a war of aggression against China, Japan forced the Qing government to sign the unequal Treaty of Shimonoseki, and forcibly occupied Taiwan. In July 1937, Japan launched an all-out war of aggression against China. In December 1941, the Chinese government issued the Proclamation of China’s Declaration of War Against Japan, announcing to the world that all treaties, agreements and contracts concerning Sino-Japanese relations, including the Treaty of Shimonoseki, had been abrogated, and that China would recover Taiwan. In December 1943, the Cairo Declaration was issued by the Chinese, U.S. and British governments, stipulating that Japan should return to China all the territories it had stolen from the Chinese, including Northeast China, Taiwan and the Penghu Archipelago. The Potsdam Proclamation signed by China, the United States and Britain in 1945 (later adhered to by the Soviet Union) stipulated that “The terms of the Cairo Declaration shall be carried out”. In August of that year, Japan declared surrender and promised in its instrument of surrender that it would faithfully fulfill the obligations laid down in the Potsdam Proclamation. On October 25, 1945, the Chinese government recovered Taiwan and the Penghu Archipelago, resuming the exercise of sovereignty over Taiwan. On October 1, 1949, the Central People’s Government of the PRC was proclaimed, replacing the government of the Republic of China to become the only legal government of the whole of China and its sole legal representative in the international arena, thereby bringing the historical status of the Republic of China to an end.

This is a replacement of the old regime by a new one in a situation where the main bodies of the same international laws have not changed and China’s sovereignty and inherent territory have not changed therefrom, and so the government of the PRC naturally should fully enjoy and exercise China’s sovereignty, including its sovereignty over Taiwan.

Since the KMT ruling clique retreated to Taiwan, although its regime has continued to use the designations “Republic of China” and “government of the Republic of China”, it has long since completely forfeited its right to exercise state sovereignty on behalf of China and, in reality, has always remained only a local authority in Chinese territory.

The formulation of the One-China Principle and its basic meaning

On the day of its founding, the Central People’s Government of the PRC declared to governments of all countries in the world, “This government is the sole legitimate government representing the entire people of the People’s Republic of China”.

It is ready to establish diplomatic relations with all foreign governments that are willing to abide by the principles of equality, mutual benefit and mutual respect for each other’s territorial integrity and sovereignty”. Shortly afterwards, the Central People’s Government telegraphed the United Nations, announcing that the KMT authorities had “lost all basis, both de jure and de facto, to represent the Chinese people”, and therefore had no right to represent China at all. One principle governing New China’s establishment of diplomatic relations with a foreign country is that it recognizes the government of the PRC as the sole legitimate government representing the whole of China, and severs or refrains from establishing diplomatic relations with the Taiwan authorities.

These propositions of the Chinese government met with obstruction by the U.S. government. On January 5, 1950, the U.S. President Truman issued a statement, saying that the U.S. and other Allied countries recognized China’s exercise of sovereignty over Taiwan Island in the four years since 1945. However, after the start of the Korean War in June 1950, to isolate and contain China the U.S. government not only sent troops to occupy Taiwan, but it also dished out such fallacies as “the status of Taiwan has yet to be determined” and later, step by step, lobbied for “dual recognition” among the international community in order to create “two Chinas”. Naturally, the Chinese government resolutely opposed this, insisting that there is only one China in the world, Taiwan is a part of China and the government of the PRC is the sole legal government representing the whole of China. China has evolved the One-China Principle precisely in the course of the endeavour to develop normal diplomatic relations with other countries and the struggle to safeguard state sovereignty and territorial integrity.

The above propositions constitute the basic meaning of the One-China Principle, the crucial point being to safeguard China’s sovereignty and territorial integrity.

During the 30 or 40 years after 1949, although the Taiwan authorities did not recognize the legitimate status of the government of the PRC as the representative of the whole of China, they did insist that Taiwan is a part of China

and that there is only one China, and opposed “two Chinas” and “Taiwan independence”.

“This shows that for a long time there has been a common understanding among the Chinese on both sides of the Taiwan Straits on the fundamental question that there is only one China and Taiwan is a part of Chinese territory. As far back as October 1958, when the People’s Liberation Army (PLA) was engaged in the battle to bombard Jinmen, Chairman Mao Zedong declared to the Taiwan authorities, “There is only one China, not two, in the world. You agree with us on this point, as indicated in your leaders’ proclamations”. In January 1979, the Standing Committee of the National People’s Congress (NPC) issued a Message to Taiwan Compatriots, pointing out that “the Taiwan authorities have always stood firm on the one China position and opposed the independence of Taiwan. This is our common stand and our basis for cooperation”.

The Chinese government’s solemn and reasonable stand for the One-China Principle has gained the understanding and support of more and more countries and international organizations, and the One-China Principle has been gradually accepted by the international community at large. In October 1971, the United Nations General Assembly adopted, at its 26th session, Resolution 2758, which expelled the representatives of the Taiwan authorities and restored the seat and all the lawful rights of the government of the PRC in the United Nations. In September 1972, China and Japan signed a Joint Statement, announcing establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries, and that Japan recognizes the government of the PRC as the only legitimate government of China, fully understands and respects the Chinese government’s position that Taiwan is an inalienable part of the territory of the PRC, and promises to adhere to the position as prescribed in Article 8 of the Potsdam Proclamation. In December 1978, China and the U.S. issued the Joint Communiqué on the establishment of diplomatic relations, in which the U.S. “recognizes the government of the People’s Republic of China as the sole legal government of China” and “acknowledges the Chinese position that there is but one China and Taiwan is a part of China”.

Up to now, 161 countries have established diplomatic relations with the PRC; they all acknowledge the One-China Principle and promise to handle their relations with Taiwan within the one-China framework.

II. The One-China Principle — the Basis and Prerequisite for Achieving Peaceful Reunification

The One-China Principle is the foundation stone for the Chinese government’s policy on Taiwan. On Comrade Deng Xiaoping’s initiative, the Chinese government has, since 1979, adopted the policy of peaceful reunification and

gradually evolved the scientific concept of “one country, two systems”. On this basis, China established the basic principle of “peaceful reunification, and one country, two systems”. The key points of this basic principle and the relevant policies are: China will do its best to achieve peaceful reunification, but will not commit itself to rule out the use of force; will actively promote people-to-people contacts and economic and cultural exchanges between the two sides of the Taiwan Straits, and start direct trade, postal, air and shipping services as soon as possible; achieve reunification through peaceful negotiations and, on the premise of the One-China Principle, any matter can be negotiated. After reunification, the policy of “one country, two systems” will be practised, with the main body of China (Chinese mainland) continuing with its socialist system, and Taiwan maintaining its capitalist system for a long period of time to come. After reunification, Taiwan will enjoy a high degree of autonomy, and the Central Government will not send troops or administrative personnel to be stationed in Taiwan. Resolution of the Taiwan issue is an internal affair of China, which should be achieved by the Chinese themselves, and there is no call for aid by foreign forces. The afore-mentioned principles and policies embody the basic stand and spirit of adhering to the One-China Principle, and fully respect Taiwan compatriots’ wish to govern and administer Taiwan by themselves.

