Taiwan National Day Adam Room, Fairmont Chateau Laurier, Ottawa October 7, 2019, 6pm Notes for Hon. David Kilgour. J.D.

Monsieur le Représentant Winston Wen-yi Chen et Madame Sylvia Pan, chers amis/cheres amies,

Taiwan is a major success that would please both Sun Yat Sen and any other world democrat. Your 23 million citizens enjoy a strong economy with a high standard of living and excellent education, medical and social programs.

Taiwan became an early 'Asian Tiger' primarily because of the strength of your manufacturing/export sectors and rule of law. The indication by Hong Kong's Li KA-shing in recent years that he prefers markets with rule of law is no doubt contributing to current disenchantment internationally about China's economy.

A Nanos opinion survey across Canada last month indicated that ninety percent of Canadians held a "negative" or "somewhat negative" impression of the Government of China. This is no doubt in part due to the 'hostage diplomacy' of Xi Jingping, with the arbitrary arrests of Canadians Michael Kovrig and Michael Spavor, who remain months later in harsh prison conditions, and the suspension of Canadian canola, soybeans and pork imports, following Canada's arrest of Huawei executive Meng Wanzhou under an extradition treaty request by the U.S. Justice Department. The Beijing party-state agreed to special status for Hong Kong in the 1984 Sino-British Joint Declaration. It promised a "high degree of autonomy," and declared that democracy, the rule of law, and basic human rights would be maintained under the "one country, two systems" model for 50 years. It has systematically violated these commitments since the 1997 handover. This harms the city and the foreign investment and exchange that now enters China through Hong Kong in large measure because of its still sound legal system.

'LEGAL SYSTEM'

Canadian Clive Ansley practised law in Shanghai for 14 years until 2004 and says: "China does not have a legal system in any meaningful sense. It is a completely bogus system, which was introduced in 1979 for reasons having little or nothing to do with any desire to implement Rule of Law... China is a brutal police state..."

Some academics, writers, business people and policy makers in democracies have been rewarded by Beijing with favours for their help in legitimizing its dictatorship and 'crony capitalism'. Taiwan as a flourishing democracy weakens their self-serving sophistry that democracy is incompatible with Confucian traditions.

Reporters Without Borders lists Taiwan in 42nd place in the 2018 World Press Freedom Index while China is in 176th place (near North Korea at the bottom). Despite China's population being 58 times that of Taiwan, its total national income is only 10 times larger. The 2018 GDP per capita in Taiwan was US\$25,534 and US\$10,200 in China.

Following the horrors of martial law in Taiwan from 1949-1987, one presumes that no rational Taiwanese national would favour tyranny over the rule of law and dignity for a party elite only. Taiwan is a governance model for what many nations, including China, can and should become—a multi-party democracy, freedom of speech/religion, and respect/equality for all citizens, and now even a female elected president.

Letter to Democratic Taiwan

A letter early this year to democratic Taiwan from scholars, former government and military officials and other friends of Taiwan made numerous points, but above all urged you to maintain "unity and continuity" against Beijing, which is seeking to reduce your international space and threatening Taiwan's "existence as a free and democratic nation".

The letter praised Taiwan President Tsai Ing-wen as an "effective and knowledgeable statesperson" and her response to a speech of China's President-for-life Xi Jinping, advocating unification under China's "one country, two systems" principle. She had reminded him that the vast majority of the Taiwanese people strongly rejected "one country, two systems" and that her government had never accepted the so-called "1992 consensus". The world has been witnessing an application of 'one country, two systems' during the past four months on the streets of Hong Kong.

As a mature democracy, Taiwan's future can only be decided through the expressed democratic will of all its citizens. In democracies, citizens own their governments, not vice versa. Unlike the former British colony of Hong Kong... there are no authorities who can simply negotiate the transfer of Taiwan to China as if it were a piece of expensive real estate. Selfdetermination by the world's peoples is a cardinal principle upon which the United Nations was founded.



