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## The KMT's foreign policy in disarray

World events in the summer of 1990 were overshadowed by Iraq's brutal invasion of Kuwait, and by the subsequent moves of the international community to blockade Iraq and bring Saddam Hussein to the realization that he should withdraw.

One development which thus escaped international attention was the deepening diplomatic isolation of the Kuomintang authorities due to the establishment of diplomatic ties of Saudi Arabia and Indonesia with Peking, and the signs that Singapore would follow soon.

## Saudi Arabia and Indonesia recognize Peking

On 22 July 1990, the Taipei authorities lost one of their few remaining diplomatic links with a major country — the last one in the Middle East — when they broke formal ties with Riyadh, after the visiting Saudi Arabian minister of Industry had informed the KMT government that Saudi Arabia was planning to downgrade its relations with Taipei and establish formal diplomatic ties with Peking.

On 8 August 1990, yet another major country, Indonesia, established formal diplomatic ties with the PRC, which had been broken off in 1967 following Indonesian charges of Chinese involvement in the abortive *coup d'état* of 1965.



Snowwhite Taiwan: "She (China) has taken all my princes, I am left only with my little dwarfs"

While the KMT authorities had not maintained formal diplomatic ties with Indonesia, the move was a major blow to Taipei, because the relations between Taipei and Djakarta had been very cordial, not in the least because of the strong anti-communist stance of both regimes. Taipei had always held up its good ties with Djakarta as a prime example of the success of former President Chiang Ching-kuo's "substantive diplomacy."

Thus, in a matter of a few weeks, the Kuomintang lost two cornerstones of its already shaky foreign policy. As if this wasn't bad enough, Singapore announced that it was looking to improve its ties with China, and that it would establish relations with Peking in the near future. Like Indonesia, Singapore has not had formal ties with Taipei, but the relations between the KMT authorities and the Lee Kuan-yew regime were also always cordial.

The Taipei authorities are also viewing with deep concern the growing rapprochement between South Korea and Peking. This would leave Taipei with only one major country with which they have diplomatic relations: South Africa. The other 25-odd nations maintaining diplomatic ties are either small island-states in the Pacific or Caribbean or repressive regimes in Latin America or Africa. This number even increased slightly during the past year under President Lee Teng-hui's "pragmatic diplomacy" of establishing ties with small nations in need of economic aid.

## **Towards a new Taiwan policy**

*The newest developments are a clear indication of the failure of the Kuomintang's foreign diplomacy — no matter if it is called "substantive" or "pragmatic" — because the KMT's political system is still based on its outdated pretense of sovereignty over China.*

*As long as Taipei perpetuates the myth that it can "unify" China under its own conditions, it gives Peking the excuse to the same and claim sovereignty over the island — which the PRC never had, and never should have.*

*A new policy is thus called for, both in Taipei and internationally: Taipei should move swiftly towards the establishment of a new and democratically-elected government, which truly represents the Taiwanese people, and then work towards international recognition as a new, free, democratic, and independent political entity, named "Taiwan."*

*If and when the international community observes the evolution of a democratic government in Taipei, which claims to simply represents its own people — nothing more and nothing less — then countries around the world will not hesitate to move towards recognition of that government.*

*For Peking it would be beneficial if it could attain peaceful coexistence with a friendly, economically vigorous, and politically independent neighbor. Any attempt at a coerced “unification“ will lead to high tension and major instability in the area.*

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## **WUFI plans return to Taiwan**

On 25 August 1990, Dr. Hsu Shi-kai, the Japan-based chairman of the **World United Formosans for Independence (WUFI)**, made public his plan to return to Taiwan by the end of 1991. Dr. Hsu made the announcement in Los Angeles, at a conference on the present political developments in Taiwan.

Dr. Hsu said that he would return via a secret route, as entering Taiwan in the normal fashion (on a scheduled airliner) would not be possible: he wouldn't receive a visa in the first place, and if he would get on a flight anyway, he would be immediately arrested at Taoyuan International Airport, as WUFI, which aims to establish a free, democratic, and independent Taiwan, is still considered “seditious“ by the KMT authorities.

### ***An independence movement in exile***

WUFI has a particularly strong following among the overseas Taiwanese in the United States and Japan, and has members worldwide. It was founded in 1970 through a merger of earlier organizations set up in Japan, the United States, Canada, and Europe in the 1960's.

During the 1970's and 1980's it expanded its international network, its members fulfilling key positions in both academia, industry and in other Taiwanese organizations. It also established a powerful lobbying network in support of a free and democratic Taiwan. The pre-eminent leader of the movement is New York-based Dr. George T. Chang, who has been one of the organization's key figures for the past two decades.

## *Long-term Strategy*

Dr. Hsu's plan to return to Taiwan is part of a long-term strategy by WUFI to move the organization back to Taiwan. In an interview with the Taipei-based *Independence Weekly Post* (7 September 1990), Dr. Hsu said that WUFI wanted to return to Taiwan to join with the democratic opposition to push for an open discussion on the issue of Taiwan independence. At the moment, the KMT authorities still ban open exchange of thought on the crucial question of the future status of the island.

The year 1991 will be a critical year in Taiwan's political development as the old guard of mainland-elected octogenarians in the parliament will be eased out by the end of 1991, and new elections will be held for all the seats in the parliament. Dr. Hsu said that he would not run for election but would support candidates who are strong advocates of an independent Taiwan.