On May 1, 1995, President Jiang Zemin put forward eight propositions on the development of relations between the two sides of the Taiwan Straits and the promotion of peaceful reunification of China, explicitly pointing out: “Adhering to the One-China Principle is the basis and prerequisite for peaceful reunification”.

Only by adhering to the One-China Principle can peaceful reunification be achieved. The Taiwan issue is one left over by the Chinese civil war. As yet, the state of hostility between the two sides of the Straits has not formally ended. To safeguard China’s sovereignty and territorial integrity and realize the reunification of the two sides of the Straits, the Chinese government has the right to resort to any necessary means.

Peaceful means would be favourable to the common development of the societies on both sides of the Straits, and to the harmony and unity of the compatriots across the Straits. Peaceful means is therefore the best means. The Chinese government’s declaration in 1979 on implementing the principle of peaceful reunification was based on the premise that the Taiwan authorities at that time upheld the principle that there is only one China in the world and Taiwan is a part of China. Meanwhile, the Chinese government took into account the fact that the U.S. government, which for many years had supported the Taiwan authorities, had accepted that there is only one China in the world, Taiwan is a part of China and the government of the PRC is the only legitimate government of China, and saw this acknowledgement as being beneficial to the peaceful resolution of the Taiwan issue. While carrying out the policy of peaceful

reunification, the Chinese government always makes it clear that the means used to solve the Taiwan issue is a matter of China's internal affairs, and China is under no obligation to commit itself to rule out the use of force. This is by no means directed against Taiwan compatriots, but against the scheme to create an "independent Taiwan" and against the foreign forces interfering with the reunification of China, and is intended as a necessary safeguard for the striving for peaceful reunification. Resort to force would only be the last choice made under compelling circumstances.

As for Taiwan, upholding the principle of one China indicates that it acknowledges that China's sovereignty and territory are inalienable. In this way, both sides of the Taiwan Straits will have a common basis and premise and may find ways to solve their political differences and realize peaceful reunification through consultation on an equal footing. If Taiwan denies the One-China Principle and tries to separate Taiwan from the territory of China, the premise and basis for peaceful reunification will cease to exist.

As for the United States, if it promises to follow a one-China policy, it should earnestly implement the three communiques between the Chinese and U.S. governments and fulfill the series of promises it has made. It should maintain only cultural, commercial and other non-governmental relations with Taiwan; oppose "Taiwan independence", "two Chinas" or "one China, one Taiwan" and not to stand in the way of the reunification of China. Acting otherwise will destroy the external conditions necessary for the Chinese government to strive for peaceful reunification.

As for countries in the Asia-Pacific region and other regions in the world, the situation across the Taiwan Straits has always been closely linked with the stability of the Asia-Pacific region. Adherence to the policy of one China by countries concerned will be beneficial to peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region and favourable for China to develop friendly relations with other countries, and therefore conforms to the interests of the Asia-Pacific region and other countries in the world.

The Chinese government is actively and sincerely striving for peaceful reunification. To achieve peaceful reunification, the Chinese government has appealed time and again for cross-Strait negotiations on the basis of equality and the One-China Principle.

Taking Taiwan's political reality into full account and out of consideration for the Taiwan authorities' request for the negotiations to be held on an equal footing, we have put forward one proposal after another, such as that the negotiations should be held between the Communist Party of China (CPC) and the Chinese KMT on a reciprocal basis and that the talks between the two parties may include representatives from all parties and mass organizations of Taiwan, and we have never spoken of negotiations between the "central and local authorities". The Chinese government has also proposed that dialogues may start

first, including political dialogues, which may gradually move on to procedural consultations for political talks to solve the name, the topics for discussion and the forms of official talks before political talks are held. Political talks may be carried out step by step. First, negotiations should be held and an agreement reached on an official end to the state of hostility between the two sides under the principle of one China so as to jointly safeguard China's sovereignty and territorial integrity and work out plans for the development of future inter-Strait relations. In January 1998, to seek and expand the political basis for relations between the two sides, the Chinese government explicitly proposed to the Taiwan side that before the realization of reunification and in handling affairs concerning inter-Strait relations, especially during the talks between the two sides, the One-China Principle should be upheld, namely, that there is only one China in the world, Taiwan is a part of China and China's sovereignty and territorial integrity is not to be separated. The Chinese government hopes that on the basis of the One-China Principle, the two sides will hold consultations on an equal footing and discuss national reunification together.

To strive for peaceful reunification, the Chinese government has adopted a series of positive policies and measures to promote the comprehensive development of cross-Strait relations. From the end of 1987, when the state of isolation between the two sides was terminated, to the end of 1999, the number of Taiwan compatriots coming to the mainland of China for visiting their relatives, sightseeing or exchanges reached 16 million by turnstile count.

The total indirect trade volume between the two sides of the Straits has exceeded US\$160 billion; the agreed capital to be invested by Taiwan business people in the mainland has exceeded US\$44 billion, of which US\$24 billion has been actually used. Great progress has been made in the exchange of mail and telecommunications across the Straits; and some progress has been made in the exchange of air and shipping services too. The NPC and its Standing Committee, the State Council, and local governments have worked out a sequence of laws and regulations to safeguard the legitimate rights and interests of Taiwan compatriots. To properly solve the concrete issues arising from the people-to-people contacts between the two sides through consultations, in November 1992 the mainland's Association for Relations Across the Taiwan Straits and Taiwan's Straits Exchange Foundation reached the common understanding during talks on routine affairs that each of the two organizations should express verbally that "both sides of the Taiwan Straits adhere to the One-China Principle". On this basis, the leaders of these two organizations successfully held the "Wang Daohan-Koo Chen-fu talks" and signed several agreements on protecting the legitimate rights and interests of the compatriots on both sides of the Taiwan Straits in April 1993. In October 1998, the leaders of the two organizations met in Shanghai, starting political dialogue across the Straits. The talks between the two organizations were carried out on an equal footing.

Practice has proved that on the basis of the One-China Principle, it is entirely possible to find a proper way for holding talks, based on equality, between the two sides. Since Hong Kong and Macao's return to China, people-to-people contacts and exchanges between Hong Kong and Taiwan and between Macao and Taiwan have continued and developed on the basis of the One-China Principle.

III. The Chinese Government — Staunch Champion for the One-China Principle

Separatist forces in Taiwan are bent on violating the One-China Principle. In 1988, after Lee Teng-hui became the leader of the Taiwan authorities, he publicly stated time and again that the basic policy of the Taiwan authorities was that "there is only one China, not two", and "we have always maintained that China should be reunited, and we adhere to the principle of 'one China'".

