



TAIWAN COMMUNIQUÉ

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10 years Taiwan Communiqué

In December 1990, it is 10 years ago that we started publishing *Taiwan Communiqué*. Much has changed in these years: Back then, Taiwan was still under martial law, did not have an opposition party, and the prisons, such as the infamous **Green Island Prison**, housed hundreds — if not thousands — of political prisoners.

Credit for the changes of course goes first and foremost to the courageous people of the democratic opposition in Taiwan, who worked so hard, and sacrificed so much, to attain a free and democratic political system. We are happy that we were in a position to help where we could, particularly in calling international attention to the lack of democracy and human rights in Taiwan.

We wish to express our appreciation to those who helped us, through their encouragement and contributions, in making *Taiwan Communiqué* possible. In particular we also thank Marc Cohen and his team in Washington DC, and the Taiwanese groups in Seattle and Vancouver BC, for taking care of the DC, North American, and Canadian editions.

While much has been achieved, still more needs to be done: the political system in Taiwan is far from fully democratic. The next two years will be of crucial importance in this respect. Then there is the longer-term question of the relation with mainland China. We hope we can help awaken the international community to the fact that the Taiwanese people want a free, democratic and independent Taiwan, which lives in peace with all its neighbors.

The editors

The DPP adopts “October 7th Resolution”

No “de facto sovereignty” over China and Mongolia

On 7 October 1990, during its fourth Plenary Meeting, which was held in Taoyuan, the DPP passed a resolution, which challenged the KMT authorities’ claim of sovereignty over all of China. The resolution stated that the sovereignty of the Taipei authorities covers only Taiwan and surrounding islands, and does not extend to mainland China and outer Mongolia. Below we present the full text.

- 1. The DPP reaffirms the principle of self-determination as stated in the party Charter and the April 17 resolution of 1988, which stated that the sovereignty of Taiwan is independent from the PRC. Now the party wants to go one step further to affirm: the *de facto* sovereignty of the government of Taiwan does not include mainland China and Outer Mongolia (emphasis added). The future Constitution and political system and policies on domestic and foreign affairs should take into account this factual territorial boundary.**
- 2. The DPP has asked its caucuses in the National Assembly and the Legislative Yuan to carry out their mandate in order to realize this goal; it has also instructed local party offices to publicize it in order to reach national consensus.**
- 3. In view of threats and intimidation from the KMT authorities, all members of the party are prepared to exert their utmost, if necessary, for an eventual confrontation with the KMT.**

This resolution went considerably beyond the earlier DPP resolution on sovereignty, adopted on 17 April 1988, which stressed that the sovereignty over Taiwan does not belong to (communist) China.

The resolution as originally proposed by Mr. Yao Chia-wen, the former chairman of DPP, stated “the sovereignty of the Republic of China does not cover the territory of the People’s Republic of China and the People’s Republic of Mongolia.” However, on October 6, Mr. James Soong, the secretary-general of the KMT met with Messrs. Huang Hsin-chieh and Chang Chun-hung, chairman and secretary-general of DPP respectively, and tried to talk the DPP into shelving the resolution. He told them that the KMT

authorities would take heavy measures if the resolution were passed. Earlier, Premier Hau Pei-tsun had threatened to crackdown and disband the DPP.

To avoid a head-on collision with the KMT authorities, the two major factions of the DPP, the **Formosa** and the **New Tide**, met the next morning and agreed on a revised version. Thus “*de facto*” was added and the geographical names of mainland China and Outer Mongolia were substituted for the more sensitive political terminology to soften the impact of the resolution.

The **October 7th Resolution** had the support of both the Formosa and the New Tide factions and was passed unanimously. It was a response to the formation of the National Unification Committee by President Lee Teng-hui, which continued to stress the illusion that the government in Taiwan is the legitimate government of all of China and reunification is the goal of the nation (see “China Relations”, page 9-10). Mr. Yao Chia-wen, the author of the resolution, pointed out that the resolution was simply a statement of political reality, which the KMT authorities for the past 40 years had refused to accept.

DPP chairman Huang Hsin-chieh also noted the irony that the Taipei authorities were still claiming they were the government of all of China, when in fact they had been unable to rule Hong Kong, Macao, China or Outer Mongolia for the past 40 years. He also stated that the KMT authorities’ claim of sovereignty over the People’s Republic of Mongolia had absolutely no basis. Mongolia became independent in 1926 and was admitted to the United Nations in 1961. The KMT authorities then still held the permanent seat of security council in the United Nations and did not veto it.