Dr. Hsu, who went to Japan for advanced studies in 1959 and has taught political science at a Japanese university for decades, risks being arrested, should he return to Taiwan even in a clandestine manner. Dr. Hsu said however, that prison can be a good battle-



**Dr. Hsu Shi-kai**

ground for the cause. WUFI has made public a plan to send about 20 of its key members back to Taiwan in the next two years. As political imprisonment will be highly likely, it hopes that through the process of arrest, imprisonment and trials, it can generate publicity and public support for their cause.

In effect, WUFI's plan has begun to be implemented. In November 1989, Dr. Kuo Pei-hung, Chairman of the U.S. chapter of WUFI, made a dramatic return to Taiwan. During the height of the election campaign, he smuggled himself back into Taiwan. He appeared publicly at an election rally of a DPP candidate, and delivered a speech to a crowd of several thousand supporters. Some 3,000 policemen were positioned to arrest him, nevertheless he avoided being apprehended (see *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 43, pp. 4-5). In spite of a two-million Taiwan dollars (US\$70,000) award for his arrest, Mr. Kuo was able to travel all over Taiwan for a month and then return to the United States.

In June 1990, another key member of WUFI, Dr. Li Ying-yuan, who teaches Public Health at the University of South Dakota, smuggled himself back to Taiwan after his application to return to Taiwan to attend the annual conference of the U.S.-based North American Taiwanese Professors Association (NATPA) was rejected because he was blacklisted. The KMT authorities still maintain a blacklist of politically-active overseas Taiwanese, estimated at between several hundred and one thousand names, and refuse them visa and entry into the country. Both the Taipei-based *Independence Evening Post*, and the Kaohsiung-based *Min-chung Daily* published interviews with Dr. Li. The KMT authorities issued a warrant for his arrest and threatened to arrest anyone who provided shelter for him. However, Dr. Li is still free.

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## China Relations

### *DPP Opposition: towards a “China Relations Act”*

The **New Tide** group within the opposition DPP, which supports an independent Taiwan, has recently completed a draft of a document titled “China Relations Act”, which it proposes as basic instrument for governing relations between Taiwan and China. DPP legislators belonging to the **New Nation Alliance** plan to present it to the Legislative Yuan in the new session which began at the end of September 1990.

During the session, the Executive Yuan is planning to submit its own proposal titled “*Temporary Statutes governing relations across both sides (of the Taiwan Strait)*” for review. The opposition wants to present the “China Relations Act” as a more realistic alternative to the government’s proposal.

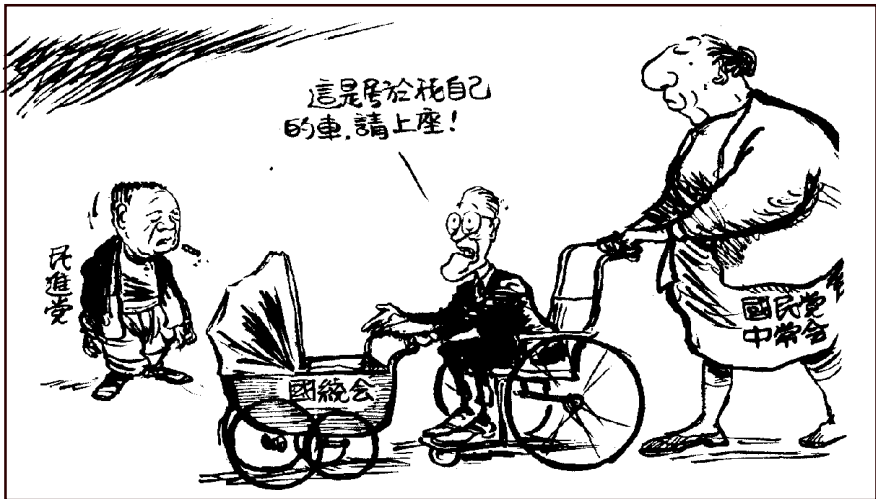
The “China Relations Act” was inspired by the “Taiwan Relations Act”, which was enacted by the American Congress after the United States severed diplomatic relations with Taiwan in 1978. The Taiwan Relations Act regulates relations between the people of Taiwan and the United States.

The proposed “China Relations Act” takes into account the reality that Taiwan and China are two entirely different political entities with no diplomatic relations with each other. It proposes that Taiwan and China should allow a semi-official office

similar to American Institute in Taiwan (AIT) to be opened in each other's territory to carry out consular duties, to issue visas, and to mediate disputes.

## *President Lee's "National Unification Committee"*

The **National Unification Committee** (NUC), the brainchild of President Lee Teng-hui, has become a topic of hot debate in Taiwan. The NUC as proposed by the President at the end of August 1990, was to be a joint effort by the ruling KMT and opposition parties to study the possibility of speeding up the reunification process.



**Lee Teng-hui (pushed in wheelchair by KMT Central Standing Committee) to DPP-chairman Huang Hsin-chieh: "You are welcome to ride in my baby carriage."**

While the central standing committee of the KMT approved the establishment of the NUC on 12 September 1990, the central standing committee of the DPP unanimously rejected President Lee's invitation to join the NUC. The DPP pointed out that the formation of NUC violates the principle of democracy because it imposes "reunification" as the goal of the nation, without taking into account the wishes of the people. Besides, "reunification" also contravenes the charter of the DPP, which supports "self-determination."

