

basis of this problem stems from China's claim that cross-Strait issues are its own internal affair, and that international interference must therefore be excluded.

Furthermore, China has not renounced the use of military force against Taiwan, and has attempted to use the "anti-separation law" as a so-called legal basis for using military force against Taiwan at its own discretion. Since the objective of the UN is to maintain world peace, accepting Taiwan's participation would provide a multilateral platform on which the two sides of the Strait could build mutual trust and resolve disputes through peaceful dialogue.

A Glimpse of the Global Village

The UN will celebrate the 60th anniversary of its founding on October 24 this year. Recently, the question of reform at the UN has been widely discussed in different quarters, with the question of expanding representation in the Security Council being the most important. But what about the representation of the 23 million people of Taiwan? We urge the UN to reflect upon its founding objectives and continue to pursue the development of the mainstream values around the globe that it seeks to triumph – freedom, democracy and human rights.

Sixty years ago, the UN proclaimed the ideals of maintaining peace, safeguarding human rights, and promoting human development. Whether these ideals can be maintained will determine whether the UN will remain relevant in its next 60 years. The inclusion of Taiwan, therefore, is the real test for the UN.

In the era of the global village, Taiwan's lack of participation in international cooperation is like a hole in the ozone layer, which will have a far-reaching adverse impact for the entire world. With its rightful participation in international organizations and multilateral cooperative mechanisms, Taiwan will be better placed to safeguard the rights of its people, fulfill its international responsibilities, promote international cooperation, and maintain regional peace and stability in East Asia.

Taiwan's 23 million people have extended their arms to embrace the world. The international community should reciprocate.

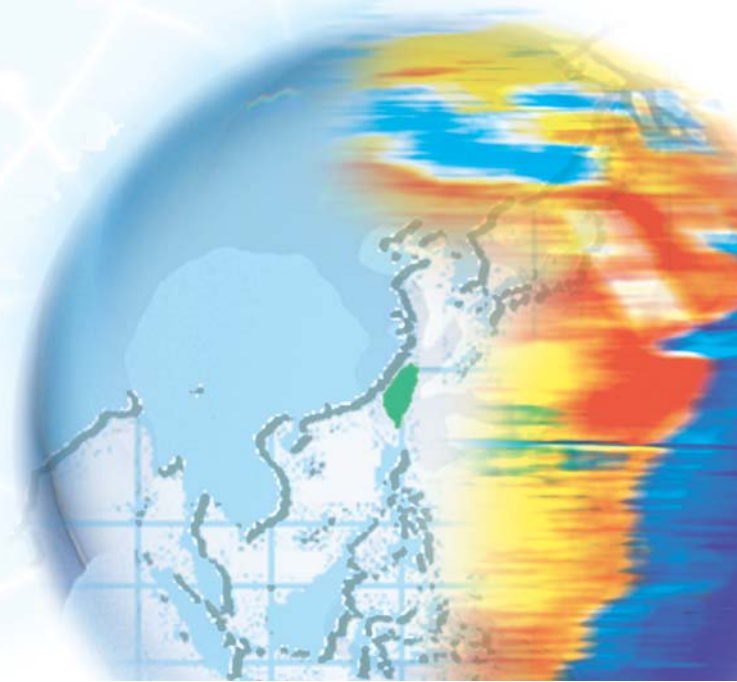
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Joining the Global Village

Taiwan's Participation in the International Community



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Democratic reform in Taiwan, which has been praised as a “quiet revolution,” has transformed Taiwan from an authoritarian regime into a democracy in which human rights and the rule of law are honored. Taiwan has been listed by the New York-based Freedom House as one of the 89 free countries in the world, and one of the 17 free countries in the Asia-Pacific region.

Taiwan plays an important role in the global economy. Taiwan’s population is larger

than that of over 140 United Nations(UN) member states. It is the world’s 17th largest economy and 15th largest trading nation, and its information technology industry is world famous. It is the world’s largest producer of notebook computers, motherboards, and liquid crystal display monitors. In the World Economic Forum’s *Growth Competitiveness Report* for 2004, Taiwan was listed fourth among all countries, and first in Asia for the third consecutive year.

