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The Tiananmen Square Massacre

It has been more than three months since the events of the beginning of June 1989, when the Chinese army clamped down on the students at Tiananmen Square. In the early hours of that tragic Sunday morning, the democratic hopes and aspirations of the Chinese people were crushed by the "People's Liberation Army" with tanks and gunfire. We mourn for those who died.

One fortunate aspect of the course of events was that the world was witness to what happened in Peking, thanks to courageous correspondents like the BBC's Kate Adie and many others. Images like those of the lone student holding up a column of tanks are ineditably etched into the memory of the world community.

After "Tiananmen" there have been many articles and comments in the international press on the impact of the crackdown on China itself, its relations with the West, and on Hong Kong. However, surprisingly, there has been hardly any discussion of the impact of "Tiananmen" on the relations between Taiwan and China. On the following pages we present an assessment from the perspective of the Taiwanese.

Why the Taiwanese Reject "Reunification"

Firstly, the tragic events in Peking show what the Taiwanese people have known for a long time: that Chinese leaders will revert — time and again — to



**"Goddess of Democracy"
at Tiananmen Square**

repressive measures to maintain themselves in their position of power. This is why the Taiwanese have advocated a free and democratic Taiwan, separate from mainland China, and have always rejected “reunification”, whether under the rule of the Kuomintang authorities in Taipei or the Communists in Peking.

The Taiwanese have never believed Peking’s promises that Taiwan can maintain its own political and economic institutions under the “one country, two systems”. The experience of the Tibetan people after 1949 shows how empty these promises are. The Tiananmen events show even more clearly that the Chinese rulers do not hesitate to use brutal force against anyone daring to challenge their power, even against their own people in their own capital, let alone against people far removed from the center of the “Middle Kingdom.”

No role for the Kuomintang in China

Not unexpectedly, the Kuomintang authorities attempted to capitalize on the events in Peking by launching a propaganda campaign of their own. For example, right after the incident, full-page advertisements titled “China Speaks” were placed in major U.S. and international newspapers. In these they claimed to have brought four basic ingredients of democracy — free speech, free press, economic freedom, and free and open elections — to Taiwan, and proclaimed to “wish nothing less for our countrymen and women on the China mainland.”

Fortunately, members of the Chinese democratic student movement saw through these transparent efforts by the Kuomintang, and rejected all overtures. When a KMT official, the Director of the party’s Overseas Affairs department, Mr. Alexander Cheng, wiggled his way into a meeting with student leader Wu’er Kai-shi in Chicago at the end of July, Mr. Wu’er angrily stalked out of the meeting. As two Chinese students studying in the United States wrote in an article in the *Washington Post* of 8 June 1989, “The Taiwan government should stay out of the mess.”

Taiwan Communiqué comment: *Obviously, everyone wishes that the people in mainland China will be able to enjoy a democratic government, but the Kuomintang authorities should wake up to the fact that the chances for the KMT to play a role on the mainland ended in 1949. Clinging to 40-years’ old illusions and attempting to restore a lost order will only open up old wounds and lead to further nightmares. Now it is time to focus on the development of a new, democratic and independent Taiwan, which lives at peace with its neighbors.*

Towards a new “Taiwan policy” for the U.S. and Europe

“Tiananmen” should also be a signal to the governments of the U.S., Canada and European countries to reassess their policy towards Taiwan. Until very recently most Western observers believed that a solution of the Taiwan question lay in the “reunification” of Taiwan and China. They saw in the recent gradual relaxation of tensions between the two countries a first step towards the eventual “reunification” of China, although — with Tibet’s experience in mind — it is unclear how “two systems” would coexist within one country for a very long time.

... "reunification" is neither rational, reasonable, nor desirable: it would subject 20 million people who have experienced economic freedom and tasted political freedom to the whims and control of a repressive leadership in Peking.

Taiwan Communiqué

After “Tiananmen” it should be all the more obvious that this vision is erroneous, and that “reunification” is neither rational, reasonable, nor desirable: it would subject 20 million people who have experienced economic freedom and tasted political freedom to the whims and control of a repressive leadership in Peking.

Thus, the most viable solution is for the international community to urge the Kuomintang authorities to discard their pretense to be the government of all of China, and speedily move towards a fully democratic system on the island, in which the people can freely elect their own government, which can then be recognized as the legitimate and sovereign government of Taiwan.

The Parallel with “February 28”

To the Taiwanese, “Tiananmen” is a reminder of a similar event in Taiwan 42 years ago, when — on 28 February 1947 — Chiang Kai-shek’s troops cracked down on a people demonstrating for democracy and an end to corruption and repression. In the 1947 massacre, between 12,000 and 20,000 people were killed — many of them students and intellectuals. Sadly, the Taiwanese in 1947 — like the Tibetans a decade later — did not have the BBC’s Kate Adie to report on the massacre on television. It wasn’t until 1965 that an American diplomat, George Kerr, was able to publish his report on the 1947 event in his book “Formosa Betrayed.”

...the Taiwanese in 1947 — like the Tibetans a decade later — did not have the BBC's Kate Adie to report on the massacre on television.

Taiwan Communiqué

The parallel between “Tiananmen” and “February 28” was best described in a recent article by Professor Lin Tsuang-kuang, a prominent Taiwanese-American historian teaching at Drake University in the United States. Below you find Professor Lin’s article, which was first published in the *Des Moines Register* on 11 July 1989. We thank Dr. Lin for his permission to reprint it here.