The DPP deputy secretary-general, Mr. Chen Han-ching, also strongly criticized the NUC as unrealistic, because Taiwan and China are poles apart in terms of standard of living, and the respective political and economic systems. He emphasized that "reunification" would not be in the best interest of the people of Taiwan.

The Taipei-based news magazine, **The Journalist** also pointed out in an editorial in issue no. 184 (mid-September 1990) that there is no public support for “reunification” in Taiwan. For example, in the 1989 elections, no candidate openly advocated “reunification with China.” It says the government’s top priority should be to implement constitutional reforms as agreed upon during the National Affairs Conference in the beginning of July 1990.

Critics from the KMT’s right wing also questioned President Lee’s motives for setting up the NUC: As the NUC would be directly under his supervision and the office would be located in the Presidential palace, he could broaden his power base, and diffuse pressure from the conservative faction of the KMT, which has criticized him for pursuing policies in favor of Taiwan independence.

In response to the “reunification” policy by the KMT authorities, the DPP wants to emphasize the political reality of “two countries, two governments.” It also plans to push for a national referendum on the future of Taiwan.

### ***Prime Minister Hau Pei-tsun: “One country, two areas”***

In the beginning of September 1990, Prime Minister Hau Pei-tsun weighed in with his five cents’ worth on Taiwan policy towards the mainland: in an administrative report to the Legislative Yuan, Premier Hau stated that his Cabinet would stress the concept of “One country, two areas” in handling relations across the Taiwan Strait.

The move was apparently an attempt by Premier Hau to outmaneuver his own President Lee Teng-hui: the two are reportedly in a tug-of-war for control of Taiwan’s mainland policy. Hau is actively seeking to head a proposed **Mainland Affairs Commission** to be set up under the Executive Yuan. This commission would overlap with the abovementioned National Unification Committee, which would fall under the auspices of the Presidential Office.

***Taiwan Communiqué comment:*** *Premier Hau’s proposal reveals his total lack of knowledge of international law: an “area” is not a political entity under international law, and can thus not serve as basis for establishing relations across the Taiwan Strait.*

### ***Peking: five-year plan to “absorb” Taiwan***

In a related development, the Hong Kong-based **South China Morning Post** reported in mid-September 1990 that the Peking authorities had worked out a detailed five-

years' plan to "absorb" Taiwan. The paper said that the plan had been drafted by alternate CCP Politburo member Ting Kuan-chung, a protégé of strongman Teng Hsiao-ping, and was discussed at a secret high-level meeting on policy towards Taiwan in the summer of 1990.

According to the plan by Ting, who heads the Taiwan Affairs Office of the Peking regime, a three-phased approach should be followed:

- \* between 1990 and 1992, there should be "multi-channel interchanges" across the Taiwan Strait,
- \* from 1992 to 1994, there should be talks between the Chinese Communist party and the Kuomintang,
- \* Unification should be achieved by 1995. If by that time Taiwan still resists unification, Peking should consider the "military alternative" of taking the island stronghold by force.

Interestingly, authorities in Peking subsequently denied that a high-level meeting had taken place or that the plan even existed. The Taipei authorities dismissed the report as "rumor" and "a trap by our enemy."

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## Presbyterian Church issues statement

### *"China does not include Taiwan"*

On 14 and 15 May 1990, the Central Committee of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan met in Taipei to discuss the political developments on the island and the future of the island. The meeting was primarily prompted by the nomination of General Hau Pei-sun to the position of Prime Minister. The gathering adopted a statement explaining the position of the Church.

The statement contained a forceful rejection of both the Kuomintang's claims to sovereignty over mainland China as well as the PRC's claims over Taiwan. The Church termed the nomination of general Hau "a step backwards in constitutional rule", and urged President Lee Teng-hui "... to identify himself with the people and land of Taiwan."



With this new statement, the Presbyterian Church continued a long tradition of outspokenness against the outdated policies of the Kuomintang authorities and in favor of a free, democratic, and independent Taiwan. Below we reprint the statement in full:

## **Recommendations from the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan concerning the present situation**

**We believe that a homeland and human rights are given by God.**

**Therefore, love for our homeland and active concern for Taiwan's future lie deeply in the heart of our church. Viewing the current situation of administrative crisis caused by the political divisions in Taiwan, we believe that Taiwan will face increasing difficulties in the future. The Presbyterian Church, out of concern for the situation facing Taiwan, solemnly issues these recommendations.**

- 1. The government of Taiwan cannot represent mainland China. The ruling party must recognize the fact that it does not exercise political authority over the mainland; and must very soon announce the end of "The Period of Communist Rebellion", rescind the "Temporary Provisions Effective During the Period of Communist Rebellion" and cease using the "Constitution of the Republic of China."**

**In order that democratic constitutional rule may truly take root in Taiwan, we insist that this be accomplished within one year; that the people of Taiwan (including aborigines, Hok-lo ["Taiwanese"-speaking people], Hakka, and mainlanders] govern themselves; that Taiwan and its related islands be the limits of the area governed; that there be a new Constitution to resolve the ambiguities that now exist between central and regional governments; that the structure of the National Assembly be changed, that the Judiciary be independent; and that other problems be resolved. We also call for the election of a new national legislature in accordance with a new Constitution and the organization of a new government.**

- 2. China does not include Taiwan. The present and future of Taiwan do not belong to China. The governance and land of Taiwan belong only to the people of Taiwan. Cultural, athletic economic and other kinds of interchange between Taiwan and China must be based on this kind of founda-**

tion. We earnestly hope that with independent self-rule the relationship between Taiwan and China can be to the mutual advantage of both; that in foreign affairs there be mutual recognition, and that with trust there will be benefits for each so that both may exist and prosper side by side.