In the beginning of November, Mr. Huang received an invitation from the major opposition party in Mongolia to visit Mongolia in December 1990. The central standing committee of the DPP approved the visit. Mr. Huang lauded the invitation and said he hoped that the trip would shatter the Kuomintang’s illusion about sovereignty over Mongolia.

Legislative Yuan interpellations on independence

On 19 October, the first day of general interpellations of the present session of the Legislative Yuan, DPP legislators — following up on the sovereignty resolution of October 7th — asked the government to recognize international reality that China and Mongolia are two independent countries and to declare Taiwan an independent country

with a new name “*The Republic of Taiwan.*” The four legislators joining the interpellation included Mrs. Yeh Chu-lan, Hong Chi-chang, Li Ching-hsiung, and Chen Ting-nan.

Premier Hau Pei-tsun in his reply stated that his government would “never give up sovereignty over all of China and Outer Mongolia”, and that he would crack down on any activity advocating Taiwan independence.



Legislator Yeh Chu-lan

Recovering the Tiaoyutai ?

In the second half of October 1990, the Tiaoyutai, a small group of islands about the size of four square kilometers, some 200 kilometers off the coast of North-Eastern Taiwan, became a major test case of KMT’s (in)ability to recover a few uninhabited islands, let alone the Chinese mainland with its one billion inhabitants.

The Tiaoyutai, together with Okinawa Islands, became a Thrust Territory of the United States after World War II. In 1972, administrative authority over the islands was turned over to Japan. Although the KMT government claimed sovereignty over the tiny islands by citing historical evidence, it did not persist in its efforts, because at the time it sorely needed the support of United States to keep its seat in the United Nations as the “legitimate government of China.”

On 11 October 1990, DPP legislator Lin Cheng-chieh raised the issue of sovereignty over the Tiaoyutai after it became known that in September, the Japanese government had belatedly approved the building of a lighthouse on the islands by a right-wing Japanese youth group in 1978, and was going to allow the group to renovate the lighthouse.

The matter became a major affair when Mr. Wu Tun-yi, the ambitious KMT mayor of Kaohsiung, who was hosting a regional athletic meeting, came up with the idea of

dispatching a boat to plant an Olympic torch on the island as a symbol of Taiwan's sovereignty. On October 21, two fishing boats carrying Mr. Wu and a group of some 20 supporters and an Olympic torch left for the Tiaoyutai islands, presumably with the blessing of higher authorities. But the boats were not able to come close to the islands, and had to return hastily after they were surrounded by a score of Japanese navy ships. This "aggression" by Japan prompted a denunciation by the Peking government and anti-Japanese demonstrations in both Taipei and Hong Kong.

On 23 October, during interpellations in the Legislative Yuan, DPP legislators chided the Kuomintang government for its inability to "recover the Tiaoyutai." "If you can't exert sovereignty over a few nearby uninhabited islands, how can the Kuomintang authorities maintain that you will recover the Chinese mainland, including Mongolia and Tibet?" The DPP legislators wondered. They called on Premier Hau to resign for failing to maintain the territorial integrity of the country.

The KMT authorities did send a limp letter of protest to the government of Japan, but their inept handling of the incident became laughing stock for many in Taiwan. The media also focused attention on the fact that on 21 October — while a "major crisis" was brewing — almost all high officials, including Premier Hau Pei-tsun and Minister of Foreign Affairs Chien Fu, were out on the golf course.

On 24 October 1990, the Executive Yuan in Taipei issued a statement reiterating the KMT's sovereignty over the islands, and calling on Japan to dismantle the lighthouse. It also stated that the Taipei authorities "...will not excluded the possibility of military force to protect Taiwan fishermen who frequent the area."



Premier Hau Pei-tsun: "Those islands are of no use ... you can't even play golf there !!!"

However, on a few days later, Premier Hau Pei-tsun told legislators that “...the issue of Tiaoyutai sovereignty should remain unsolved for now.”

On 2 November, mainland China and Japan also agreed to shelve the sovereignty issue over the islands, but for different reasons: Japan was about to resume a US\$ 2.2 billion development loan to China, which had been suspended after the military crackdown on China’s democratic student movement on Tienanmen Square in June 1989.