Violent pattern in China’s political culture

Eyewitnesses, scholars, and diplomats described it as an “explosion,” an outburst of the people’s anger against an intolerably repressive, exploitative and corrupt regime. Shortly after this spontaneous and popular eruption broke out, the 65-year-old top political leader publicly announced that he would listen to the reform proposals made by the people, that there would be no reprisals against rebellious youths and intellectuals, and that no troops would be sent in from “outside” to restore order. He guaranteed these promises “with his own life.”

No sooner were the promises made that martial law was declared. Approximately 50,000 troops committed one of the most serious atrocities the world has witnessed in the postwar era. For one week, in what can only be described as acts of madness and vengeance, the soldiers gunned down or bayoneted scores of defenseless people. According to one U.S. State Department report, some patients who were brought to a Christian hospital in the capital city had been “hacked to pieces,” apparently by rampaging soldiers.

Public executions at railroad stations

The regime’s security agents began to round up those suspected of taking part in the uprising and those known to have voiced such “foreign” concepts as freedom, equality and democracy. Most of those arrested — the majority of them were students, teachers, university professors, journalists, lawyers and Christians — were summarily executed, and the remainder were never heard from again.

This “White terror” continued for months, during which public executions in front of the railroad stations were a common sight. The prisoners, with their shaved heads drooping and hands tied behind their backs, were forced to kneel before they were shot from behind by military police. All the while, unidentified and unidentifiable bodies, many of which were stuffed in rice sacks, were later seen floating on streams and in harbors.

Western observers estimated that at least 10,000 people were killed. Those who survived the carnage say the number is around 25,000. The government refused to publish the names of the victims, but maintains that the number is “only” between 3,000 and 4,000, most of whom were government officials and soldiers.

This event did not take place in Tiananmen Square, Peking. It happened in Taiwan between February 28 and mid-March 1947. The top government leaders were not Teng Hsiao-ping or Li Peng; they were Chiang Kai-shek and his political ally Chen Yi, who was then governor of Taiwan. However, the pattern of government behavior in both cases was strikingly similar. And both governments afterwards tried to rewrite history.

The lies told by the government

In the past few months the world community has stood aghast at the “Big Lie” being put out by the Peking government. We are told there was no such thing as the pro-democracy movement. The hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of those young, idealistic, sincere-looking faces, shouting “liberty”, did not really exist; they were merely TV-images. The pictures of tanks rolling down Peking streets with soldiers shooting down unarmed civilians were fabricated by foreign journalists. The truth, the Chinese government insists, is that the turmoil was caused by counter-revolutionaries, who — supported by hooligans, thugs and ruffians, and inspired probably by foreigners — were trying to topple the government and the party. The government, of course, is only doing its duties to put down the rebellion, and bring criminals and traitors to “justice” !

For 42 years, the Taiwanese have been hearing a similar story about the February 28 incident. The Taipei government has said that the incident had nothing to do with government repression or with corruption and economic plundering committed by Kuomintang officials. The incident, the government insists, was essentially a communist, Japanese, even American-inspired insurgency, joined by local ruffians, thugs, and ambitious politicians. And, of course, the government troops exercised restraint when they put down the rebellion, and there was no such thing as the “White Terror” which, the government says, was manufactured by rumormongers.

Behavior affected by political culture

The massacre at Tiananmen Square and the atrocities following the “February 28 Incident” are separated by four decades. But the roots of the government behavioral pattern — Chinese political culture — can be traced to ancient times. “Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun” may be the often-quoted words of Mao Tse-tung, but the statement has rather accurately reflected the mentality of the Chinese ruling class of any ideology. Dynasties may change, but the ruthlessness and cruelty with which each government rules China has remained pretty much the same since antiquity.

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Dr. Lin Tsuang-kuang

Chinese rulers have long used history to justify their mandate to rule. Each dynasty has had an official historian to write and compile the history of the previous era to justify the imperative of the present rule and the correctness of the present ideology.

In the process, documents and interpretations that challenged the government version were twisted, if not destroyed, and their authors severely punished. The Chinese-style “education” that stressed memorization, uniformity and obedience has been used in part to help perpetuate the government’s twisted interpretation of history.

Walled Kingdom a thing of the past

The world must impress upon the Chinese that: (1) the walled kingdom insulated from the international community is a thing of the past; (2) there exists interdependency among nations; (3) the question of human rights transcends national boundaries; (4) economic reforms, to be successful, must be accompanied by political reforms; (5) China cannot open itself up for outside influence just in the economic sphere and not in the political realm; and (6) human-rights violations ultimately will be extremely costly, both politically and financially.

While one should indeed be outraged by the events in China, one should not have been surprised, nor should one lose sight of the fact that what the Teng-Li leadership has been doing is almost an exact repetition of what the Chiangs, the war lords and feudal emperors did earlier.

To imply that the Tiananmen Square massacre could happen only in China under Communist rule is missing the point. This is not to exonerate the Peking leadership, but to stress the importance of the continuing presence of Chinese political culture.

Most important, for China to modernize and for the sake of stability in East Asia, China must rid itself of the political culture aptly described by novelist Po Yang in his “Ugly Chinese” as stinky, slimy and rotten. There is no other road to real progress.

Preparing for the Elections

The upcoming December elections in Taiwan are significant in many respects. For the three-year-old DPP, this is the first contest since the Kuomintang formally lifted the ban on new parties in the beginning of 1989. The DPP will — like its counterpart **Solidarity** in Poland — present a major challenge to an entrenched ruling party, which has held the island in a tight grip since the end of World War II.