3. In order to promote social justice and harmony we earnestly appeal to President Lee to release all political prisoners without delay and to restore to them their civil and professional rights.
4. President Lee's recent administrative acts are at variance with the will of the people; especially the nomination of a military figure, General Hau Pei-tsun, to be Premier. General Hau's nomination is a step backwards in constitutional rule, and is contradictory to the world-wide movement towards greater democracy. It has already created fear and the loss of morale among the people. We urgently appeal to President Lee to identify himself with the people and land of Taiwan, to govern for the citizens of Taiwan and name a different and suitable political figure to organize the make-up of the Cabinet, in order to remove the doubts and fears of the people, to help increase democratization and to improve Taiwan's international status.

May 15, 1990

Rev. Chhieh Han-luan  
Moderator

Rev. C.S. Yang  
General Secretary

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## **Prison Report**

### ***High Court suspends sentences of two DPP legislators***

On 18 August 1990, the Taiwan High Court suspended the sentences which lower courts had handed down earlier to two prominent opposition legislators, lawyer Hsieh Ch'ang-t'ing and Dr. Hong Chi-chang, for their role in two incidents in 1987 and 1988. The lower courts had earlier sentenced Hsieh and Hong to eighteen months and one year prison terms respectively for organizing a protest demonstration against martial law on 12 June 1987. The 38-years' old martial law was lifted in the following month, but was subsequently replaced by the National Security Law.

The June 12th demonstration erupted into violence when pro-government right-wing extremists provoked clashes (see our account of the event in *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 31, pp. 12-15). Dr. Hong had separately been sentenced to one year imprisonment for helping to organize a demonstration by farmers against the agricultural policies of the KMT authorities on 20 May 1988. This gathering also erupted into violence and clashes with police (see our account in *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 35, pp. 8-14).

The High Court reduced the sentences of the two men to one year for Hsieh and a total of two years for Hong, but suspended the sentences for four years. The Court also dropped the deprivation of civil rights against the two. Hsieh and Hong said they would appeal the sentences to the Supreme Court, since they had not been responsible for the violence at the demonstrations and they had even appealed for calm. They considered the charges to be political.

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## **Two overseas Taiwanese on trial on "sedition" charges**

During August / September 1990, two overseas Taiwanese went on trial in Taipei on "sedition" charges for their advocacy of Taiwan independence.

### ***Canadian-Taiwanese sentenced for "usurping territory"***

On 22 September 1990, Mr. Leo Yi-sheh ("Columbus" Leo, age 30), a prominent member of the overseas Taiwanese community, went on trial in Taipei on "sedition" charges for speaking out in favor of a free, democratic and independent Taiwan. The indictment stated that he had planned to "usurp the national territory" (!!?) by his activities. On 1 October, he was sentenced to ... imprisonment. He is appealing the verdict.

Mr. Leo, a leading Canadian-Taiwanese activist for human rights and democracy in Taiwan, was arrested on 29 November 1989 when he was in Taiwan observe the election campaign. In December 1989, he was sentenced to 10 months' imprisonment on "illegal entry" charges (see *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 43, p. 19).

However, on 12 January 1990, Mr. Leo was also indicted by the Taiwan High Court on charges of "preparing to commit sedition" under Article 2(3) of the "Statute for the Punishment of Rebellion", an outdated statute promulgated in 1948, when the Kuomintang authorities still ruled mainland China and were attempting to suppress the Communist rebellion (see *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 44, p. 19). The charges against Mr. Leo are based on speeches he made during a visit to Taiwan in August 1989, when he returned to the

island to organize the annual convention of the **World Federation of Taiwanese Associations**, the main umbrella-organization for overseas Taiwanese.

On 30 June 1990, Mr. Leo was released after serving seven months on his “illegal entry” charges. However, he was prevented from leaving the island: ironically, when he went to the airport to board a flight to the United States he was told that he had “*overstayed his two-months visa*” (not in the least because the authorities arrested and detained him !!!!!) and should pay fines before he could depart. When he went to the Foreign Affairs Section of the Taipei City Police Headquarters he was told he was barred from leaving the country.

On 25 July the High Court upheld his ten-months’ “illegal entry” sentence, so he still was to serve out the remaining three months. On 17 September 1990 he was re-arrested in order to stand trial.