The Kuomintang backtracks on reforms

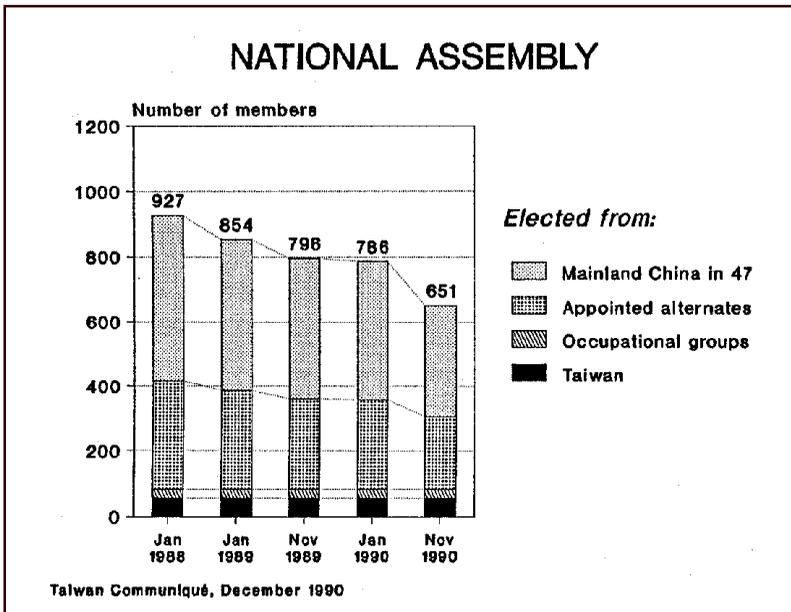
No direct presidential elections

After the **National Affairs Conference (NAC)**, which was held in Taipei from 28 June through 4 July 1990, there was some glimmer of hope that the Kuomintang authorities were firmly heading towards democratic reforms. During the past few months it has become clear that they are backtracking, and do not genuinely intend to implement the reforms proposed at the NAC.

In the following paragraphs we briefly analyze the recent developments:

- * **Wrong focus.** Instead of focusing on how to implement the results of the NAC, President Lee Teng-hui and premier Hau Pei-tsun have been quibbling over control of policy towards the mainland, with President Lee attempting to get his “National Unification Committee” off the ground, and Premier Hau trying to get his “Mainland Affairs Council” set up (see pp. 9 to 11 in this *Communiqué*).
- * **No direct presidential elections.** On 5 November 1990, a Kuomintang task force on constitutional reform, headed by Judicial Yuan President Lin Yang-kang, decided that in the future the President will still be “elected” by the National Assembly, and not through direct presidential elections.
- * **Still mainland seats in National Assembly.** Although the Kuomintang authorities have decided that all elderly National Assembly members elected on the mainland in 1947, as well as the so-called “appointed alternates” (persons who ran in the 1947 elections and lost, but who were subsequently appointed to replace deceased colleagues) will have to retire by the end of 1991, there is a hitch:

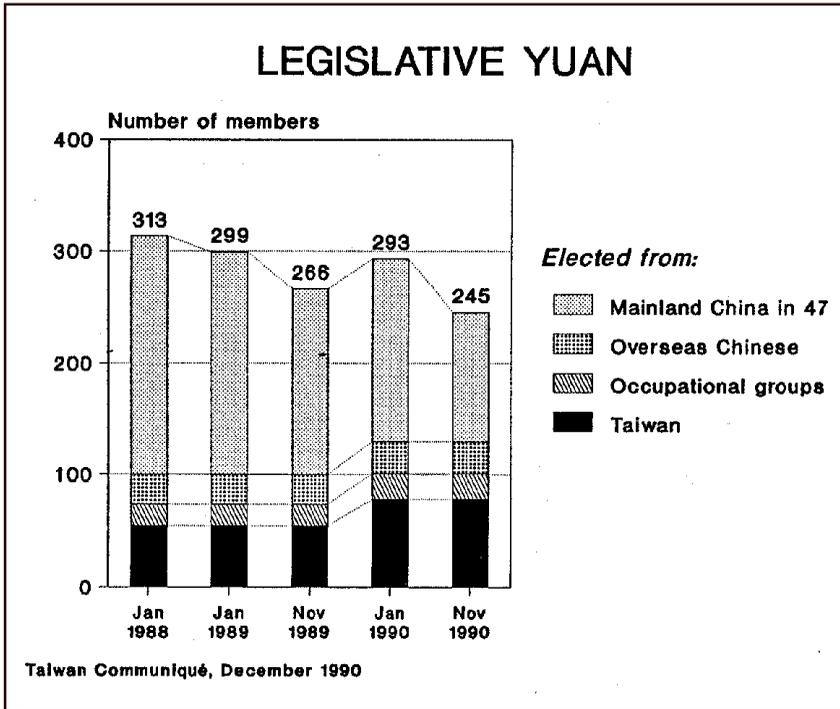
The KMT is reportedly planning to maintain seats in the National Assembly representing mainland China, and proportionally distribute these seats to the political parties based on the Taiwan election results !! The DPP can be expected to strongly fight this proposal.