*The DPP will -- like its counterpart **Solidarity** in Poland -- present a major challenge to an entrenched ruling party...*

Taiwan Communiqué

For the Kuomintang, this is the first election since the death of strongman Chiang Ching-kuo in January 1988. Although the KMT presently still has a dominant position because of its control of the government, the military and the security apparatus, it cannot — in the words of the *Far Eastern Economic Review* (24 August 1989, p. 15) — “stage-manage, as it used to, Taiwan’s political scene.”

This is also the first election after the enactment of the Civic Organizations Law, which formally legalizes new political parties, but which still imposes a number of restrictions on other parties (see “Ban on opposition parties ended”, *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 39, pp. 11-12). Besides the ruling KMT and opposition DPP, at least ten smaller parties have fielded candidates in the election.

For both the ruling KMT and the opposition DPP, there is much at stake, as the December elections involve elections at the local level — including 16 county magistrates and five city mayor positions, 77 seats in the Provincial Assembly, 51 seats in the Taipei City Council and 43 seats in the Kaohsiung City Council — as well as at the national level, for 101 seats in the Legislative Yuan. An election of this magnitude

takes place only once every twelve years, since the tenure of legislators is three years and those of local executive offices and legislative seats are four years. A total of 293 seats are to be contested.

For the first time, both KMT and DPP held primaries to select their candidates. Below we present a short overview of the results.

The DPP chooses “local strategy”

The opposition DPP held its primary on 23 July 1989. More than 80 percent of its 20,000 members cast their votes to elect candidates for the upcoming elections in December. The ruling KMT also held their primary on the same day.

The DPP nominated 142 candidates. The Party’s two main factions, the **Formosa** and the **New Movement** groups competed intensely in the primary elections. Although the Formosa group gained a larger number of positions for its candidates, the New Movement group — with its better grassroots network — was able to capture a number of key positions on the candidate list.

A major problem arose in Yunlin County, where Mr. Chu Kao-cheng, the controversial Legislative Yuan member, found himself facing strong opposition from former DPP secretary-general, Mr. Huang Erh-hsuan, a key member of the New Movement group. The flamboyant Mr. Chu had neglected to do his homework and had failed to rouse his supporters for the primaries, while the highly effective Mr. Huang had gained a strong majority among the local DPP-members.

The primaries in Yunlin were delayed for two weeks in order to attempt to find a compromise, but on 6 August, they went ahead anyway, and Mr. Huang won. It is uncertain what the unpredictable Mr. Chu will do. He has threatened to leave the DPP, “seek nomination by the people”, and run without the DPP’s endorsement.

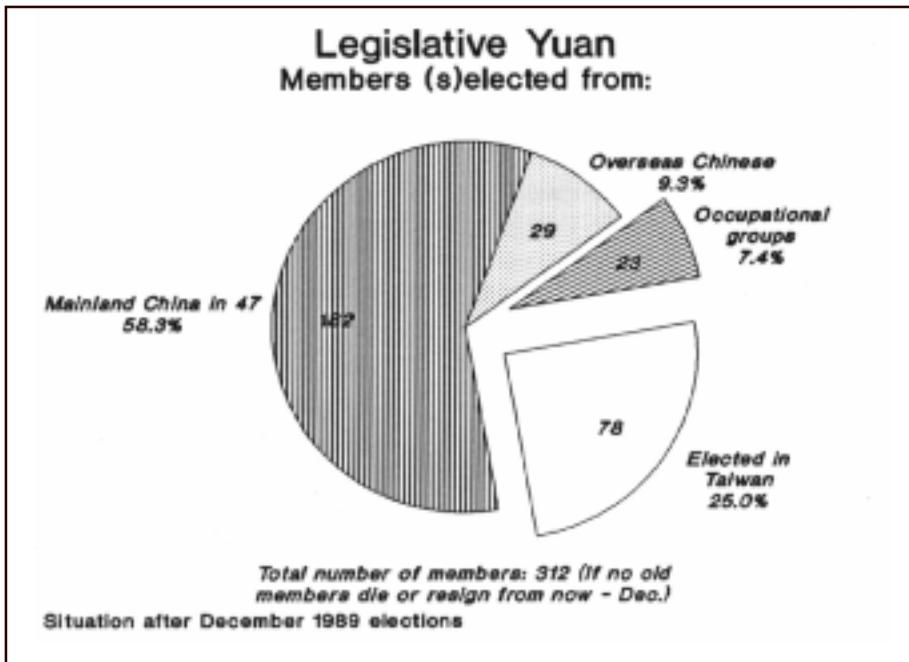
The leadership of DPP is concentrating its efforts on winning a large number of seats in the local elections for country magistrates and city mayors. The rationale is that if the DPP can emerge as a dominating force controlling the local executive offices, it might be in a better position to force changes on the national level.

Many of DPP’s prominent legislators are now running for local executive offices. Dr. You Ching, a member of Legislative Yuan, is running for county magistrate in Taipei County, while both Legislative Yuan-member Mrs. Hsu Jung-shu and National

Assembly-member Mrs. Chou Ching-yü are running for local office: Mrs. Hsu for the position of mayor of Taichung City, and Mrs. Chou for Changhua county magistrate.

Legislative Yuan still not fully representative

Although the number of Legislative Yuan seats to be contested has been increased from 73 (54 directly-elected and 19 indirectly through professional organizations) to 101 (78 directly and 23 through professional groups), the body is still far from being a fully representative legislature — as the following chart shows:



For the 78 directly-elected seats, the Kuomintang is fielding 71 candidates, the DPP 53. The hottest contests are going to be in Taipei City and Taipei County: In Taipei North (six seats), the KMT has nominated five candidates, the DPP three, namely lawyer Hsieh Ch'ang-t'ing (who was recently sentenced to 18 months imprisonment, see "Prison Report" on page 17), Mr. Chen Shui-pien, also a prominent opposition lawyer, and Mr. Lin Wen-lang.