Regrettably, however, Taiwan’s political and economic achievements are not truly reflected on the international stage. Taiwan is not a member of any UN-related organization. Of the more than 7,200 inter-governmental organizations in the world, Taiwan is a member of a mere 26, and an observer in only 17. This is not commensurate with the reality of Taiwan’s vitality. Because of China’s obstruction, Taiwan is denied almost all participation in the inter-governmental activities of the international community. This “political apartheid” harms the human rights, interests, and dignity of Taiwan’s people. This is surely a travesty of democratic freedom, human rights, and other mainstream values in the international community, and is something that a civilized society should not tolerate.

A Seat for Taiwan

People have often stated that Taiwan has been able to create economic and political stability despite limited access to international organizations. As such, it is not necessary to help Taiwan participate in international organizations. However, for the reasons set out below, I believe that Taiwan should have a stronger voice in international institutions.

The emergence of new issues demands that Taiwan receive a seat in the UN. With the development of globalization, it has become increasingly difficult for any given country to address many transnational issues on its own. For instance, mismanagement of the 1997 Asian financial crisis, or the monetary crises experienced in Brazil, Mexico, and Russia, could have led to a transnational domino-style effect. Fortunately, this was avoided due to the timely involvement and assistance of international financial institutions (IFIs), particularly the International Monetary Fund (IMF). However, Taiwan had to sail through the turbulence of the Asian financial crisis without any assistance from IFIs because Taiwan is not a member of these. In view of the further liberalization of the flow of international capital, the international community should seriously consider the possibility of Taiwan’s joining IFIs, such as the IMF, in order to better equip IFIs to face potential future financial crises.

Additionally, the formation of new frameworks requires that Taiwan has a role in the UN. The rise of the concept of the global village has caused a number of issues to become the focus of international concern. International environmental cooperation is one example. The Kyoto Protocol, which entered into force on February 16, 2005, was a significant landmark in multi-lateral efforts to prevent global warming and pursue sustainable development. The mechanisms in the Protocol pertaining to the control of greenhouse gas emissions will substantially affect Taiwan’s industrial development and foreign trade. But due to the absence of UN membership, Taiwan was not permitted to participate in any negotiations concerning the Kyoto Protocol, or to take part in the stipulation of international norms. If the international community expects Taiwan to make contributions to global efforts, then it should facilitate Taiwan’s international participation in new frameworks which address critical issues.

Furthermore, the pursuit of international participation is an inevitable result of Taiwan's consistent development of democracy and human rights. Since Taiwan began to democratize in the mid-1980s, the people of Taiwan have urged the government to seek out a new role in the international community. For instance, Taiwan's bid to participate in the UN was fortified by social movements which led to the passage of a resolution to this effect in the Legislature in 1991.

The development of democracy in Taiwan upholds a primary ideal of the UN. In the Human Development Report published by the United Nations Development Program(UNDP) in July 2002, the importance of deepening democracy was stressed. Since Taiwan is a successful young democracy, it deserves further international acknowledgement. However, because Taiwan has not been allowed to play an active role in many multilateral mechanisms, such as the Community of Democracies(CD) and the International Conferences of New or Restored Democracies sponsored by the UN, this young democracy cannot share its precious experience with others. The lack of communication undermines the UN's commitment to expanding global democracy.

Integrity of International Cooperation

Perhaps most importantly, Taiwan needs to be afforded a seat in the UN to maintain the integrity and effectiveness of international cooperation. Cooperation on the subject of international health, for example, requires that Taiwan be integrated into decision-making bodies. Every year, people from Taiwan make around eight million trips abroad, while foreign nationals make about three million visits to Taiwan. Currently, more than 300,000 foreign



President Chen Shui-bian attended the Inaugural Meeting of the Democratic Pacific Union.

laborers work in Taiwan. Moreover, the Taipei Flight Information Region provided service to more than 1.4 million controlled flights in 2004 alone, and 69 foreign airlines from 30 countries operated flights in this Region. With such frequent movement of people, the absence of Taiwan from the World Health Organization (WHO) constitutes a loophole in international disease-prevention mechanisms. Last year, the United States and Japan, among others, voted in favor of Taiwan's participation in the World Health Assembly(WHA). These countries learned from the experience of the Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS) epidemic that because interaction between the people of Taiwan and people of other countries has been growing steadily, Taiwan's integration into cooperative efforts to prevent epidemics serves the interests of the entire world.