The task force headed by Lin Yang-kang reported also decided that before the end of 1991 elections would be held to elect 375 members of the National Assembly, whose sole responsibility it would be to amend the Constitution. For an overview — over the past three years — of the decay in the membership of the National Assembly due to old members either passing away or finally retiring, see graph above.

Legislature still not democratic

The task force also decided that in the future the membership of the Legislative Yuan would be 150 and of the Control Yuan 54 members respectively. At present both bodies still count a considerable number of mainland elected members (see graph on the next page for the make-up of the membership of the Legislative Yuan).



It needs to be emphasized that, while in the Legislative Yuan the elderly mainlanders are now in a minority — as broadly publicized by the Kuomintang authorities in an effort to deflect criticism of their unrepresentative system — still only about one third of the members are *directly elected* by the people of Taiwan: the others (some 20% of the total membership) are representatives from groups — i.e. overseas Chinese (29 members), occupational groups (18 members), and from aborigines (4 members) — who generally cannot be considered democratically-elected, but who owe their membership mainly to their close affiliation with the Kuomintang.

* * * * *

China Relations (continued)

President Lee's "Unification Committee" bogs down

The **National Unification Committee** (NUC), set up in mid-September 1990 by president Lee Teng-hui to plan "reunification" of Taiwan with China, bogged down almost as soon as it had been set up. When the Presidential Office in Taipei announced the list of 31 members of the Committee on 7 October 1990, it became apparent that the group would not likely generate new ideas: it consisted mainly of old mainlander diehards, the same ones who had kept the Kuomintang's illusion of ruling the mainland alive for the past four decades.

The DPP continued its boycott of the NUC, arguing that "reunification" was not in the interest of Taiwan, and was contrary to the democratic will of the people of the island. However, one well-known DPP-member, former legislator K'ang Ning-hsiang, was asked by President Lee to join the NUC.

In spite of repeated attempts by DPP-chairman Huang Hsin-chieh to make him change his mind, Mr. K'ang decided to join the NUC. On 24 October 1990, the DPP then decided to force K'ang to resign from his position as advisor to the DPP, indicating it might expel him from the party altogether.

***Taiwan Communiqué comment:** Although Mr. K'ang said he might be able to play a constructive role in the Committee by presenting the views of the opposition, it is doubtful he can exert any influence on the aging old guard. It is more likely he will be used as a token oppositionist. Mr. K'ang would serve the cause of democracy in Taiwan better by joining the DPP boycott of the NUC.*

Cabinet approves "Mainland Affairs Council"

On 17 October 1990, the Cabinet in Taipei approved the establishment of a ministerial-level "**Mainland Affairs Council**", which was set up to "map out, formulate, and implement" Taiwan's policy toward mainland China.

Surprisingly, Vice Premier Shih Chi-yang was named chairman of the Council. Earlier reports had indicated that Premier Hau Pei-tsun himself was planning to head the Council. Vice Premier Shih announced that the Council will have 45 to 50

members, and will establish a foundation which has as its function to “mediate legal, trade and other disputes between Taiwan and China.”

Reports from Taiwan indicate that the foundation would handle the practical day-to-day questions which arise in the existing contacts with the mainland. It would presumably not deal with policy questions.

On 31 October 1990, the Cabinet approved a draft law, titled “*Statute for people-to-people relations across the Taiwan Straits*”, which was designed to regulate matters such as direct investment, trade, and divorce and inheritance between Taiwan and mainland China. The draft law, consisting of 78 separate articles, will be submitted to the Legislative Yuan for approval.

And now the “German model” ?

The reunification of East and West Germany on 3 October 1990 generated considerable debate in Taiwan about the validity of the “German model” for China’s reunification.