In Taipei South (also six seats), the KMT has five candidates, the DPP three, namely Ms. Yeh Chu-lan, the widow of opposition journalist Cheng Nan-jung, who died in April 1989; lawyer Chang Teh-ming, and Mr. Lin Cheng-chieh a leading mainlander member of the DPP.

Taipei County is the largest county in Taiwan with 11 seats. The KMT has nominated seven candidates, the DPP six. A number of DPP candidates are scholars, including Dr. Lu Hsiu-yi, a former political prisoner who used to be the chairman of the Political Science department of Chinese Cultural University. During the past two years Dr. Lu has served as the DPP's foreign affairs spokesman.

Dr. Lin Chun-yi, a well-known environmentalist and professor of biology of Tung-hai University is running as a candidate for the Legislative Yuan representing Taichung city.

Dr. Wei Yao-chien, a dentist and a former aide of Hsieh Chang-tien, who gave up his dental practice and went to University of San Diego and University Essex in England to study political philosophy, is running as a Legislative Yuan candidate in Tainan county.

Also Dr. Hung Chi-chang, a psychiatrist, who was the top vote getter in the election for National Assembly in 1986, is running as a Legislative Yuan candidate in Tainan City.

KMT primaries end in fraud charges

In mid-August, the Kuomintang announced a slate of 222 candidates for the December elections. It was the first time in its history that the KMT had made use of primaries in selecting its candidates. Still, the process was — in the words of the *Far Eastern Economic Review* (“Bad losers”, *FEER*, 31 August 1989) — “... *an uneasy amalgam of primary elections, public opinion polling and backroom power brokerage.*”

The announcement immediately led to protests by disappointed KMT candidates who had not been selected, sometimes in spite of the fact that they had ended high in the primary race. In Hualien, some 500 KMT-members angrily renounced their membership in the party after the KMT did not nominate Provincial Assembly member Wu Kuo-tung as KMT-candidate for the position of Hualien County magistrate, although Wu had ended as no. 1 in the primaries. In Miaoli, some 1,000 KMT-members protested alleged fraud and rigging during the primary election.

Freedom of Association Restricted

Taiwan Authorities Prohibit “Taiwanese” Organizations ...

In a highly ironic move, the Taiwan authorities are refusing to permit civic organizations if they use “Taiwan” in their name. On 4 August 1989, the Ministry of Interior issued a ruling that organizations, which use “Taiwan” in their name, will not be registered unless they add “Republic of China”.

Opposition leaders criticized the measures, saying that Taiwan is a geographical and political reality, and that its name is broadly used internationally.

The refusal to register amounts to banning such organizations, because — under the Civic Organization Law promulgated on 27 January 1989 — all civic organizations are required to register within six months of the law’s enactment, or face prosecution. Any organization not registered by the deadline will be ordered to disband. Refusal to disband will result in a fine of NT\$60,000, or a prison term of a maximum of two years.

More than 100 organizations are affected by this ruling, including Taiwan Association for Human Rights, the Taiwan Farmers Rights Association, the Taiwan Political Prisoners Association, Taiwan Pen, the Taiwan Environmental Protection Union, Taiwan Greenpeace, the Taiwan Aboriginal Rights Association, and the Taiwan Labor Movement Support Committee. These organizations have refused to change their names.

Many organizations have refused to register in protest against the Civic Organization Law, which is in clear violation of the freedom of association embedded in the Constitution. Lawyer Chen Shui-pien, a member of the Central Standing Committee of the opposition DPP, pointed out that freedom of association includes the freedom to choose the name of an organization.

Lawyer Li Sheng-hsiung, president of Taiwan Association for Human Rights, declared his group will stand by its name, since it is internationally recognized as a human rights organization by that name.

When at the end of July it turned out that hardly any organization had registered, the Ministry of Interior decided to shift the deadline to 27 October 1989, but insisted that the organizations register before that date, and avoid the use of the name “Taiwan.”

In response, some 19 civic organization decided (tong-in-cheek) to form a “coalition party.” Political parties are required to merely register — without having to obtain formal approval of the Interior Ministry. The name of the party: **“The Taiwan Coalition Party During the Period of Communist Rebellion, that is Opposed to Laws Governing Civic Organizations which Discriminate against Social Movements and is also Opposed to All that is Unfair and Unjust but Upholds Love and Non-violence.”**

... And Bar Taiwanese from Returning Home

From 10 through 13 August 1989, the **World Federation of Taiwanese Associations** (WFTA) held its annual convention in the southern port-city of Kaohsiung. It was the second time in a row that the organization — the major umbrella organization for Taiwanese living abroad — has held its annual meeting in Taiwan. Until recently, the authorities had been able to prevent the convention from taking place in Taiwan, but in 1988 the organizers, supported by the DPP, managed to hold the convention in Taipei (see *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 36, pp. 14-17).

I am Taiwanese, and I have the right to return to my homeland.

WFTA resident Lee Hsien-jung

Just like in 1988, the Kuomintang authorities attempted to prevent the meeting from taking place by refusing visa or entry permits to prominent overseas Taiwanese wanting to attend the meeting. However, a number of well-known overseas Taiwanese managed to outsmart the Kuomintang’s security network: at the opening session, WFTA-President Dr. Lee Hsien-jung (“Shane Lee”) — who had been blacklisted and banned from returning to Taiwan — strolled into the meeting hall to the thunderous applause of the several hundred representatives from around the world. In his opening speech, Dr. Lee said: “I am Taiwanese, and I have the right to return to my homeland.”