However, since the early 1990s, Lee Teng-hui has gradually deviated from the One-China Principle, trumpeting "two governments", "two reciprocal political entities", "Taiwan is already a state with independent sovereignty", and "At the present stage the Republic of China is on Taiwan and the People's Republic of China is on the mainland". Moreover, he went back on his words, saying that "I have never said that there is only one China". In addition, he has connived at and provided support for the separatists who advocate "Taiwan independence" and their activities, thus helping the rapid development of the "Taiwan independence" forces and the spread of the "Taiwan independence" ideology. Under the direction of Lee Teng-hui, the Taiwan authorities have adopted a series of measures towards actual separation. In matters of Taiwan's form of government, the Taiwan authorities are seeking to transform Taiwan into an "independent political entity" through a "constitutional reform", so as to suit the needs of creating "two Chinas". In foreign relations, the Taiwan authorities have spared no effort to carry out the activities for "expanding the international space of survival", with the aim of creating "two Chinas". Since 1993, for seven years running, the Taiwan authorities have manoeuvred for participation in the United Nations. In military affairs, the Taiwan authorities have bought large quantities of advanced weapons from foreign countries and sought to join the Theater Missile Defence System (TMDS), in an attempt to establish a military alliance in a disguised form with the United States and Japan.

In ideology and culture, the Taiwan authorities have endeavoured to obliterate the Chinese awareness of Taiwan compatriots, especially young people, and their identification with the motherland, in order to create misunderstanding of the motherland among Taiwan compatriots and estrange them from her, thus cutting off the ideological and cultural ties between the compatriots on both sides of the Taiwan Straits.

Since 1999, Lee Teng-hui has stepped up his separatist activities. In May, he published the book "The Road to Democracy", which advocates the division of China into seven regions, each enjoying "full autonomy". On July 9, he went so far as to publicly distort inter-Strait relations as "state to state relations, or at least special state to state relations", in an attempt to fundamentally change the status of Taiwan as a part of China, sabotage the relations between both sides of the Taiwan Strait, especially the basis for cross-Strait political dialogues and negotiations, and wreck the foundation for peaceful reunification. Lee Teng-hui has become the general representative of Taiwan's separatist forces, a saboteur of the stability of the Taiwan Straits, a stumbling block preventing the development of relations between China and the United States, and a trouble-maker for the peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region.

The Chinese government firmly defends the One-China Principle. The Chinese government and people have always maintained sharp vigilance and fought resolutely against the secessionist activities of the Taiwan separatists, represented by Lee Teng-hui.

After Lee Teng-hui's "private" visit to the United States in June 1995, the Chinese government has waged a resolute struggle against separation and against "Taiwan independence", and made strong protests and representations to the U.S. government for openly allowing Lee Teng-hui to visit the United States, violating its promises made in the three Sino-U.S. joint communiques, and seriously prejudicing China's sovereignty. This struggle has shown the Chinese government's and people's firm resolve and ability to safeguard state sovereignty and territorial integrity, and exerted an important and far-reaching influence. Compatriots in Taiwan have further realized the serious harm "Taiwan independence" can cause. Lee Teng-hui has received a heavy blow for his separatist activities in the international community, so that some of the "Taiwan independence" protagonists have had to abandon certain extremist propositions aimed at division. The international community has further realized the necessity of upholding the one-China policy. The U.S. Government has explicitly undertaken not to support "Taiwan independence", not to support "two Chinas" or "one China, one Taiwan", and not to support Taiwan joining any international organization whose membership is restricted to sovereign states.

The Chinese government and people have fought more unremittingly after Lee Teng-hui cooked up his "two states" theory. The relevant department of the Chinese government has clearly stated that the attempt of the Taiwan separatists to implement the "two states" theory in "legal" form was an even more serious and dangerous step towards division and a grave provocation against peaceful reunification. Were the attempt to succeed, it would be impossible for China to achieve peaceful reunification. The struggle against this attempt has grown in momentum with Chinese both at home and abroad condemning the "two states" theory with one voice. Most countries in the world have reaffirmed their position

of upholding the One-China Policy. The U.S. Government has also reasserted its adherence to the One-China Policy and its commitment to the “Three Non-supports” for Taiwan. Finally, the Taiwan authorities have been compelled to announce that they will not amend their “constitution” and “laws” according to the “two states” theory.

Nevertheless, separatists in Taiwan are still attempting to detach Taiwan “*de jure*” from China in the name of the “Republic of China” by various forms, including “formulating a new constitution”, “amending the constitution”, and “explaining the constitution” or through “legislation”. Special vigilance should be maintained to the fact that the Taiwan separatists are continually scheming to disrupt Sino–U.S. relations and provoke conflicts and confrontation between the two nations to achieve their aim of dividing China.

Facts prove that a serious crisis still exists in the situation of the Taiwan Straits. To safeguard the interests of the entire Chinese people, including compatriots in Taiwan and maintain the peace and development of the Asia–Pacific region, the Chinese government remains firm in adhering to “peaceful reunification” and “one country, two systems”; upholding the eight propositions put forward by President Jiang Zemin for the development of cross-Strait relations and the acceleration of the peaceful reunification of China; and doing its utmost to achieve the objective of peaceful reunification. However, if a grave turn of events occurs leading to the separation of Taiwan from China in any name, or if Taiwan is invaded and occupied by foreign countries, or if the Taiwan authorities refuse, *sine die*, the peaceful settlement of cross-Strait reunification through negotiations, then the Chinese government will only be forced to adopt all drastic measures possible, including the use of force, to safeguard China’s sovereignty and territorial integrity and fulfill the great cause of reunification. The Chinese government and people absolutely have the determination and ability to safeguard China’s sovereignty and territorial integrity, and will never tolerate, condone or remain indifferent to the realization of any scheme to divide China. Any such scheme is doomed to failure.

IV. Several Questions Involving the One-China Principle in Cross-Strait Relations

Chinese territory and sovereignty have not been split, and the two sides of the Straits are not two states. The Taiwan authorities support their position on “two Chinas”, including the “two states” theory proposed by Lee Teng-hui, with the following arguments:

- Since 1949, the territories on either side of the Straits have been divided and governed separately, with neither side having jurisdiction over the other;

- the government of the PRC has never ruled Taiwan; and
- since 1991 Taiwan has witnessed a form of government that has nothing to do with that of the Chinese mainland.

These arguments are absolutely untenable, and can never lead to the conclusion that Taiwan may declare itself a state under the name of the “Republic of China”, or that the two sides of the Straits have been divided into two states. Firstly, state sovereignty is inseparable. The territory is the space in which a state exercises its sovereignty. In the territory of a country there can only be a central government exercising sovereignty on behalf of the state. As we have already said, Taiwan is an inalienable part of Chinese territory and, after replacing the government of the Republic of China in 1949, the government of the PRC has become the sole legal government of China, enjoying and exercising sovereignty over the whole of China, including Taiwan.