**Mr. Leo Yih-sheh**

## **Canadian Expression of Support**

At the end of August 1990, the Very Reverend Bruce McLeod, a prominent member of the United Church of Canada, visited Taipei. He issued the following statement at a news conference at the Presbyterian Church of Taiwan:

*“In an unprecedented action at the 33rd General Council of the United Church of Canada, over 500 participants — men and women elected from every region of Canada — signed this expression of concern for a Canadian citizen, Ontario Hydro employee, and church member Leo Yi-sheh, presently convicted of illegal entry to the land of his birth, and accused of sedition for expressing his hopes for the future of democracy in Taiwan.*”

*Mr. Leo is well-known in Canada, where he has lived since 1974. Thousands of Canadians, aware he has been adopted as an Amnesty International “prisoner of conscience”, have written to the Canadian government, urging it to use all channels at its disposal to negotiate the release and safe conduct of this young man to Canada.*

*Members of Parliament have repeatedly raised his case for discussion in the Canadian House of Commons, some have written letters to President Lee Teng-hui.*

*We are aware that the flowers of democracy — which during the past year (thanks to God's world-loving spirit) have sprung to view in Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union, and South Africa, are still struggling towards bloom in Taiwan. We celebrate changes that are taking place — public “February 28” remembrances, increasing openness for the press and for freedom of speech. Democracy and freedom have grown in strength and visibility, since I last visited here in 1966.*

*We note that the words, said to have been spoken by Mr. Leo on 16 August 1989, and for which he is now charged, are no different in kind and detail from those now spoken freely every day here. We cannot believe that a young man should face ten years or more in prison for breaking regulations on speech which, before the world's appreciative eyes, are slowly being left behind.*

*We further note that the charges faced by Mr. Leo themselves infringe standards or respect for human dignity which the world has laboriously established, and towards which, to universal acclaim, countries everywhere are undoubtedly moving. I refer to the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights which provides for the right of persons to return to their own country (article 13.2) and the right to freedom of speech (article 19).*

*We hope that as Taiwan continues its own progress towards the fuller recognition of these and other freedoms, it will be possible — for the sake of the future that is coming — to find a dignified way to arrange the release of a young Canadian who has been caught in this transition period by the enthusiasm of his love for the land of his birth.*

*The United Church of Canada, bringing messages from the Presbyterian Church of Canada, and the World Council of Churches, expresses its solidarity, and its appreciation of our sister church, the Presbyterian Church of Taiwan, for its consistently courageous contribution to the struggle for human rights in Taiwan, and, in particular, for its support of Mr. Leo. Their struggle is our struggle, as together, in the name of Jesus Christ, we strive to open ourselves to God's Holy Spirit which is leading the earth into a new future of unity and peace.*

*I am here to deliver this message on behalf of the United Church of Canada, to bring pastoral concern and love for our fellow citizen and church member Mr. Leo. To deliver to him a letter from his father and mother who miss him, and to attend his trial, representing the urgent attention of many Canadians to what will happen there.*

*The prayer of our church is that God will bless this beautiful island as it discovers its future, that all its people will soon live in dignity and mutual respect, and that, in the meantime, a way will be found for our friend, Leo Yi-sheh, to come home.*

## **An Austrian-Taiwanese musician behind bars**

On 22 September 1990, Mr. Chen Zau-nan (47), a Vienna-trained musician who has Austrian citizenship, was sentenced to five years and three months imprisonment (under clemency reduced to a sentence of 3½ years) for his activities in Europe and the United States in favor of an independent Taiwan.

Mr. Chen had been arrested on 24 June 1990, when he returned to Taiwan from the United States, where he has been residing for the past eight years. Ironically he had been granted a visa to enter the island, and flew in to Taoyuan International Airport on a regular NorthWest Airlines flight. Mr. Chen's arrest prompted about ten delegates from opposition circles to boycott the National Affairs Conference, which was held from 28 June through 4 July 1990 (see *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 45). Due to the protests, Mr. Chen was released in the beginning of July, but still had to stand trial.

On 19 August 1990, he appeared at the first session before the Taiwan High Court and pleaded not guilty on the "sedition" charges. At the second session of the trial, on 15 September, he repudiated the arguments and evidence against him, characterizing them as groundless. One of the pieces of "evidence" produced by the Taiwan Garrison Command (Taiwan's main secret police organization) was a picture of Mr. Chen together with Messrs. Chen Pi-yuan of Salzburg and Kao Cheng-cheng of Innsbruck, taken in 1979.

Chen Zau-nan argued that if the picture is "proof" that he was a subversive element, why hadn't the other two been charged and prosecuted? The two men are prominent members of the Austrian-Taiwanese community. Kao is the son of former Taipei mayor and communications minister Henry Kao, who is now a senior advisor to president Lee.

*Taiwan Communiqué* considers the charges against Mr. Leo and Mr. Chen to be purely politically-motivated, and an outrageous violation of freedom of speech. The Taiwanese people, both on the island and overseas, have the right to peaceful expression of their views on the future of Taiwan. We strongly urge the Kuomintang authorities to 1) release Mr. Leo and Mr. Chen immediately, 2) allow an open discussion on the independence issue, and 3) move towards a truly free and democratic political system on the island.

## *Lee Tsung-fan sentenced to 38-months' term*

On 26 August 1990, the Tainan District Court sentenced Mr. Lee Tsung-fan to 38 months' imprisonment and eight of his supporters to prison terms ranging from seven to 42 months for "violating election laws and interfering with the duties of police." Mr. Lee and his supporters had protested against election fraud during the December 1989 elections (see *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 43, p. 8-10).

Mr. Lee, who presently serves as the opposition DPP's Director of Foreign Affairs, was at the time the DPP-candidate for Tainan County magistrate. Suspicions of election fraud by the authorities led to large-scale protests by Mr. Lee's supporters, which ended in clashes with police and election officials.