The Kuomintang authorities did everything to hinder the meeting: the meeting hall was surrounded by some 1,000 police and security agents



Dr. Lee Hsien-jung

who were sent in to “keep order”, but in reality to intimidate less-courageous potential participants into staying away from the meeting, and to monitor the movements of leading opposition members. However, the oppositionists were not easily intimidated, as three undercover policemen found out: when they continued to tail Dr. Lee Hsien-jung for a whole evening, they were set upon by angry participants, dragged out of their taxi, and given a beating.

The total number of overseas Taiwanese blacklisted is estimated to run up to some 2,000, mainly in the United States and Canada. Other prominent members who managed to enter Taiwan were the president of the U.S.-chapter, Mr. Chai Ming-lu, and the organization’s secretary-general, Canadian-based Mr. Leo Yih-sheh.

However, on 27 August 1989, Mr. Leo and another prominent overseas Taiwanese, Mr. Robert C. Tsai, a board-member of the **World United Formosans for Independence**, were arrested after some 300 club-wielding police used teargas to disperse their supporters. Messrs. Leo and Tsai, who were on their way to speak at a seminar, were pulled out of their car by the police, taken directly to the airport, and forcibly deported from Taiwan.

Report from Washington

by *Marc J. Cohen*

Symposium on “Taiwan into the 21st Century”

“Sovereignty over Taiwan belongs to the people who live on the island, and to no one else.” That was the view expressed by speaker after speaker at a symposium held at the University of Maryland in the Washington, DC suburbs July 6-9, 1989. Scholars, activists, and policy-makers from the U.S., Canada, Taiwan, Japan and Europe attended the three-day gathering, entitled “*The role of Taiwan in the Pacific Basin: new Taiwan in the 21st Century.*”

The gathering opened with speakers presenting a variety of perspectives on the sovereignty question. Stephen S. Lee, Taiwan’s leading human rights lawyer and the President of the **Taiwan Association for Human Rights**, characterized the current Kuomintang government policy of “flexible diplomacy” as “phony”, and pleaded for the world to treat Taiwan as Taiwan and China as China. He called the potential loss of Taiwan’s sovereignty to the PRC the greatest contemporary threat to human rights on the island.

Dr. Lin Tsuang-kuang, a history professor at Drake University, and Dr. Shane Lee, the current President of the World Federation of Taiwanese Associations, examined the historical background and the legal and political issues behind the sovereignty question. Later, professor Harry Hsiao, of the University of Victoria (BC, Canada), examined the distorted historical arguments used by the PRC to bolster its claim to sovereignty over Taiwan.

They were followed by *Taiwan Communiqué* editor Dr. Gerrit van der Wees, who summarized the three hundred year history of European contacts with Taiwan. He stressed that, with the prospect of European economic integration in 1992, Taiwan will have to have official access to the centers of political power in Europe if it hopes to remain economically competitive and become politically viable. An independent Taiwan has the best chance of “making it” in the new European environment of the 1990’s and beyond.

Mr. Munakata Takayuki, a leading Japanese advocate of Taiwan independence, noted that until now there have been few people in Japan who strongly support Taiwanese self-determination. This is because the Japanese want to “redeem” themselves for their treatment of China during World War II by not raising the “Taiwan issue.” However, he added that the death of journalist Cheng Nan-jung, which directly challenged the traditional Chinese notion of “absolute political control”, opens the way for a new era on Taiwan and in its relations with the world.

Dr. Marc J. Cohen followed with a call for a new U.S. policy toward Taiwan. He argued that the Peking massacre and the new relationship between the U.S. and the Soviet Union had removed the rationale for the U.S. desire to “play the China card.” This had until very recently been the major reason for the United States’ failure to support Taiwanese self-determination. A related presentation by Dr. Robert Sutter, China specialist of the U.S. Congressional Research Service, examined current issues in U.S.-Taiwan relations and the Taiwan question in U.S. domestic politics.

At a session on Taiwan-China relations, former **Democratic Progressive Party** Chairman Yao Chia-wen forcefully rejected the PRC’s claims to sovereignty over Taiwan. He argued that Taiwan is for all practical purposes already an independent country, but that it is the Kuomintang rulers who still need to wake up to this fact. He concluded that according to the principles of the United Nations, the sovereignty over the island belongs to its people.

A lively, not-for-attribution discussion of the Taiwan-PRC military balance followed; there was significant disagreement among the experts on whether China currently has

the capability to carry out any threat to use force against Taiwan in the case of an open declaration of independence.

Dr. Richard Bush, a staff consultant to the House of Representatives' Asia-Pacific Subcommittee submitted a paper in which he forcefully argued that the Kuomintang's often-repeated desire to impose a "Japanese-style" political system is an inappropriate way to resolve the issues of national and international identity currently facing Taiwan.

The symposium also included an extensive discussion of the possible future Constitution for a free and independent Taiwan. It was the first free and open public debate of this topic, since the Kuomintang authorities have attempted to suppress discussion of it in Taiwan itself, threatening anybody who brings it up in public with "sedition" charges. Professors Hsu Shih-kai and Ng Yuzin, two prominent Taiwanese legal scholars living in Japan, offered their ideas on this subject.