Although the two sides of the Straits have not been reunified, Taiwan’s status as a part of Chinese territory has never changed, neither, therefore, has China’s sovereignty over Taiwan ever changed. Secondly, the international community recognizes that there is only one China, that Taiwan is a part of China, and that the government of the PRC is the sole legitimate government of China. Thirdly, the reason that the Taiwan question has not been settled for such a long period of time is mainly due to the intervention of foreign forces and the obstruction of the separatist forces in Taiwan.

Although the two sides of the Straits remain to be reunified, the long-term existence of this abnormal situation has not imbued Taiwan with a status and rights in international law, nor can it change the legal status of Taiwan as a part of China. The problem now is that the separatists in Taiwan and some foreign anti-China forces seek to change this state of affairs, and it is this that the Chinese government and people are firmly against.

We firmly oppose changing Taiwan’s status as a part of China by referendum. The Taiwan separatists’ attempt to change Taiwan’s status as a part of China by referendum on the pretext that “sovereignty belongs to the people” is futile. Firstly, under both domestic and international laws Taiwan’s legal status as a part of Chinese territory is unequivocal, and there can be no premise for using referendum to decide any matter of self-determination. Secondly, the phrase “sovereignty belongs to the people” refers to all the people of a state, and not certain people or the people of a certain area. The sovereignty over Taiwan belongs to all the Chinese people, including Taiwan compatriots, and not to some of the people in Taiwan. Thirdly, at no time in history has Taiwan been a state in its own right, and since 1945 Taiwan has not been a foreign colony, nor has it been under foreign occupation. The issue of national self-determination, therefore, does not exist. In short, from the time that China recovered Taiwan in 1945, there has been no question at all of changing Taiwan’s status as a part

of China by holding a referendum. The only future for Taiwan is reunification with the China mainland, and certainly not separation. Any attempt to separate Taiwan from China through so-called referendum would only lead the Taiwan people to disaster.

The “two German states formula” cannot be applied to the settlement of the Taiwan issue. Some people in Taiwan have suggested that cross-Strait relations should be dealt with according to the “two German states formula”, since Germany was divided into two states after World War II, and was later reunified. This proposal shows a misunderstanding of history and reality. The division of Germany after the war and the temporary division between the two sides of the Strait are questions of a different nature, the difference lying mainly in three aspects. The first is the reasons for, and the nature of, the division. After its defeat in World War II in 1945, Germany was divided into zones occupied separately by the four victorious nations of the United States, Britain, France, and the Soviet Union according to a declaration on the defeat of Germany and the assumption of supreme authority and the subsequent Potsdam Agreement. The reunification of Germany became a focus of the confrontation in Europe between the United States and the Soviet Union during the Cold War. The Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic were established in the zones occupied by the United States, Britain and France, and that occupied by the Soviet Union. Thus, Germany was divided into two states. Obviously, the German question arose entirely from external factors, while the Taiwan issue, left over by China’s civil war, is a matter of China’s internal affairs. The second aspect is the difference in status between the two under international law. Germany was divided according to a series of international treaties during and after World War II, while the Taiwan question involves provisions of the Cairo Declaration, the Potsdam Proclamation and other international treaties, stating that Japan must return Taiwan, which it had stolen from China, to the Chinese. The third is the difference between the two in their actual conditions of existence.

Against the backdrop of the confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union, the two German states had foreign troops stationed in their territories and so were compelled to recognize each other and co-exist in the international community. The Chinese government has always persisted in the principle of one China. Before Lee Teng-hui assumed power, and during his early days in office, the Taiwan authorities recognized only one China and opposed “two Chinas”, and the One-China Principle has also been widely accepted by the international community. For these reasons, the Taiwan issue and the German issue cannot be placed in the same category, nor can the “two German states formula” be copied to settle the Taiwan question.

Any question can be discussed under the One-China Principle. The Chinese government advocates that the final purpose of cross-Strait negotiations is to achieve peaceful reunification; and that to achieve this purpose, talks should be

held based on the principle of one China. However, the proposals for “Taiwan independence”, “two Chinas” and “two states”, aiming for separation instead of reunification, violate the One-China Principle, and are naturally unacceptable to the Chinese government. Provided that it is within the framework of one China, any question can be discussed, including the various issues that are of concern to the Taiwan side. The Chinese government believes that Taiwan’s international space for economic, cultural and social activities compatible with its status, the political status of the Taiwan authorities, and other questions can be finally settled in the process of peaceful reunification through political negotiations within this framework.

The so-called controversy about democracy and system is an excuse for obstructing the reunification of China. In recent years, the Taiwan authorities have repeatedly declared that “democratization on the China mainland is the key to the reunification of China” and that “the real essence of the cross-Straits issue is a contest between systems”. This is an excuse for postponing and resisting reunification, as well as a scheme to deceive compatriots in Taiwan and world opinion. The CPC and the Chinese government have consistently striven to achieve socialist democracy. To achieve peaceful reunification in the form of “one country, two systems,” and to allow the two different social systems on both sides of the Straits to coexist without imposing them on one or the other: this is best able to embody the wishes of compatriots on both sides of the Straits and is itself democratic. The different social systems across the Straits, therefore, should not constitute a barrier to peaceful reunification. Moreover, the Chinese government acknowledges the differences between Taiwan, on the one hand, and Hong Kong and Macao, on the other and, after peaceful reunification, is prepared to apply a looser form of the “one country, two systems” policy in Taiwan than in Hong Kong and Macao. It is totally unreasonable and undemocratic for the Taiwan authorities to seek to obstruct reunification on the pretext of the “controversy about democracy and system” and to force the more than 1.2 billion people living on the Chinese mainland to practise the political and economic systems in Taiwan. The demand for democracy should not be used as a reason for refusing reunification. The essence of the difference between the two sides of the Strait on this question lies by no means in the controversy over whether to practise democracy or in the controversy over what system to practise, but rather a controversy over the choice between reunification and separation.

V. Several Questions Involving Adherence to the One-China Principle in the International Community

The Chinese government has expressed its appreciation to the international community for widely pursuing a one-China policy. In August 1993, we

published the White Paper, *The Taiwan Question and Reunification of China*. In Chapter V of this document, "Several Questions Involving Taiwan in International Relations", we explained our position and policy on a number of issues, including relations between Taiwan and countries maintaining diplomatic ties with China, relations between international organizations and Taiwan, aviation services between Taiwan and countries having diplomatic relations with China, and arms sales to Taiwan by countries having diplomatic relations with China. Here, we would like to reaffirm our related position and policy.

Taiwan is ineligible for membership in the United Nations and other international organizations whose membership is confined to sovereign states. The United Nations is an intergovernmental international organization composed of sovereign states. After the restoration of the lawful rights of the PRC in the United Nations, the issue of China's representation in the U.N. was resolved once and for all, and Taiwan's re-entry became totally out of the question. The Taiwan authorities have asserted that Resolution 2758 of the U.N. resolved only "the problem of China's representation", but not "the problem of Taiwan's representation", and demanded participation in the U.N. We will never permit such a separatist act of creating "two Chinas" or "one China, one Taiwan".