Mr. Lee, a naturalized Japanese citizen who returned to Taiwan to participate in the elections, considers the verdict an act of "political persecution" and has appealed to the Taiwan High Court. According to the official count he lost to KMT standard-bearer Li Ya-chiao by 234,237 (47.3%) to 243,766 (49.2%) votes.

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## Articles & Publications

### *Dutch and German scholars advocate new Taiwan-policy*

During the past several months, two academic works have appeared in Europe, which advocate a new Taiwan-policy for the West in general, and Europe in particular. The two studies, which evolved separately, both urge an increase in the pace of democratization in Taiwan, a discarding by Taipei of its claim to represent China, and recognition by the international community of Taiwan and China as equal states.

The first study was performed by Prof. Dr. Christian Hacke, a professor at the West German Military Academy in Hamburg, and published in the magazine *Aussenpolitik* (II/90). In the article titled "*Braucht der Westen eine neue China-Politik ?*", Dr. Hacke analyzes the developments in both the PRC and Taiwan and — using experience from the recent East-West *détente* — urges a new policy of the West towards Taiwan which "de-stigmatizes" the island, and support for treatment of the two countries as two equal states.

Dr. Hacke argues that the process of democratization on the island, together with measures to protect the environment, will increase the attractiveness and viability of Taiwan as a separate entity and as an equal player in the international arena. A parallel process of *détente* with China will reduce old tensions stemming from the civil war on the mainland, and will increase the possibility of a China-Taiwan *modus-vivendi*.

In a separate study, Mr. Coen Blaauw, a researcher at the University of Amsterdam, started from a historical/international law perspective and arrived at similar conclusions. Mr. Blaauw analyzed Taiwan's history, tracing it from the period of the Dutch East India Company (1624-62), through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to the period of Japanese occupation (1895-1945) and the crucial years of the occupation by Chiang Kai-shek's troops (1945-49).

His study of documents such as the Cairo Declaration (1943) and the San Francisco Peace Treaty (1951-52) lead Blaauw to conclude that neither the PRC nor the present Kuomintang regime can justifiably claim sovereignty over Taiwan. This belongs to the Taiwanese people, who should be able to determine their own future without outside interference. After examining the various options proposed until now (such as "one country, two systems" etc.), Blaauw considers full independence the most attractive and logical option.

He proposes a new Dutch (and European) Taiwan-policy which emphasizes 1) active political support for democratization on the island, in particular through contacts with the democratic opposition movement of the DPP, 2) support for the principle of self-determination for the people of Taiwan, on the basis of the Charter of the United Nations, and 3) emphasis by the West on the importance of peaceful coexistence between Taiwan and China.

The study (in Dutch) is titled "*Taiwan op de tweesprong*", and can be ordered from: De Wetenschapswinkel, University of Amsterdam, Herengracht 256, 1016 BV Amsterdam. Cost: 7 Dutch guilders.

### ***Seymour: "Four steps to Taiwan political reform"***

In a recent article in the *Asian Wall Street Journal* (June 29-30 1990), one of the U.S.'s most eminent Taiwan scholars, Dr. James D. Seymour, analyzes Taiwan's political reforms. He credits Taiwan's present leader, Mr. Lee Teng-hui for the progress already made in liberalizing the political and system, but states that there is still some way to go.



He specifically outlined four essential steps if Taiwan's political reform is to succeed. First, he urges the release of Taiwan's remaining political prisoners, mentioning e.g. Mr. Leo Yi-sheh (see article on pp. 11-13). Secondly, he urges further liberalization of the media. He acknowledges the wider variety of views expressed in newspapers and magazines, but strongly criticizes the KMT government's monopoly of radio and the three television stations, leading to biased news coverage.

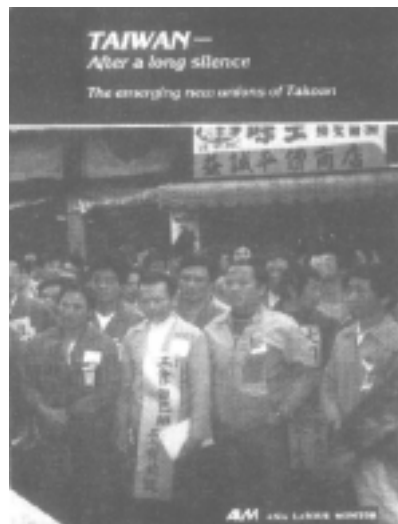
Thirdly, Seymour argues in favor of direct popular elections, beginning at the presidency, and down to local level positions such as mayorships of Taipei and Kaohsiung, which are presently appointive positions. Fourthly, Taiwan should implement legislative reform, moving in the direction of a fully democratic parliament, elected through a system of proportional representation.

Seymour concludes that for future relations between Taiwan and Peking it is crucial that a new government "with unmistakable legitimacy" emerges which has a clear mandate of the voters.

### *After a long silence: the labor movement in Taiwan*

The labor movement in Taiwan has never received much international attention. To the outside world, Taiwan's labor force always had the appearance of an industrious crowd of hard-working eager beavers, happy with their achievements which contributed to Taiwan's staggering economic growth.