Other speakers addressed the current state of political reform, Taiwan's international relations, and such public policy questions as the environment, trade, labor-management relations, agriculture, economic equity, the women's movement, and consumer rights. The speakers included former DPP-chairman Chiang Peng-chien, President Frank Wu of Taiwan's Independent Post newspaper, Reverend Lo Jung-kuang of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan, and former political prisoner Huang Hua, who is now a leader of the "**New Nation**" movement.

Other speakers included Professor Jack Williams, Chairman of the Taiwan Studies Group of the Association for Asian Studies; Professor Richard Gripp, of San Diego State University; Professor James Feinerman of the Georgetown University Law center; and anthropologist Stephen Murray, who spoke of the tendency of Western social scientists to go to Taiwan in search of a "China" microcosm, instead of seeking to learn about Taiwan itself.

Senator Pell endorses Taiwan independence

At a banquet on 8 July 1989, symposium participants were addressed by Senator Claiborne Pell, the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee in the U.S. Senate. Senator Pell told the audience: "I continue to believe that one day, Taiwan will be truly democratic and independent. The only question is when and how it will be achieved, but it will be achieved."

Ms. Yeh Chu-lan continues fight for Cheng Nan-jung's ideals

I want to speak out openly about Cheng Nan-jung's ideals and beliefs in the Legislative Yuan, and to let the voice of Taiwan independence be heard in every corner of Taiwan.

Ms. Yeh Chu-lan

Mr. Pell's address was followed by a moving address by Ms. Yeh Chu-lan, the widow of the late journalist Cheng Nan-jung, Taiwan's equivalent of Czechoslovakia's Jan Palach, who burned himself to death in Prague in January 1969 to protest repression in his country. Mr. Cheng died in April 1989 when he set himself on fire rather than face imprisonment for advocating Taiwan independence. For a full account of Mr. Cheng's death, see *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 40, pp. 1-9.



Ms. Yeh Chu-lan and her daughter

Ms. Yeh — joined by her 10-years' old daughter Chu-mei — deeply impressed the audience with her courage and dedication to continue her husband's struggle for a free and independent nation of Taiwan. Here follows an excerpt of what she said:

"I want to ask you to dry your tears. I want you to turn your concern to the goals that Cheng Nan-jung pursued in his life. That is to work for Taiwan independence because independence is the only road to Taiwan's survival, and to fight for one hundred percent of freedom of speech. With these goals in mind, together with Cheng Nan-jung's friends and supporters, we have established "Cheng Nan-jung Foundation" to bring about his ideals.

Cheng Nan-jung set himself on fire, because he wanted to awaken the spirit and soul of the Taiwanese people. Although he can no longer hear, speak, walk, his ideals will live forever in our mind. In order to carry on this baton that Cheng Nan-jung has passed on to me, I have decided to run for the legislative election in December so that I can speak his voice, and continue the work he did not finish. I want to speak out openly about Cheng Nan-jung's ideals and beliefs in the Legislative Yuan, and to let the voice of Taiwan independence be heard in every corner of Taiwan. Through me, my husband's voice will continue to be heard, and his ideals will be achieved."

U.S. Senate passes Amendment on the future of Taiwan

In the wake of the bloody massacre in Peking, both houses of the U.S. Congress joined President George Bush in strong condemnation of the Chinese authorities. In the U.S. Senate, a number of sanctions and sense of Congress statements were included in the annual legislation authorizing funds for the U.S. Department of State.

Among these are an amendment expressing the sense of the Congress on U.S. policy towards the future of Taiwan; below we reprint the full text of the amendment. Authored by Senator Claiborne Pell, the Chairman of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, it received bi-partisan support. Co-sponsors included Senators Jesse Helms (R — North Carolina), the Ranking Minority Member of the Committee; Alan Cranston, the Chairman of the Asia Subcommittee; Edward M. Kennedy; and Joe Lieberman (D — Connecticut).

Foreign Relations Authorization Act, Fiscal Year 1990 **Amendment no. 285**

Policy towards the future of Taiwan

(a) FINDINGS — The Congress finds that —

(1) although peace has prevailed in the Taiwan Strait for the past decade, on June 4, 1989, the Government of the People's Republic of China showed its willingness to use force against the Chinese people who were demonstrating peacefully for democracy; and

(2) in the Taiwan Relations Act, the United States made clear that its decision to enter into diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China rested upon the expectation that the future of Taiwan would be determined by peaceful means —

(b) SENSE OF THE CONGRESS. — It is the Sense of the Congress that —

(1) the future of Taiwan should be settled peacefully, free of coercion, and in a manner acceptable to the people of Taiwan; and

(2) good relations between the United States and the People's Republic of China depend upon the Chinese authorities' willingness to refrain from the use of threat of force in resolving Taiwan's future.

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Prison Report

Lawyer Hsieh Ch'ang-t'ing Sentenced to Prison Term

On 9 June 1989, the Taipei District Court handed down the sentences for the four defendants of the "June 12 Incident" of 1987. Mr. Hsieh Ch'ang-t'ing, a prominent lawyer and a member of the central standing committee of the opposition Democratic Progressive Party, received the heaviest sentence: 18 months imprisonment and deprivation of public rights. Mr. Chiang Kai-shih, also a member of the opposition was sentenced to one year imprisonment and deprivation of public rights. Two defendants from the right-wing Anti-Communists Patriotic Front were sentenced to one year and nine-months imprisonment and deprivation of public rights for the same periods respectively.