All members of the U.N. should adhere to the purpose and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and related U.N. resolutions, abide by norms governing international relations, including mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, and never, in any form, support Taiwan's joining the U.N. or other international organizations whose membership is confined to sovereign states.

On the basis of the principle of one China, the Chinese Government has made arrangements for Taiwan's participation in some intergovernmental international organizations which accept regional membership in an agreeable and acceptable way according to the nature, regulations, and actual conditions of these international organizations. As a region of China, Taiwan has participated in the Asian Development Bank (ADB) and the Asia-Pacific Economic Co-operation (APEC), respectively, under the names "Taipei, China" and "Chinese Taipei". In September 1992, the chairman of the council of the predecessor of the World Trade Organization (WTO), the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), stated that Taiwan may participate in this organization as "a separate Taiwan-Penghu-Jinmen-Mazu tariff zone" (abbreviated as Chinese Taipei) after the PRC's entry into GATT. The WTO should persist in the principle defined in the aforesaid statement when examining the acceptance of Taiwan's entry into the organization. This is only an ad hoc arrangement and cannot constitute a model applicable to other intergovernmental international organizations or international gatherings.

No country maintaining diplomatic relations with China should provide arms to Taiwan or enter into military alliance of any form with Taiwan. All countries

maintaining diplomatic relations with China should abide by the principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, and refrain from providing arms to Taiwan or helping Taiwan produce arms in any form or under any pretext.

The Taiwan question is the most crucial and most sensitive issue in the relations between China and the United States. The three Sino-U.S. joint communiques are the basis for the healthy and steady development of relations between the two countries. For over 20 years, the United States has promised to adhere to a one-China policy, which has brought to itself benefits such as the establishment of diplomatic relations with China, the development of Sino-U.S. relations, and the relative stability of the Taiwan situation. Regrettably, the United States has repeatedly contravened its solemn understandings with China made in the August 17 Communique and continued its sale of advanced arms and military equipment to Taiwan. Recently, some people in the U.S. Congress have cooked up the so-called Taiwan Security Enhancement Act and are attempting to include Taiwan in the TMDS. This is gross interference in China's internal affairs and a grave threat to China's security, obstructing the peaceful reunification of China and jeopardizing the peace and stability of the Asia-Pacific region and the world at large. The Chinese government is firmly against such actions.

The Chinese government adheres to the One-China Principle in dealing with Taiwan's contacts with the outside world. The Taiwan authorities have spared no effort to promote "pragmatic diplomacy" in the international arena and enlarge their "international space of survival", the essence of these being to create "two Chinas" or "one China, one Taiwan". It is only natural that the Chinese government should firmly oppose these moves. Meanwhile, considering the needs of Taiwan's socio-economic development and the actual benefits of compatriots in Taiwan, the Chinese government has no objection to Taiwan's non-governmental economic and cultural contacts with foreign countries; in fact, on the premise of one China, it has adopted many flexible measures to make Taiwan's economic, trade, and cultural contacts with foreign countries more convenient. For example, Taiwan may stay on the International Olympic Committee in the name of "Chinese Taipei". As a matter of fact, Taiwan has maintained extensive economic, trade, and cultural relations with many countries and regions in the world. Every year, a million Taiwan compatriots go abroad for travel, business or study, as well as for academic, cultural or sports exchanges, and Taiwan's annual import and export trade volume has exceeded the US\$200-billion mark. This has demonstrated that adhering to the One-China Principle has not prevented Taiwan compatriots from engaging in non-governmental international exchanges or affected the needs of Taiwan's normal economic, trade, and cultural activities.

The Chinese government safeguards all the justified and lawful rights and interests of Taiwan compatriots abroad. The people of Taiwan are of the same

flesh and blood with us. The Chinese government has always worked for safeguarding their justified and lawful rights and interests abroad. Chinese embassies and consulates stationed abroad have always considered it their duties to strengthen their ties with Taiwan compatriots, listen to their suggestions and requests and safeguard their interests, and do everything they can to help them overcome their difficulties. During the Gulf War, the Chinese Embassy helped Taiwanese labour service personnel stranded in Kuwait pull out of dangerous places safely. After the big earthquakes in Osaka and Kobe, Japan, the Chinese Embassy and consulate there promptly extended their sympathies to stricken Taiwan compatriots. When the civil war in Cambodia broke out, the Chinese Embassy lost no time in helping Taiwanese business people and tourists, whose lives and property were seriously imperiled by the war, move to safe places. All the above-mentioned facts reflect the Chinese government's care for Taiwan compatriots. When both sides of the Taiwan Straits are reunified, Taiwan compatriots will, together with people of all ethnic groups in the country, have more possibilities to fully enjoy the dignity and honour of the PRC in the world.

Conclusion

China has a long history of 5,000 years. The Chinese people have lived and multiplied on this land where all ethnic groups have mixed together, in the course of which they have developed a powerful cohesiveness, and the values of cherishing and safeguarding unity. Over the long course of history, the Chinese nation has witnessed changes of dynasties, transfers of governments, local separatist regimes, and foreign invasions, especially the untold invasions and dismemberment by foreign powers in modern history. However, unity has always been the main trend in the development of Chinese history. After every separation, the country was invariably reunified, only to be followed in its wake by rapid political, economic, cultural, scientific, and technological development. Our compatriots in Taiwan have a glorious tradition of patriotism, and have performed brilliant exploits in the struggles against foreign invasions of Taiwan. Since the founding of the PRC, the Chinese people have particularly valued their hard-earned national independence, firmly upheld state sovereignty and territorial integrity, and struggled unswervingly for reunification of the motherland. The 5,000-year history and culture have been implanted deeply in the minds of the Chinese people, sprouting the strong national consciousness of the need for national unification.

The Chinese government hopes that the international community will follow the principle of one China now and always, and that the U.S. government will earnestly fulfil all the principles concerning the Taiwan issue in the three Sino-

U.S. joint communiques, and its solemn promise to uphold the One-China Principle.

As the Chinese government has successively resumed the exercise of sovereignty over Hong Kong and Macao, the people of the whole of China are eager to resolve the Taiwan issue as early as possible and realize the total reunification of the country. They cannot allow the resolution of the Taiwan issue to be postponed indefinitely. We firmly believe that the total reunification of China will be achieved through the joint efforts of the entire Chinese people, including compatriots on both sides of the Taiwan Straits and those living overseas.

Source: Taiwan Affairs Office and the Information Office of the State Council, 21 February 2000.

Appendix 3

Chen Shui-bian's Victory Speech after the 10th Republic of China Presidential and Vice-Presidential Election

Victorious Chen Shui-bian and Annette Lu. The election results for the 10th ROC Presidential and Vice-Presidential election have been declared. The Democratic Progressive Party candidates, Chen Shui-bian and Annette Lu, have been elected President and Vice-President in Taiwan's second democratic presidential election.