Taiwan is one of the few nations that is willing and able to provide humanitarian relief internationally. Taiwan has provided large amounts of humanitarian relief to Afghanistan and Iraq. After the tsunamis that occurred in the Indian Ocean last year, Taiwan's government pledged to donate US\$50 million, making Taiwan one of the top 20 donors, while donations from Taiwan's private sector exceeded US\$100 million. Nevertheless, Taiwan has been excluded from the meetings for donor countries, disaster prevention meetings, and discussions about the establishment of a tsunami early-warning system. As a result, Taiwan might not be able to make any further contribution if it is not accorded participation. This is surely a loss to the international community and a shame for international humanitarian cooperation.

Protection of the marine environment and conservation of marine resources are today widely regarded as common concerns of mankind. It is recognized that such concerns, as well as the prevention of pollution and overexploitation, can only be addressed through international cooperation undertaken by international organizations or joint acts at the regional and global levels which impose treaty obligations on their respective members. Freedom on the high seas is part of customary international law, and a primary requirement of the Law of the Sea, established by the UN. In principle, ships are under the exclusive jurisdiction of flag states on the high seas. Taiwan is a major service provider of ocean transportation, and its ships sail in all of the world's seas and oceans. Taiwan is also one of the six largest

deep-sea fishery nations in the world. The International Maritime Organization(IMO) and the Food and Agriculture Organization(FAO), particularly the latter's Committee on Fisheries, should take the lead in offering Taiwan a chance to sit side by side with other countries in forums which address challenges to the marine environment.

One final area of international cooperation that stands to be improved by Taiwan's integration is counter-terrorism efforts. The threats posed by international terrorism, particularly with respect to the danger of the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD), recognize no borders. The security of a state is no longer guaranteed by geography. All peace-loving states should work together to protect and enhance global security. International acts have established various regimes, such as the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons(OPCW) and the Australian Group(AG), to control the export and import of strategic, high-tech commodities so as to minimize the risk of WMD proliferation. It is in the world's interests to ensure that Taiwan is part of the international security and counter-terrorist network.

Finally, since China's diplomatic suffocation of Taiwan is a major reason for alienation between the two sides of the Taiwan Strait, integrating Taiwan into the UN could be a starting point for cross-Strait cooperation. China's continued military threats against Taiwan have resulted in cross-Strait tensions and regional instability. The establishment of a framework for cross-Strait peace and cooperation is a necessary step for ensuring peace in this region. Such a framework cannot be restricted to the two sides of the Strait alone, but should be handled within multinational arrangements. Both sides of the Strait are currently members of Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) and the World Trade Organization (WTO). This demonstrates that the two sides can jointly participate in and contribute to international cooperation. With more encouragement and assistance from the international community, and with a certain level of creativity, flexibility, and sincerity from China, we believe that the same spirit of cooperation in APEC and the WTO can be applied to other functional international organizations, such as the WHO, the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), and the IMF.

The United Nations is key

Taiwan is willing and able to actively cooperate on transnational issues. Nevertheless, Taiwan's lack of proper representation in the UN prevents Taiwan from participating in the WHO, the ICAO, the World Meteorological Organization(WMO), the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change(UNFCCC), and many other international organizations, as well as multinational treaties. If Taiwan were to be accepted by the United Nations, it would have an opportunity to participate in UN-related organizations and other forms of multilateral cooperation. Moreover, the ideals of universality, promoting international cooperation, and elevating human welfare—all manifested in the UN Charter—could be realized.

Resolution 2758 (XXVI), which was adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1971 and concerns China's representation, has been repeatedly abused by China as an excuse to prevent

Taiwan from participating in the United Nations over recent decades. At the time this resolution was passed, the two sides of the Strait both proclaimed that there was only one China, and competed over China's representation. However, democratized Taiwan has realized the ideal of "sovereignty residing in the people," and has repositioned itself. Thus, Taiwan no longer claims to represent China, but now stresses the representation of the 23 million people of Taiwan. The background and circumstances of Resolution 2758 have completely changed, and this resolution needs to be reviewed.

Taiwan's participation in the UN would enhance regional peace. UN peacekeeping operations have been helpful in diminishing civil wars in Bosnia, Somalia, and Sudan. Moreover, East Timor has become independent and is walking along the path of democratization with the UN's help. Today, the Taiwan Strait is regarded as one of the three flashpoints in East Asia. The



On behalf of President Chen Shui-bian, Dr. Yuan-Tseh Lee, President of Academia Sinica, attended the APEC Economic Leader's Meeting 2003.