Proponents — particularly within the ruling Kuomintang — argued that the German example could be used as a model for bringing mainland China and Taiwan together again. However, opponents — the democratic opposition and many scholars in the academic community — argued that China and Taiwan were much farther apart in terms of economic, social and political development than the two Germany’s ever were. They pointed out that e.g. the per capita GNP in China is only around US\$ 300, while Taiwan has a per capita GNP of approximately US\$ 8500.

The per capita GNP figures for East and West Germany were relatively close: US\$ 9,800 and US\$ 11,000 respectively. If, in spite of this small gap, the financial and economic burden of reunification was already such a heavy load for West Germany, how would Taiwan fare under a “reunification” with China ? This would be comparable to mating an elephant with a mouse, the opposition argued.

One further “detail” which is of major importance in this discussion is the difference in the size of the population: China’s 1+ billion and Taiwan’s 20 million means that the mainland has a population about 50 times as large as Taiwan’s. For the two Germany’s the ratio of the poorer partner to the richer partner was still relatively close: 17 million to 62 million, or only approximately one third.

... or the “Singapore model” ?

Many in Taiwan believe that Singapore is a much more appropriate model for Taiwan, at least where it concerns the relations with China — certainly not Lee Kuan-yew’s neo-authoritarian approach to freedom of the press and political expression in Singapore itself !

Singapore is also a state where the population is primarily of Chinese descent. Still, on 3 October 1990, the island-state followed Indonesia’s example (see *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 46) and established diplomatic ties with Peking. If this is possible for Singapore, why not for Taiwan ?

Tibet

Tibetans call for recognition of Dalai Lama

In our *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 45, we briefly dealt with the question of Tibet. We highlighted both the PRC’s merciless repression as well as the Kuomintang’s outdated pretense to sovereignty over Tibet. In particular we criticized the activities of the “Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission.”

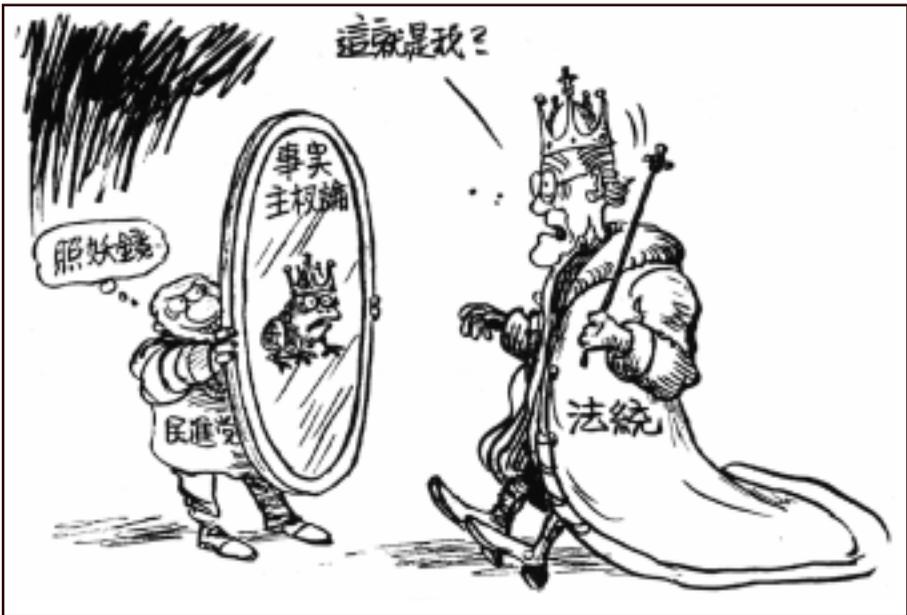
In October 1990, this Commission was in the news in Taiwan because it organized a 3-day “World Mongolian and Tibetan Conference” in Taipei. It was the first time in 20 years that the MTAC had organized such a conference. The gathering, which was held from 19-21 October, was attended by some 250 Mongolians and Tibetans, who had been invited by the Taipei authorities on an all-expenses-paid trip.

The Taipei authorities attempted to use the conference to reiterate their view that Tibet and Mongolia were an integral part of (their) China. In a speech to the conference, president Lee Teng-hui expressed support for the “... Mongolian and Tibetan compatriots in their struggle for freedom, democracy, and well-being,” but failed to mention the Dalai Lama or the Tibetan independence movement.