Mr. Hsieh, who is also a member of the Taipei City Council, is planning to run for a seat in the Legislative Yuan in the national legislative elections on December 2, 1989. The prison sentence, if upheld by the High Court, will prevent him from running for election. He will also lose his seat in the Taipei City Council. Furthermore, he will be disqualified as a lawyer.

Mr. Hsieh led the demonstration on 12 June 1987, to protest the National Security Law and to call for a national re-election of the all the seats in the three bodies of the parliament. The right-wing Anti-communists Patriotic Front held a counter-demonstration and was responsible for the violent clashes between demonstrators. Indeed, Mr. Hsieh appealed for calm and could not in any way be responsible for the clashes (see our article "The 12 June 1987 Incident" in *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 31).

Leaders of the opposition DPP were outraged by the fact that Mr. Hsieh was prosecuted in the matter. They said they considered this to be yet another example of the abuse of the court system by the KMT authorities in their attempts to harass and intimidate opposition leaders.

Assemblyman Huang Chao-hui receives three jail terms

Another prominent DPP-politician caught up in the KMT's legal tangles is National Assembly member Huang Chao-hui. In March 1989, he was briefly arrested for organizing two demonstrations, one on 22 February against police brutality in the case of a man who died in police custody, and one on 26 February 1989 in commemoration of the "February 28 Incident" of 1947 (see *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 39, p. 2 and pp. 19-20).

On 12 August 1989, Mr. Huang was sentenced to 10 months imprisonment for his role in the demonstration of 26 February. On 26 August, the Kaohsiung District Court handed down two sentences of four months each to Mr. Huang for the 22 February protest. During this protest, Mr. Huang was detained by police at the Ling Ya Police Station for five hours, and beaten during his detention. He was only released when a large crowd of supporters converged upon the police station to protest the detention.

If Mr. Huang's sentences are upheld in the High and Supreme Court, he will lose his seat in the National Assembly, where he has played a major role in criticizing the fact that the large majority of seats are still held by old mainlanders elected in 1947.

Taiwan Communiqué comment: as we reported earlier (see Communiqué no. 39), there are strong indications that the prosecution of persons such as Mr. Hsieh and Mr. Huang is part of a strategy of the Kuomintang to prevent the most outspoken members of the democratic opposition from taking part in the upcoming elections.

AI adopts Huang Kuang-hsiung and Chuang Kuo-ming

In July 1989, **Amnesty International** announced that it had adopted Mr. Chuang Kuo-ming and Dr. Huang Kuang-hsiung as prisoners of conscience, and called for their immediate and unconditional release.

The two men were arrested in December 1987 and January 1988 after their return to Taiwan from Argentina, and were accused of joining the Taiwan independence movement while in Latin America (see *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 34, pp. 15-16, and no. 40, p. 18). Mr. Chuang was sentenced to ten years imprisonment, while Dr. Huang received a sentence of five years imprisonment. The sentences were subsequently reduced to six years and eight months for Mr. Chuang and three years and four months for Dr. Huang.

The London-based human rights organization concluded after a thorough examination that the two had neither been charged with or had known to have advocated the use of violence to achieve political change in Taiwan, and that they were detained only for their membership of the **World United Formosans for Independence** (WUFI) and for their support for the independence of Taiwan from mainland China.

Amnesty International also expressed its concern about reports that Chuang Kuo-ming had been tortured by his interrogators into confessing that he had been involved in violent activities. Mr. Chuang was subsequently not charged with any involvement

in violence. Furthermore, AI expressed its concern that both men had been held in incommunicado detention for more than three months after their arrest, and urged the Taiwan authorities to initiate an impartial investigation.

DPP military men arrested, to be court-martialled

On 24 July 1989, two career servicemen, both members of the DPP, were taken into military custody and are to be court-martialled for “disregarding orders.”

Captain Chiang Chun-hua, who was stationed at Kinmen (1.5 miles off the coast of mainland China), was arrested when he “failed to take part in a military exercise.” He will reportedly be court-martialled for “disregarding orders at the enemy frontier”, a charge which carries a mandatory death sentence.

The Defense Ministry confirmed that Chiang and another career servicemen, Captain Fang Jui-shu, had been taken into custody and would be court-martialled on the charge.

Freedom of the Press ?

Court upholds “sedition” sentences of journalists

On 24 June 1989, the Taiwan High Court upheld the heavy prison sentences of two opposition journalists, Mr. Chen Wei-tu, age 25, the former editor of the *Democratic Progressive Weekly*, and Mr. Chen Chung-yi, age 27. In April 1989, the Taipei District Court had sentenced the two men to eight and four years imprisonment respectively.

The Taiwan authorities accused the two men of “spreading rumors endangering national security and undermining public confidence in the government.” In October 1988, the two intended to publish a pamphlet alleging that General Hau Pei-tsun, the chief of general staff of the armed forces, was planning a coup d’etat during the October 10th “national day” celebrations. However, the pamphlet was never circulated: Mr. Chen Chung-yi was arrested when he was on the way to the publishing house with the manuscript.

After the High Court verdict, Mr. Chen Wei-tu was remanded into custody at the Tucheng Detention Center near Taipei. He will appeal the sentence to the Supreme Court. Mr. Chen's lawyer, well-known opposition member Chen Shui-pien, is arguing that the "sedition" sentence is way out of proportion, and that a "defamation of character" charge might have been more appropriate in these circumstances.

Mr. Chen's magazine, the *Democratic Progressive Weekly*, has long been highly critical of the pervasive control of the military and secret police over society in Taiwan. It has published extensive exposés, and is therefore still being censored (see following story).