First, we want to thank the people of Taiwan with our most solemn and modest hearts. We would like to thank the DPP comrades. We want to thank the Academia Sinica President Lee Yuan-tseh and the national policy advisers for boldly pledging their support. We furthermore would like to thank all those who have contributed to the campaign process.

This moment is a dignified and sacred one in the history of Taiwan — because the courageous people of Taiwan, with love and hope, have conquered fear and darkness.

They have used their sacred ballots to express their determination to uphold the democracy of Taiwan.

That A-bian and Annette Lu are elected does not mean a personal victory or a victory for the DPP. This is a victory for democracy and a victory for the people. This glorious moment also marks the beginning of our responsibility.

We want to thank all the countries of the world who have over the years shown concern and support for Taiwan. This has facilitated the smooth completion of Taiwan's presidential election. Today, Taiwan has written a new chapter in our road to democracy, and has given birth to a renewed opportunity for democracy and peace in the Asia-Pacific region. It has also concretely acted as a demonstration of the third wave of global democratization.

From now on, Taiwan will continue to enhance the exchange and interaction between the government and people of the Western Pacific regions. We will

dedicate ourselves toward preserving the peace and stability of the Taiwan Strait and Asia–Pacific regions.

A-bian and Annette Lu’s government for the people will take advantage of Taiwan’s developmental experience to assist the promotion of democracy and preservation of human rights in international societies. With our economic strength, we will assist Third World countries in reforms and developments, and fulfill our responsibility as a member of the international society.

This election is not only the pride of the people of Taiwan, but it is also the pride of Chinese all over the world. We share the same bloodlines and culture. We hope that through more intimate exchange and interaction, with patience and respect, we can collectively create a harmonized and joyous new era.

Peace and stability in the Taiwan Strait is the common hope of people on both sides. In the future, we are willing to conduct extensive, constructive communication and dialogue with the utmost sincerity and determination.

Under the priority of ensuring national security and social benefits, we are willing to negotiate in various issues, including direct transportation links, business links, investments, peace agreement and a confidence-building mechanism for military affairs.

We will also, with sincerity, invite Mr. Jiang Zemin, Mr. Zhu Rongji and Mr. Wang Daohan to visit Taiwan. A-bian and Annette Lu are also willing to embark on a trip of negotiation and communication to Mainland China before our inauguration.

We believe that the leaders of both parties are willing to exercise our wisdom and courage to initiate positive development for future relations, so as to launch an everlasting objective of “goodwill reconciliation, active cooperation and permanent peace”.

The results of the election may mean a momentary triumph or failure, but we believe the end of the election is the beginning of reconciliation. The people in Taiwan will need to collaborate on building a grand vision for the future and not dissipate our power by one moment’s emotions.

When tomorrow’s sunlight shines on the top of the Yushan Mountains, it will be another dawn for Taiwan’s progress to peace, democracy and reform. The people in Taiwan need to convene and face the engineering of future reform.

“The dream has come true and the sunlight is seen”. We believe Taiwan can transcend its historical burdens and prejudices if we only truly respect and understand each other.

By doing so, we can conquer the anxiety and aversion in our hearts. The people in Taiwan should use their noblest souls and their most benevolent hearts to ratify the advancement of our country and society successfully.

Therefore, let us use our humblest hearts to embrace anyone who disagrees with us. We must use the most passionate love to mend divisions.

We will invite representatives from every political party, from the Kuomintang, the New Party, the Taiwan Independence Party, and non-affiliated

persons, to assemble a “non-partisan team”. The group will employ the utmost tolerance and respect to heal the wounds that arose during the election.

Furthermore, we will present our respect and appreciation to the other four groups of presidential and vice-presidential candidates. The candidates have taught A-bian and Lu a great deal and given us a fair chance to compete in the election. The future “non-partisan team” will stand on its broad-minded party and ethnic spirit to sustain other candidates and be a reference for our future new government.

“Party rotation, cessation of ‘black gold’ politics; clear-stem governance, all-citizen government; cross-strait peace, persistent development” are the promises A-bian made to the people of Taiwan, and they are what the people had hoped for. A-bian and Annette Lu will be rational and responsible in their efforts to maintain peace and stability in the Taiwan Straits. A-bian and Lu will improve the lives of the people and create better prospects for Taiwan.

From today, A-bian and Annette Lu and the Democratic Progressive Party will take on the mission mandated by the people and by history to serve Taiwan’s 23 million citizens.

May the heavens bless the people and may the heavens bless Taiwan — our motherland forever.

Source: Government Information Office, 18 March 2000.

Appendix 4

Taiwan Stands Up: Advancing to an Uplifting Era **Inaugural Address by Chen Shui-bian**

Leaders of our friendly nations, honored guests and compatriots from Taiwan and abroad.

This is a glorious moment; it is also a moment of dignity and hope.

I thank our distinguished guests, who have come here from afar, as well as those friends from around the world who love democracy and care about Taiwan, for sharing this glorious moment with us.

We are here today, not just to celebrate an inauguration, but to witness the flowering of hard-won democratic values and the dawn of a new era.

On the eve of the 21st century, the people of Taiwan have completed a historic alternation of political parties in power. This is not only the first of its kind in the history of the Republic of China, but also an epochal landmark for Chinese communities around the world. Taiwan has not only set a new model for the Asian experience of democracy, but has also added an inspiring example to the third wave of democracy the world over.

The election for the 10th-term President of the Republic of China has clearly shown the world that the fruits of freedom and democracy are not easy to come by. Twenty-three million people, through the power of determined will, have dispelled enmity with love, overcome intimidation with hope, and conquered fear with faith.

With our sacred votes, we have proved to the world that freedom and democracy are indisputable universal values, and that peace is humanity's highest goal.

The outcome of Taiwan's Year 2000 presidential election is not the victory of an individual or a political party. It is a victory of the people, a victory for democracy, because we have, while at the focus of global attention, transcended fear, threats and oppression and bravely risen to our feet together.

Taiwan stands up, demonstrating a firm insistence on reason and a sturdy faith in democracy.

Taiwan stands up, representing the self-confidence of the people and the dignity of the country.

Taiwan stands up, symbolizing the quest for hope and the realization of dreams.

Dear compatriots, let's always remember this moment; let's always remember to value and feel gratitude for it, because the fruits of democracy did not come out of the blue. We reaped the fruits only after we had been subjected to many perils and countless hardships. If not for the fearless sacrifice of our democratic forebears, if not for the unswerving faith of the tens of millions of Taiwanese people in freedom and democracy, we could not possibly be standing on our beloved land today and celebrating a glorious occasion that belongs to all the people.

