
Conference Report

Federation for a Democratic China sees models in de Gaulle, Solidarnosc

by Mary Burdman

The challenges facing the new Federation for a Democratic China, founded at a conference of 170 persons on the weekend of Sept. 22-24 in Paris, are very great. The leadership of the FDC are all exiles who fled the People's Republic of China for their lives in the wake of the June 4 massacre of many thousands of Chinese in Beijing, and are "wanted criminals" accused of treason for attempting to overthrow the P.R.C. government. Yet they have succeeded in creating the foundation for a government-in-exile for China—one that is determined to win the fight to rule China in the near term. This is the first time since the Communist Party took power in China 40 years ago—on Oct. 1, 1949—that any such major opposition group has been created, and the first time since the work of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the founder of modern China, 90 years ago, that a group representing Chinese throughout the world has been founded.

The newly elected leadership of the FDC—president Yan Jiaqui, who was a director of the Academy of Social Sciences in Beijing; student leader Wuer Kaixi; and Secretary-General Wan Runnan, who founded one of China's most successful independent companies—has chosen important examples for its goal of establishing democracy in China: the late President Charles de Gaulle of France and the Solidarnosc movement, which has just set up a government in Poland. For this reason, the claim of the Beijing government, that this small group represents a challenge to their power, is quite justified.

As Yan Jiaqui emphasized in his speech to the founding conference, the movement will only be effective if it goes back to China and works inside China, as Solidarnosc did in Poland. Simply by its determination to end the brutal dictatorship of the Communist Party in China, which is insanely committed to holding power, the FDC is committing treason against the People's Republic.

But, as the Federation has proclaimed that the "21st century will be the century of democracy in China," the FDC leaders must take up another challenge, expressed by Solidarnosc leader Lech Walesa when he proclaimed that Poland needs "something better than capitalism" to meet its economic crisis. With the West as well as the Communist bloc crippled by economic crisis, only something superior to the "market forces" capitalism being shoved down Poland's throat will save China. Ten years of free-market reforms have failed

utterly to build the infrastructure China's huge economy must have in order to develop; Without such an infrastructure program, proposed by Sun Yat-sen in 1910, and currently by U.S. economist Lyndon LaRouche, China will not survive.

The strategic fight

The leaders of the FDC have demonstrated that they understand the strategic aspects of their fight for democracy in China, by challenging the policy of the U.S. government of maintaining its present relationship with China at any cost. As Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping said on June 16 to the new leadership he had promoted in the wake of the Tiananmen massacre, there is a "great China-U.S.-Russia triangle of world power," and the U.S. is unwilling to do anything to break up that triangle. At the first public meeting of the conference, held at the Sorbonne University in Paris Sept. 21, representatives of political parties or other organizations of every major nation except the U.S.—France, Britain, West Germany, Italy, Poland (there were four representatives of Solidarnosc), Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Japan—spoke in support of the FDC.

Both Wuer Kaixi and FDC "éminence grise" Chen Yizhi, a former senior adviser to deposed CP head Zhao Ziyang, have denounced Henry Kissinger, the architect of the U.S. "China Card," for his betrayal of China. At a press conference on Sept. 24, Wan Runnan responded to the *Wall Street Journal's* question, if U.S.-Beijing relations pose a problem for the FDC, by warning that U.S. policy is not only utterly immoral, it is doomed to failure: "We understand the attitude of the United States. They are acting in their interests. We understand that a stable China is of interest for the U.S. But China cannot be stable. The Tiananmen massacre has caused an upheaval in the history of China. A stable, democratic China would serve the interests of the U.S. far better. We hope the U.S. will understand this soon. The U.S. must decide for itself, but the government must think about the consequences of its actions."

France is playing a critical role by not only offering asylum to the exiles, but also allowing them to organize—in the face of bitter complaints from the Beijing government about interference in Chinese affairs and violations of diplomatic relations. FDC president Yan Jiaqui expressed the profound

gratitude of the exiles to the government and people of France—and his recognition of one reason why they are supporting the movement—at the final press conference Sept. 24. “France is the birthplace of democracy and liberty,” he said. “We know that tomorrow, the Chinese press will attack us, and that we will be denounced by Li Peng. But I will advise him to study the creation of the Fourth and Fifth Republics. It was in London, between 1940 and 1945, that General de Gaulle sowed the seeds of the Fifth Republic. I hope that the attitude of the government and people of France will influence the attitude of the rest of the world.”

A constitution for China

To create a democratic China, Yan Jiaqi told the founding conference, the movement must go back and organize inside China. The FDC has two instruments to do this: It is founding a publication, to which all and any member of the federation can contribute, which will be circulating throughout China in the next few years. And, faced with the tremendous discord inside the Communist Party and in China, the Federation must now write a constitution for its future government, because this is the only way that China can achieve real stability, as the U.S. and European nations have. But this must be a constitution for China, developed by the Chinese themselves, if it is to succeed. It must go beyond laws and rules. This has never been done before in China, Yan said: Neither the Communist Party, the Kuomintang, nor the opposition in Taiwan have created good constitutions.

The new constitution must enforce the end of the one-party system in China. The development of democracy will be a long-term process, Yan said, because there has been 5,000 years of despotism in China. Sun Yat-sen attempted to create a democratic government, but he did not succeed for very long. Democracy must be based on “inalienable rights” protected by the constitution. China has been through wars, violence, and conspiracies; to break this cycle, the Chinese must study the French constitution, which works on the basis of all political parties. One fundamental principle is that the army must be a national institution and not a political instrument.

The issue facing the Chinese is how to establish the rights of state and rights of the citizen, and to determine what are the origins of the right of the state.

In its manifesto, issued Sept. 24, the FDC stated that history had given birth to its movement, and proposed “The guarantee of the fundamental and unalienable rights of man: This means to live and to develop oneself, the pursuit of happiness, of the dignity of man and his security. These rights are the cornerstone of a modern and civilized society, the absolute and necessary condition of a democratic policy. . . . Every citizen has the right to dispose of the materials and the fruit of his work. . . . The Federation for a Democratic China is convinced that the days of absolutism are numbered. The creation of a democratic China and the rebirth of the Chinese nation are close at hand.”

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