On 21 October, the conference backfired on the Taipei authorities, when 30 Tibetan representatives called on the Kuomintang to recognize the Tibetan Autonomous Government led by the Dalai Lama, and to support his 1987 five-point peace plan as well as the 1988 speech delivered to the European Parliament in Strasbourg.

The KMT's claims: "the emperor's new clothes"

The Taipei authorities' claim to sovereignty over Mongolia and Tibet drew extensive ridicule in the Taipei press, and among opposition legislators. The Chinese-language **Liberty Times**, in an editorial, dubbed the claim "...a world-class joke in diplomatic circles ... completely absurd."



The emperor in his new clothes: "Do I really look that terrible?"

Non-affiliated Legislative Yuan-member, Chen Ting-nan, said in a statement in the Yuan on Friday, 19 October: "The claim of our government to sovereignty over Tibet and Outer Mongolia is analogous to the story of the emperor's new clothes. Everybody in the world sees that our government is not wearing any new clothes, but our emperor refuses to see this."

The Observer: Chinese Massacre in Tibet

In a separate development, the London-based **The Observer** reported on 12 August 1990 that an exiled Chinese journalist, who had been present in Lhasa during the Chinese crackdown of 5 and 6 March 1989, had strongly contradicted the official version of events, as presented by the Peking authorities. According to the journalist, Chinese security forces killed at least 450 people (and not 12, as claimed by Peking), in a massacre incited by agent provocateurs, acting on instructions from Peking to impersonate rioters. **The Observer** received extensive documents and eyewitness accounts to corroborate the testimony.

When the March 1989 suppression of the demonstrations was planned, the People's Armed Police received orders from their commander in Peking to *"immediately produce 300 people to dress up as ordinary citizens and monks to complete the task of creating a provocative atmosphere."*

On 6 March 1989, the Chinese authorities in Lhasa first let the demonstrations get out of hand, and then sent a large force of armed police onto the rooftops along Xuanjing Street, and before the Tibetans knew what was happening, they were caught in a hail of bullets from machineguns. ... Ten minutes later, 300 had been shot. Terrified Tibetans scattered through the alleys, and ran into the houses, but soldiers followed them inside, and cut them down with bursts of rifle fire.

Taiwan Communiqué comment: *This report simply confirms that the Chinese authorities have a rather sinister view of human rights and political freedom. It is all the more a reason for the Taiwanese people to reject any "reunification" with China.*

* * * * *

Washington Report

by Marc J. Cohen

Shih Ming-teh testifies at Congressional hearing

On 11 October 1990, the subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs of the U.S. House of Representatives held a hearing on the recent political developments in Taiwan, in

particular the necessary follow-up on the July “National Affairs Conference” (see *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 45). As Subcommittee Chairman Stephen J. Solarz (Dem. — NY) put it, the purpose of the hearing was to assess whether the Conference “has accelerated the process of democracy on Taiwan. Or are there still forces on the island who wish to obstruct the people’s voice and vote?”

Witnesses included three U.S. residents who had served as delegates to the Conference: Mrs. Yang Huang Mei-hsing, a former president of the Taiwanese Association of America, who is generally supportive of the DPP, and two pro-KMT academicians, Mr. Chiu Hung-dah of the University of Maryland, and Mr. Kao Ying-mao of Brown University. From their differing perspectives, they offered their views on the Conference and the current political environment on the island.



Mr. Shih Ming-teh

The hearing might well have been a rather predictable airing of well-known differences of opinion, except for the dramatic appearance of former political prisoner **Shih Ming-teh**, often referred to as the “*Mandela of Taiwan*.” Mr. Shih, who spent some 25 years in the Kuomintang’s Gulag Archipelago for his advocacy of Taiwanese self-determination and Taiwan’s independence, was amnestied in May 1990 from his second life imprisonment on “sedition” charges (see *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 45).

Representative Solarz commented, “*As one who has sacrificed so much for ideals that we all hold dear, Mr. Shih enjoys our admiration for his courage. As one who lost his freedom but is now free, he is perhaps the best person to assess the prospects for democracy and human rights for all the people on Taiwan.*”

In a brief but powerful statement translated by his American wife, Linda Gail Arrigo, Shih Ming-teh recalled that friends had urged him to emphasize a variety of concerns in his testimony. Some, he said, encouraged him to talk about ongoing human rights abuses on Taiwan, such as the continued holding of political prisoners, restrictions on the rights of former prisoners, the “blacklisting” of overseas Taiwanese and human rights monitors, restrictions on the right to advocate Taiwan independence, unexplained deaths of military conscripts, and the KMT’s efforts to criminalize environmental, labor, and farmers’ movements.