Gradually, another picture is emerging: economic growth had its staggering costs too. Not only in terms of severe damage to the environment, but also in terms of social costs. A recent book published by the **Asia Monitor Research Center** (AMRC) in Hong Kong, describes the costs of the straitjacket imposed by the KMT authorities on labor from the 1940's through the early eighties (including prohibition of strikes, and ruthless suppression of any independent labor activity), and chronicles the successful challenges of the nascent labor movement on the island from the mid-1980's onward.



The book is titled “*Taiwan — after a long silence*” and is available at US\$ 10.— per copy from: Asia Monitor Resource Center, 444 Nathan Road, Flat 8-B, Kowloon, Hong Kong.

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## Notes

### *Correction on NAC attendance of Dr. Mark Chen*

In *Communiqué* issue no. 45, we reported in our article about the National Affairs Conference that Washington-based Dr. Mark Chen attended the conference and debated issues with key persons in the KMT’s power structure. This was not quite correct: Dr. Chen had been invited to the conference, but withdrew just before the opening of the meeting in protest against the arrest of overseas Taiwanese activist Chen Zau-nan (see p. 14). Local papers in Taiwan subsequently reported that Dr. Chen later joined the meeting again, however this was only to observe the proceedings, not as a participant.

### *On joining Asian Pacific Economic Cooperation*

At the end of July 1990, at a conference of the **Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation** (APEC) forum in Singapore, the 12 present members of the grouping — which was formed in Canberra in November 1989 — expressed an interest in inviting both China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong to join the organization. APEC comprises the six ASEAN countries and the U.S., Canada, Japan, New Zealand, Australia, and South Korea.

The gathering decided to open negotiations with the three countries to find an acceptable formula for their participation in the organization. China immediately put a damper on the idea, when — on 31 July 1990 — the Chinese Foreign Minister announced in Peking that only the PRC could join as a sovereign state, and that Hong Kong and Taiwan could only be accepted as “non-sovereign entities.”

In a related development, on 24 September 1990 it was reported in the international press that the Geneva-based GATT had rebuffed China on its bid for membership, because the PRC has not taken adequate steps to open up its markets and reduce tariffs. China’s application for full membership has been pending since 1986 (it presently has observer status). In 1989, its chances reduced considerably by the June “Tienanmen crackdown.”

The move may have significant consequences for Taiwan's application, which was submitted on 1 January 1990 under Article 33 of the GATT Agreement (see *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 44, p. 23). Like in the APEC case, China had objected to Taiwan's membership as a separate entity. Taiwan's application will probably come up after the Uruguay Round in December 1990.

*Taiwan Communiqué comment:* while it would be desirable to have the PRC join international organizations like GATT and APEC, which have as their goal the spread of a free market economy (this might help free China of the bonds of a highly regulated economy), this should not be done at the expense of a country like Taiwan. The people of the island have the right to be accepted as a full member in the international community.

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## ***Environment: "Crackers, crackers everywhere"***

In September 1990, it became clear that the Kuomintang authorities are moving ahead with construction of two new naphtha cracking plants, one in Houchin, near Kaohsiung, and the other in Kuangyin, at the Taoyuan coast.

On 22 September 1990, construction started on the new US\$ 550 mln. Houchin plant, the fifth such facility on the island, which is to be owned and operated by the state-run China Petroleum Corporation (CPC). Construction of this plant has been delayed by some three years by demonstrations of nearby residents, who do not want a further increase in pollution of the already strongly-polluted Kaohsiung suburb, which is also the location of the first and second naphtha cracking plants.

Premier Hau Pei-tsun visited Houchin in mid-September, even stayed overnight in the town, and met with residents there in an attempt to allay fears of higher pollution levels. Hau promised that the CPC would set aside a fund of NT\$ 1.5 billion (some US\$ 55 mln.) for anti-pollution measures, civic projects and to subsidize the water, gas and medical fees for Houchin residents. However, the visit failed to convince the residents: Mr. Liu Yung-ling, a leader of the environmental movement in Houchin called the visit "a soap opera."

The other new naphtha cracker, the sixth on the island, is reportedly being planned in Kuangyin, on the Taoyuan County coast. According to press reports in Taiwan, the KMT authorities offered highly preferential terms (to the tune of some US\$ 85 mln.) in discounted land and harbor construction costs to the Formosa Plastics Group (FPG) if the company would decide to go ahead with construction of the plant in Taoyuan. FPG is to make a decision in by the end of this year.



**Citizens in Houchin complain about Prime Minister Hau Pei-tsun's overnight stay in town: "We already had so much pollution ... now we have to put up with even more noise."**

The move came after months of rumors that FPG would build a plant on the mainland coast. FPG chairman Wang Yung-ching, Taiwan's richest businessman who has close ties to the ruling KMT, even made a much publicized trip to Peking and reportedly met with PRC strongman Teng Hsiao-ping. The move caused a major amount of concern within the KMT, which feared that other businessmen would follow Wang's example, and led the authorities to offer the financial inducements to FPG.

## ***Premier Hau: "social hooligans"***

On 27 August 1990, Prime Minister Hau Pei-tsun raised the ire of most social activists in Taiwan when he remarked during a session of the Cabinet that "environmental, labor, and farm hooligans" should be rounded up for reform in military penitentiaries.

Taiwan has a "hoodlum law" which empowers the Taiwan Garrison Command to arrest "undesirable elements" and imprison them with hardly a semblance of a trial.