The Garrison Command confiscates magazines

On 13 July 1989, policemen and plainclothes agents acting on orders of the Taiwan Garrison Command stopped a truck in the Taipei suburb of Hsintien and seized 5,300 copies of the *Democratic Progressive Weekly*.

The agents did not have any warrant: it was "issued belatedly" some three hours later by the Taipei Municipal Department of Information, the agency officially in charge of censorship. In all probability, the Department also acted on orders of the TGC.

According to the police agents, the magazine was confiscated "because it was to be circulated one day before the scheduled publication date and because it featured a 'problematic' article." The issue (no. 126) carried at least two "sensitive" articles: one in which the magazine discussed the possibility of a coup d'état by the conservative military, and another one in which it questioned the political impartiality of the judiciary in the sentencing of its former editor Chen Wei-tu. It concluded that the judiciary was being used by the Kuomintang and by the military and secret police to silence the opposition.

After the confiscation, several opposition legislators of the DPP condemned the seizure of the magazine, calling it a grave violation of freedom of the press. The legislators also called for the depoliticizing of the military.

Taiwan Communiqué comment: *The matter brings to light the tight controls the military still exercises over the press in Taiwan in spite of the relaxation of controls which began with the end of martial law in July 1987. It also shows that the Garrison Command still has a widespread net of informers within the world of printers and distributors: the confiscation took place **before** the magazine appeared on the newsstands !!*

No equal access to radio and television

In the beginning of August 1989, the **Government Information Office** censured a television commercial by lawyer Chen Shui-pien, a DPP candidate for the upcoming legislative election in December. Mr. Chen's attempt to air his TV commercial was the first test case of the newly-enacted Civic Organization law, which states that "political parties have equal access to the use of public buildings and the publicly-owned mass media."

Mr. Chen's commercial, which lasts 30 seconds, consists of 31 news photographs, which depicts traffic jam in Taipei, environmental pollution, and scenes of street protests by environmentalists, laborers, aborigines, also images of the "February 28" memorial, the May 20 incident of 1988, and aging legislators dozing off in the Legislative Yuan. At the beginning and at the end of the commercial, a voice was heard saying "This is Taiwan's current social development. Let us build a society which has justice, progress and security."

On 3 August 1989, the Government Information Office stated in a letter to the advertising company which produced the commercial that "the commercial does not portray facts, because it does not include the positive side of social development." The GIO said that the commercial violated three regulations governing broadcasting and Television commercials, namely, "jeopardizing national interest", "violating the anti-communist national policy", and "spreading rumor, or hearsay." and said that therefore the commercial was "not suitable for public viewing."

Mr. Chen believed that the rejection of his commercial was politically-motivated. He pointed out that all the pictures in his commercial were news photos, which are a reflection of current social development in Taiwan. An earlier attempt by Mr. Chen to put an advertisement on the side of city buses was also rejected by the Taipei Police Bureau as "too political." The advertisement said: "Chen Shui-pien represents justice, progress and security."

The KMT authorities keep a tight rein on the broadcasting and television media. The three television stations in Taiwan are either owned by the government or the KMT party. As a result, they remain under the direct control of the KMT. Mr. Chen said that it is likely that the television stations would turn down his commercial, even if the GIO approved it.

As the election approaches, the DPP will press for access to television time. It remains to be seen whether the "equal access" clause in the Civic Organization Law will indeed be applied, or is only a façade, for the outside world to look at.

Notes

Thousands attend unveiling of “2-28” monument

On 20 August 1989, some 10,000 people attended the unveiling of Taiwan’s first monument in commemoration of “February 28”, in Chiayi in central Taiwan. The memorial was made possible by the courageous Chiayi mayor, Ms. Chang Po-ya — an independent — who gave her blessing to the project in spite of severe pressure from high government officials.

For the past four decades, the “February 28” Incident has been a taboo subject in Taiwan. In the 1947 event — which in many respects resembles the “Tiananmen” Incident in Peking in June of this year (see article on page ..) — between 12,000 and 20,000 native Taiwanese were massacred by Chiang Kai-shek’s troops. Just like the Peking students of 1989, the Taiwanese had protested the corruption and repression of the ruling regime.

In 1987, opposition leaders broke the taboo by staging memorial services for those who died in 1947. Since then, each year around February 28, the democratic movement in Taiwan, joined by Church and academic groups, have held commemorative gatherings (see “Commemorating February 28” in *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 39, April 1989).



The "2-28" Monument in Chiayi

In response to the new historic awareness in Taiwan, the Kuomintang authorities and the pro-government press have attempted to downplay the 1947 events, portraying them as “riots” which were “instigated by the Communists” (see “The KMT’s report on 2-28”, *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 40, p. 23).

Military brainwashing against independence

While in virtually any other country in the world the government and military do their utmost to guarantee the independence of their country, in Taiwan the authorities continue to do everything to achieve the opposite, and remain dead-set against independence.

In mid-June 1989, the Defense Ministry in Taipei even announced that servicemen and military officers would be required to take a political education program titled “countering Taiwan independence.” The four-part course includes a film, group discussion, writing of reports and a concluding speech by a military instructor.

Military authorities added that Taiwan independence “poses a threat to the integrity of China.”

***Taiwan Communiqué comment:** The authorities in Taipei should discard this type of shortsighted attitude. They should look forward towards the establishment of a new and free nation Taiwan, instead of harking back to long-lost causes. The “integrity of China” disappeared in 1949 when Chiang Kai-shek lost China due to the corruption and ineptitude of his government. Trying to “recover” the mainland will only endanger the future of Taiwan.*