Others, he continued, urged him to speak out on behalf of Taiwan independence, or to denounce the unrepresentative nature of Taiwan's governmental institutions, and the emptiness of the KMT's cosmetic response to popular demands for change, namely convening the powerless National Affairs Conference. Still others, Shih said, wanted him to focus on communist China's repeated threats to absorb Taiwan by force.

Shih interjected at this point, "The threat by the Peking government to use force to take Taiwan has only served as an excuse for the KMT government to postpone democratization, and to elevate the status of a group of political opportunists who do not consider Taiwan as their own land."

Finally, he noted, there were those who wanted him to denounce the U.S. for either acquiescing in, or even directing, the KMT's rape of Taiwan, and its support for dictatorship and terrorism around the world.

However, Shih said that Taiwan's political situation must already be well-known to the U.S. Congress and the Administration. Nor, he added, would he accept the invitation to criticize U.S. foreign policy as self-interested. He declared, "I do not come here to beg the United States to save the people of Taiwan, or to preserve our basic human rights for us. I do not come here to plead with the People's Republic of China to respect the right of the people of Taiwan to determine their own future."

Instead, Shih stated that he had come to celebrate the self-confidence of the Taiwanese people: *"We will not bow to any aggressor; we will not submit to any oppressor. We deeply believe that we can rely upon the strength, wisdom, and effort of the people of Taiwan, to resolve any difficulty or challenge that we face.*

We can with certainty uproot the sources of violation of human rights and democratic processes, and erect a just and benevolent society in Taiwan. We can with certainty uphold the independence and sovereignty of our nation....

In the long and bitter ... years of my imprisonment, the source of my capacity to withstand all suffering and rebuff all temptations was that I held an unshakable confidence. The new generation in Taiwan has this same confidence."

Shih concluded his statement by wishing for continued friendship between the peoples of the United States and Taiwan. He went on to say, *"I pray that our Creator will generously bestow his wisdom and love upon the earth. Peace to all of you here with me today."*

Senate Committee advocates Taiwan Independence... ...by accident !

On 10 October 1990 (coincidentally the KMT's national day) the **U.S. Senate Committee on Appropriations** issued a report to accompany the annual legislation providing funds for foreign economic and military aid. At the behest of Senator Robert W. Kasten, a strong supporter of the KMT, the report included a statement reaffirming that the Taiwan Relations Act of 1979 is the basis for U.S. arms sales to Taiwan.

As the report noted, the U.S. State Department has, since 1982, based its policy regarding these weapon transfers not on the law, but on the *Joint Communiqué* between Washington and Peking, issued in August 1982. The latter document commits the U.S. to reduce and gradually eliminate the sales, whereas the 1979 law pledges sales for an indefinite period of time, based on Taiwan's security needs.

Interestingly, the report makes reference to "arms transfers to the **Republic of Taiwan**" (emphasis added). This unusual language resulted in a front page story in the *Independence Evening Post* newspaper in Taipei, and a parliamentary inquiry to Foreign Minister Frederick F. Chien by DPP legislator Lin Cheng-chieh (a mainland and a supporter of Taiwan-China unification). Chien insisted that the matter "would be taken care of." On 19 October, Kasten submitted a "correction" on the "typographical error," noting "As we all know, it should be changed to read the Republic of China (Taiwan)."

Taiwan Communiqué comment: *We share Senator Kasten's concern that U.S. policy deal with Taiwan as Taiwan, and not as a subordinate piece of U.S.-China relationship. So why not drop all the "Republic of China" pretense altogether, and just let Taiwan be Taiwan ?*

Kuomintang authorities buy U.S. academicians

During the past year the Kuomintang authorities have intensified their efforts to influence academic research and teaching in U.S. universities: for this they set up the Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation in Taipei, which annually distributes some US\$ 4 million to U.S. academicians, organizations and institutions willing to present the Taipei regime in a favorable light in their reports and teachings.

Although officially not affiliated with the KMT party or government, the Foundation, established shortly after the death of the late President in January 1988, acknowledges that it has received “public funds.” It includes a number of prominent KMT figures on its board of directors.