Today, it is as if we are standing before a fresh new gate in history. In the process of democratization, the Taiwanese people have created a brand-new key to our shared destiny. The new century's gates of hope are soon to open. We are humble but not submissive. We are full of self-confidence but do not have the slightest bit of complacency.

Since that moment on March 18 when the election results came to light, I have accepted the mandate of all Taiwanese people in a most earnest and humble frame of mind, and have vowed to devote all my heart, knowledge and courage to assuming the heavy responsibility of our country's future.

I personally understand that the significance of the alternation of political parties and of the peaceful transition of power lies not in that it is a change of personnel or political parties. Nor in that it is a dynastic change. Rather, it is the return of state and government power to the people through a democratic procedure. The country belongs to the people, rather than to any individual or political party. The government and its officials, from the head of state down to the rank-and-file employees, exist for the service of the people.

The alternation of political parties does not mean an across-the-board negation of the past. We should be fair in evaluating the contributions made by those in power throughout the ages. Mr. Lee Teng-hui deserves our highest tribute and heartfelt gratitude for his promotion of democratic reforms and for his excellent performance during his twelve years of leadership.

Taiwan society has rallied and participated energetically in the election. Despite the diverse views and stances, all individuals share the same commitment — to come forward for the sake of their political ideas and the country's future. We believe that the end of an election is the beginning of reconciliation. After the curtain falls on emotional campaigns, rationality should prevail. Under the supreme principles of national interests and the welfare of the people, those in

power and in opposition should both fulfill their mandates given by the people and realize the ideals of fair competition in multiparty politics, as well as the checks and balances of democratic politics.

A democratic society with fair competition, tolerance and trust is the strongest impetus for a nation's development. Placing national interests above those of political parties, we should solidify the will of the people and seek consensus among the ruling and opposition parties, to promote the country's development and reforms.

"A government for all people" and "rule by the clean and upright" are promises I made to the people during the campaign period. They are also Taiwan's key to stepping over its fault lines and rising to a higher level in the future.

The spirit of a "government for all people" lies in the fact that "the government exists for the people". The people are the masters and shareholders of the state. The government should rule on the basis of majority public opinion. The interests of the people should reign supreme over those of any political party or individual.

I have always taken pride in being a member of the Democratic Progressive Party, but from the moment I take my oath and assume the presidency, I will put all my efforts into fulfilling my role as a "president for all people". As in the formation of the new government, we recruit people according to their talents and do not discriminate on the basis of ethnicity, gender or party affiliation. The welfare of the populace shall be our primary goal in the future.

"Rule by the clean and upright" has as its topmost priority the elimination of "black gold" — the involvement of organized crime and moneyed interests in politics — and the eradication of vote-buying. For a long time, the Taiwanese people have been deeply repelled by money politics and the interference of organized crime. Vote-buying in grassroots elections has also robbed the people of their right to elect the wise and the able, and tainted the development of Taiwan's democracy.

Today, I am willing to promise hereby that the new government will eliminate vote-buying and crack down on "black gold" politics, so that Taiwan can rise above such downward sinking forces. We must give the people a clean political environment.

In the area of government reforms, we need to establish a government that is clean, efficient, far-sighted, dynamic, highly flexible and responsive, in order to ensure Taiwan's competitiveness in the face of increasingly fierce global competition. The age of "large and capable" governments has now passed, replaced by one of "small and effective" governments, which have established partnership relations with the people. We should accelerate the streamlining of government functions and organization and actively expand the role of public participation.

This will not only allow the public to fully utilize its energy but also significantly reduce the government's burdens.

Similar partnership relations should also be set up between the central and local governments. We want to break the authoritarian and centralized control over both power and money. We want to realize the spirit of local autonomy, where the local and central governments share resources and responsibilities, where "the central government will not do what the local governments can". Whether in the east, west, north or south, or whether on Taiwan Proper or on offshore islands, all will enjoy balanced, pluralistic development, and the gap between urban and rural areas will be reduced.

We should understand that the government is no panacea for all ills. The driving force for economic development and societal progress is the people. Over the past half-century, the Taiwanese people have toiled hard to create an economic miracle that has won global applause, and to lay the foundation for the survival and development of the Republic of China. Today, facing the impact of the fast-changing information technologies and trade liberalization, Taiwan must move toward a knowledge-based economy. High-tech industries need to be constantly innovative, while traditional ones have to undergo transformation and upgrading.

In the future, the government should not necessarily play the role of a "leader" or "manager". On the contrary, it should be the "supporter" and "service-provider", as expected by private enterprises. The responsibility of a modern government is to raise administrative efficiency, improve the domestic investment environment, and maintain financial order and stock market stability, so as to allow the economy to move toward full liberalization and globalization through fair competition. Based on these principles, the vitality of the public will naturally bloom and create a new phase in Taiwan's economic miracle.

Apart from consolidating democratic achievements, promoting government reforms, and raising economic competitiveness, the new government should, as its foremost objective, closely watch the public opinion and implement reforms accordingly, so that the people on this land can live with more dignity, greater self-confidence and a better quality of life.

Let our society not only be safe, harmonious and prosperous, but also follow the principles of fairness and justice. As we cultivate the ever-growing abilities of our citizens, we will let our next generation learn in an environment filled with happiness and hope.

The 21st century will be a time when "the right to a quality life" and "a refined way of life" are much emphasized. The government will find solutions for issues relating to the people's lives, such as law and order, social welfare, environmental protection, land-use planning, waste treatment, river cleaning, transportation and community renewal. It will also have to implement these solutions thoroughly.

At present, we need to immediately improve law and order and environmental protection, two important indicators of the quality of life. We will build a new social order so that the people may live in peace without fear. A balance must be ensured between nature conservation and economic development so that Taiwan may develop into a sustainable green silicon island.

Judiciary integrity is the bulwark of political democracy and social justice. An impartial, independent judicial system is a protector of social order and a defender of the people's rights. At present, we still have a long way to go in our judicial reforms. Our compatriots must continue to keep close watch over the judiciary and voice their expectations. At the same time, we should also restrain our administrative power and give the judiciary room to operate independently and without interference.

Humans are Taiwan's most important resources. Talented people hold the key to the country's competitiveness, while education is a long-term cause for "accumulating wealth among the people". We will soon seek a consensus among the ruling and opposition parties, academia and the public so as to carry on with educational reforms and build a healthy, proactive, lively and innovative education system, which will allow Taiwan to cultivate an uninterrupted stream of top-notch talents amid the fierce international competition. We will let Taiwan move gradually toward a "learning organism" and a "knowledge-based society". We will also encourage people to take up lifetime learning to fully develop their potential and creativity.

Grassroots community organizations are now developing around the country, working to explore and preserve the history, culture, geography and ecology of their localities. These are all part of Taiwan culture, whether they are local cultures, mass cultures or high cultures. Due to special historical and geographical factors, Taiwan possesses a wealth of diversified cultural elements. But cultural development is not something that can bring immediate success. Rather, it has to be accumulated bit by bit. We must open our hearts with tolerance and respect, so that our diverse ethnic groups and different regional cultures may communicate with each other, and so that Taiwan's local cultures may connect with the cultures of Chinese-speaking communities and other world cultures, and create a new milieu of "a cultural Taiwan in a modern century".