The term “hoodlum” is vaguely-defined, and includes “*one who has bad conduct, or obstructs social order.*” The law leaves it up to the Taiwan Garrison Command to determine whether a person is a hoodlum (see *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 21, dd. August 1985, p.8).

During the past few years thousands of “hoodlums” have been rounded up and incarcerated in military penitentiaries. There they were held under deplorable circumstances, which lead to major prison disturbances (see *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 33, dd. February 1988, pp. 20-23).

Premier Hau’s remarks appeared to equate social activists in the environmental, labor, and farmers’ movements with “hooligans” and thus drew an immediate response from many organizations active in these areas. Still, on 1 September 1990, city and county police stations received an order — reportedly from the Taiwan Garrison Command — to start collecting evidence against those who “use social movements to secure illegal profits.”

However, on 6 September, Premier Hau backtracked, and stated that the term “social hooligan” was not a proper description for labor, farming, and environmental activists.

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## ***DPP expels “Rambo” Chu Kao-cheng***

On 5 August 1990, the Central Advisory Committee of the DPP decided to expel Mr. Chu Kao-cheng, a DPP-member of the Legislative Yuan. In mid-July the DPP’s caucus in the Yuan had already decided to expel him from the caucus. Mr. Chu — who had gained notoriety as the “Rambo” of Taiwan politics for his wild antics in the Legislative Yuan — had grown increasingly at odds with the DPP because he generally acted as an unguided missile, and did not coordinate his views with the other DPP-members of the Legislative Yuan.

Mr. Chu, who says he has a Ph.D. from Bonn University in West Germany, jumped into politics in Taiwan in 1986 after he was refused a university teaching position. He was elected to the Legislative Yuan as representative from his home-county, Yunlin, where he gained a faithful following after he strongly attacked the Kuomintang and its outdated political system. He particularly endeared himself to the mainly farming population by acting as a rough-and-tough farmer, swearing like the best of them.

Once elected to the Legislative Yuan, he quickly grabbed the limelight when he started to jump on the tables, rip microphones out of desks and throw other paraphernalia at elderly “permanent” members of the Yuan, elected on the mainland in the 1940’s.

However, he also estranged his fellow DPP-members when he often acted unilaterally and took positions which strongly deviated from the general DPP-policy. In 1989, he raised eyebrows when he suddenly announced he wanted to set up his own party, together with a number of KMT "Young Turks."

In the run-up to the 1989 elections, the DPP did not nominate him, but he ran anyway, and won with a considerable majority. However, his relations with the DPP continued to sour, eventually leading to the present break-up. His departure is expected to lead to greater internal cohesion within the DPP, where Mr. Chu's actions have been a divisive factor.

## *Down and out with Sun Yat-sen*

Since 1949, highschool and college students in Taiwan have had Sun Yat-sen's **Three Principles of the People** (*San Min Chu Yi*) as standard menu in their school coursework. Sun's teachings constituted the basis of the Kuomintang's thought control process, and rote memorization of the *three principles* became a must for the KMT's faithful followers.



**Kuomintang thought-control education: "With enough *Three People's Principles* immunization, these students will not have improper thoughts"**

Now, this is changing. In mid-September 1990, an enlightened Ministry of Education decided to drop the compulsory course, and replace it with several selective classes. However, protests erupted from a predictable source: some 700 college professors and highschool teachers who teach the course rallied in protest against the Ministry decision. They even branded the move as “unconstitutional.”

Following the protests, the Ministry temporarily postponed the decision, but it is expected that the step to drop the course will be implemented sooner or later: resistance against the course is widespread, and the teachers are the butt of many a joke by the students.

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### *Huang Hsin-chieh plans return to Legislative Yuan*

When the new session of the Legislative Yuan started up again in the second half of September 1990, DPP-chairman Huang Hsin-chieh announced that he intended to return as a member of the Yuan.

Mr. Huang was a pioneer in the opposition movement. In 1969 he was elected to a life term as a “supplementary” legislator, in the first election for (a limited no. of) Legislative Yuan seats held in Taiwan after the Kuomintang came over from the mainland in 1945-49.

His legislative status was revoked in December 1979 after he was arrested in the wake of the Kaohsiung Incident. After serving seven years of a 14 years’ prison term, Mr. Huang received parole and was released in May 1987. In May 1990, President Lee Teng-hui granted him and other “Kaohsiung prisoners” full amnesty, restoring all his civil rights. In early September 1990, Mr. Huang notified the Legislative Yuan that he was ready to return to work and wanted to be reinstated as a legislator. Mr. Huang announced that after his reinstatement he wants to set an example to the other “permanent” members by retiring voluntarily.

Mr. Huang’s attempt to return to the Legislative Yuan has not been smooth: on 19 September, the Speaker of Legislative Yuan, Liang Su-yung said at a press conference that Mr. Huang’s name has been removed from the roster (i.e. disqualified) by the Ministry of Interior in 1979. Mr. Liang also stated as reason that, according to Article 45 of the Election and Recall Law, “..a legislator, who has been absent for one legislative session with no apparent reason, is considered having resigned from the Legislative Yuan.” The thought that Mr. Huang might have been absent because the authorities held him imprisoned didn’t seem to have come up in Mr. Liang’s mind !!