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On what Canada and other democracies can do, we can support Taiwan's inclusion in agreements like the Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership and international organizations like the International Civil Aviation Organization. We can also pass legislation similar to the Taiwan Travel Act. It is high time to wake up from our illusive dreams about China, as documented by Jonathan Manthorpe's *Claws of the Panda*, while also embracing peaceful and democratic Taiwan.

China

China's 5000-year-old civilization and highly-intelligent hardworking people today deserve the respect of the entire world, but no friend of the country and its people can fail to notice the successive waves of misgovernance and violence since 1949.

Canada's Manthorpe concluded several years ago that China was then full of variations of a Ponzi scheme. In the *Financial Times* not long after Manthorpe wrote this was a story about how in one coastal city luxury apartments were to be built for as much as 70,000 Yuan (\$11,000) a square metre, which is about twice the annual income of the average resident. To finance a 150 square metre apartment in the building would consume every penny of a typical resident's income for 350 years. Is this not a housing bubble which is going to burst with much grief for many? The California academic Greg Autry concluded that the U.S. lost an estimated 54,000 factories and more than 20 million manufacturing jobs mostly to China in recent decades? How many similar ones have been lost from Taiwan and many other countries over the same period for the same reason?

Governments, investors and business leaders generally should examine why they are supporting the violation of so many universal and democratic values in order to increase trade/investment with China. Are the rest of us so focused on inexpensive consumer goods that we ignore the human, social and natural environment costs paid by the Chinese to produce them?

Louisa Greve

Louisa Greve, formerly of the National Endowment for Democracy (US) in Asia and until recently director of external affairs for the Uyghur Human Rights Project, wrote: "… In late September (2018) an op-ed published over the name of the Chinese ambassador in Jakarta baldly defended China's massdetention camps in the western region of Xinjiang, which according to State Department figures, hold as many as two million Uyghurs and other Turkic Muslims. The op-ed's title: 'Xinjiang, What a Wonderful Place'."'

Organ Pillaging

Since at least 2001, party-state brutality has also resulted in large scale government-run pillaging of vital organs mostly from Falun Gong practitioners. No-one survives these operations because all vital organs are seized and the bodies of "donors" are then cremated. The ongoing trafficking across China constitutes a major new crime against humanity, which the International Coalition against Organ Abuse in China (ETAC) is working hard to end. David Matas and I in our book, *Bloody Harvest*, concluded that Falun Gong have been killed in the thousands since 2001 so that their organs could be trafficked for large amounts both to Chinese and foreign patients. For the period 2000-2005 alone, we arrived at the figure of 41,500 such transplants.

Forced organ pillaging from Uyghurs in China for profit appears in fact to have preceded that from Falun Gong. Nobel Peace Prize nominee and co-founder of the International Coalition to end Organ Abuse in China Ethan Gutmann's 2014 book, *The Slaughter*, places the persecution of the Falun Gong, Tibetan, Uyghur, and Eastern Lightening Christian communities in context. He explains how he arrived at his "best estimate" that organs of 65,000 Falun Gong and "two to four thousand" Uyghurs, Tibetans and Christians were "harvested" in the 2000- 2008 period. There is much concern now that imprisoned Uyghurs have become the latest major live organ donor community.

Conclusion

With its proximity making Taiwan's dealings with Beijing always difficult, the world's democrats, including our national governments, civil society institutions and businesses, should remain engaged with both the Xi government and the broadest possible range of citizens across China. The people of China should know that the democratic world stands with them, not with the party-state, just as we did in east/central Europe during the Cold War, and with South Africans, particularly during the lead-up to the election of Nelson Mandela by all South Africans as president in 1994.

The Chinese people want the same things as the rest of us, respect for all, education, safety and security, good jobs, the rule of law, democratic and accountable governance and a sustainable natural environment. If the party-state ends its systematic and gross violations of human rights at home and abroad and begins to treat its trade partners in a transparent and equitable way, the new century can bring harmony and coherence for Taiwan, China and the world.

Thank you.