The September 21 earthquake that struck last year brought to our land and our compatriots an unprecedented catastrophe, the pain of which is yet to heal. The new government will brook no delay in the reconstruction of disaster areas, including industrial and spiritual recovery. We will not cease until the last victim is taken care of and the last destroyed place is rebuilt. Here, we would like to express our highest respect again for all individuals and non-governmental organizations that have selflessly lent a hand to the rescue and reconstruction work after the disaster. Amid the fierce power of Nature, we have seen Taiwan's most beautiful compassion, strongest faith and greatest trust. Our compatriots

have been injured by the September 21 earthquake, but with the spirit of a “volunteer Taiwan”, Taiwan’s new family will stand up resolutely on its feet once again.

Dear compatriots, 400 years ago, Taiwan was called “Ilha Formosa” — the beautiful island — for its lustrous landscape. Today, Taiwan is manifesting the elegance of a democratic island, once again attracting global attention, as the people on this land create a new page in our history.

We believe that the Republic of China, with its democratic achievements and technological and economic prowess, can certainly continue to play an indispensable role in the international community. In addition to strengthening the existing relations with friendly nations, we want to actively participate in all types of international non-governmental organizations. Through humanitarian care, economic cooperation, cultural exchanges and various other ways, we will actively participate in international affairs, expand Taiwan’s room for survival in the international arena, and contribute to the welfare of the international community.

Besides, we are also willing to commit a more active contribution in safeguarding international human rights. The Republic of China cannot and will not remain outside global human rights trends. We will abide by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Convention for Civil and Political Rights, and the Vienna Declaration and Program of Action. We will bring the Republic of China back into the international human rights system.

The new government will urge the Legislative Yuan to ratify the International Bill of Rights as a domestic law of Taiwan, so that it will formally become the “Taiwan Bill of Rights”. We hope to set up an independent national human rights commission in Taiwan, thereby realizing an action long advocated by the United Nations. We will also invite two outstanding non-governmental organizations, the International Commission of Jurists and Amnesty International, to assist us in our measures to protect human rights and make the Republic of China into a new indicator for human rights in the 21st century.

We firmly believe that at no time, or in any corner of the world, can the meaning and values of freedom, democracy and human rights be ignored or changed.

The 20th century left us with a major lesson — that war is a failure of humanity. Waged for whatever lofty purposes or high-sounding reasons, war is the greatest harm to freedom, democracy and human rights.

Over the past one hundred plus years, China has suffered imperialist aggression, which left indelible wounds. Taiwan has had an even sadder fate, tormented by brute force and colonial rule. These similar historical experiences should bring mutual understanding between the people on the two sides of the Taiwan Strait, setting a solid foundation for pursuing freedom, democracy and human rights together. However, due to the long period of separation, the two

sides have developed vastly different political systems and ways of life, obstructing empathy and friendship between the people on the two sides, and even creating a wall of divisiveness and confrontation.

Today, as the Cold War has ended, it is time for the two sides to cast aside the hostilities left from the old era. We do not need to wait further because now is a new opportunity for the two sides to create an era of reconciliation together.

The people on the two sides of the Taiwan Strait share the same ancestral, cultural, and historical background. While upholding the principles of democracy and parity, building upon the existing foundations, and constructing conditions for cooperation through goodwill, we believe that the leaders on both sides possess enough wisdom and creativity to jointly deal with the question of a future “one China”.

I fully understand that as the popularly elected 10th-term President of the Republic of China, I must abide by the Constitution, maintain the sovereignty, dignity and security of our country, and ensure the well-being of all citizens. Therefore, as long as the CCP regime has no intention to use military force against Taiwan, I pledge that during my term in office, I will not declare independence, I will not change the national title, I will not push forth the inclusion of the so-called “state-to-state” description in the Constitution, and I will not promote a referendum to change the status quo in regard to the question of independence or unification. Furthermore, there is no question of abolishing the Guidelines for National Unification and the National Unification Council.

History has proved that war will lead to more hatred and enmity, without the least help to the development of mutual relations. Chinese people emphasize the difference between statesmanship and hegemony, believing in the philosophy that a government which employs benevolence “will please those near and appeal to those from afar”, and “when those from afar will not submit, then one must practice kindness and virtue to attract them”. Such Chinese wisdom will remain universal value.

Under the leadership of Mr. Deng Xiaoping and Mr. Jiang Zemin, the mainland has created a miracle of economic openness. In Taiwan, over a half century, not only have we created a miracle economy, we have also created the political marvel of democracy. On such a basis, as long as the governments and people on both sides of the Taiwan Strait can interact more, following the principles of “goodwill reconciliation, active cooperation, and permanent peace”, while at the same time respecting the free choice of the people and excluding unnecessary obstacles, both sides of the Strait can make great contributions to the prosperity and stability of the Asia-Pacific region. Both sides will also create a glorious civilization for humanity.

Dear compatriots, we hope so much to share the moving scene of this moment with all Chinese-speaking people around the world. The wide Ketagalan Boulevard before us was bristling with security guards only a few years ago.

The building behind me used to be the Governor General's Mansion during the colonial era. Today, we gather here to extol the glory and joy of democracy with songs of the earth and the voice of the people.

With a little reflection, our compatriots should be able to appreciate the deep and far-reaching meaning of this moment:

Authoritarianism and force can only bring surrender for one time, while democracy and freedom are values that will endure forever.

Only by adhering to the will of the people can we pioneer the paths of history and build enduring architecture.

Today, as a son of a tenant farmer with a poor family background, I have struggled and grown on this land and, after experiencing defeat and tribulation, I have finally won the trust of the people to take up the great responsibility of leading the country. My individual achievements are minor, but the message is valuable because each citizen of Formosa is a "child of Taiwan" just like me. In whatever difficult environment, Taiwan will be like a selfless, loving mother, who never stops giving her children opportunities and who helps us realize beautiful dreams.

The spirit of the "child of Taiwan" reveals to us that even though Taiwan, Penghu, Kinmen and Matsu are tiny islands on the rim of the Pacific, the map of our dreams knows no limits. The map extends all the way to the horizon as long as our 23 million compatriots fear no hardship and move forward hand in hand.

Dear compatriots, this magnificent moment belongs to all the people. All grace and glory belongs to Taiwan — our eternal Mother. Together, let's extend our gratitude to the earth and respect to the people.

Long live freedom and democracy!

Long live the people of Taiwan!

We pray for the prosperity of the Republic of China, and for the health and happiness of all compatriots and all our distinguished guests!

Source: Information Division, Taipei Economic and Cultural Office, New York, 20 May 2000.