Mr. K.T. Li, a former economic planner, chairs the board, which also includes Foreign Minister Frederick F. Chien, Education Minister Mao Kao-wen, former Prime Minister Lee Huan, KMT Party General Secretary James C.Y. Soong, and Mr. Chang King-yuh, a former Director-General of the Government Information Office who now heads the KMT government’s foreign policy “think tank.” The latter two officials engineered the KMT’s notorious censorship campaign of the mid-1980’s in collaboration with the Taiwan Garrison Command.

David Dean, a former Director of the American Institute in Taiwan (AIT), the unofficial U.S. mission in Taipei, serves as an “advisor” to the Foundation’s Washington office. Dean was the Kuomintang’s main apologist during the past decade.

Taiwan Communiqué comment: *We seriously question the appropriateness of an institution run by KMT government and party officials financing U.S. academic programs and research. It is particularly inappropriate for such well-known violators of intellectual freedom as Soong and Chang to attempt to “steer” academic studies in another country. Also, it is highly inappropriate for a recently retired U.S. government official like Dean to go to work for such an obviously partisan foreign organization.*

In conclusion: any self-respecting scholar or institution should refuse to accept funds from the CCK Foundation, lest their academic credibility and objectivity be seriously undermined.

Taiwan’s “sympathy” payment to widow of Henry Liu

On 25 October 1990, the Foreign Ministry in Taipei confirmed that the Taiwan authorities had decided to agree to an out-of-court settlement with Helen Liu, the widow of Chinese-American writer Henry Liu, and make a “sympathy payment” to her to the amount of US\$ 1.45 mln. In addition, Mrs. Liu’s lawyers would receive US\$ 1.29 mln.

In October 1984, Mr. Liu — who had just completed a critical biography of then-President Chiang Ching-kuo — was assassinated in his home in California by gangsters from Taiwan, who had been hired by the KMT’s military intelligence chief,

Admiral Wang Hsi-ling. The Taiwan authorities did sentence the gangsters and Admiral Wang to long prison terms, but never admitted responsibility for the murder (see *Taiwan Communiqué* no.'s 18-21).

In 1985, Mrs. Liu filed a US\$ 300 million civil lawsuit against the Kuomintang authorities in U.S. Court, charging that Taipei was formally responsible for the death of her husband. After several years of going back and forth between the U.S. District Court in San Francisco and the U.S. Appeals Court, the case was finally brought before the U.S. Supreme Court in May 1990 (see *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 45, pp. 12-13).

The KMT authorities have now apparently decided that, if they let the case proceed in the U.S. Supreme Court, they would probably lose. By presenting the payment as a “sympathy” payment, they hope that they can let the matter blow over, without them having to admit responsibility. However, even pro-Kuomintang newspapers in Taipei saw through this transparent effort. Below we quote the **China Times Express**:

“...but the fact is, if the government had done nothing wrong in the murder case, why did it pay US\$ 1.5 million to Mrs. Liu ? ... Frankly speaking, the government is paying its way out.

In fact, if the government claims that the murder was the individual act of intelligence officials such as Wang Hsi-ling and Chen Fu-men, or several members of the underworld Bamboo Union Gang, how can it explain the payment to Mrs. Liu ?

No one can escape the judgment of history, and it will always be written that a political murder had taken place. This is something our rulers in the future should take note of.”

Prison Report

Two well-known opposition figures arrested

On 3 November 1990, the Kuomintang authorities arrested Mr. **Huang Hua**, a former editor/writer, DPP-official, and political prisoner, who was charged with sedition by the KMT authorities for his advocacy of an independent Taiwan. Mr. Huang has refused to

appear in court to answer charges brought by the authorities. He has been in hiding in the past few months. On 3 November 1990, he went to Taichung to attend the memorial service of DPP legislator, Liu Wen-hsiung, who died recently of a heart attack after an argument with the president of Legislative Yuan, Liang Su-yung in an interpellation.

Mr. Huang was immediately taken to the High Court in Taipei, where a hearing was held. But Mr. Huang refused to answer any questions. The judge then ordered him to be taken into custody. Mr. Huang was earlier arrested in 1967 and 1976 and served long prison terms on charges of sedition. He was released on parole in 1987. Since 1988, he has been the key-figure in the “**New Nation Movement**”, an organization dedicated to the establishment of a free, democratic, and independent Republic of Taiwan, and has organized a island-wide march to publicize this cause (see *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 43, pp. 16-18).



Mr. Huang Hua

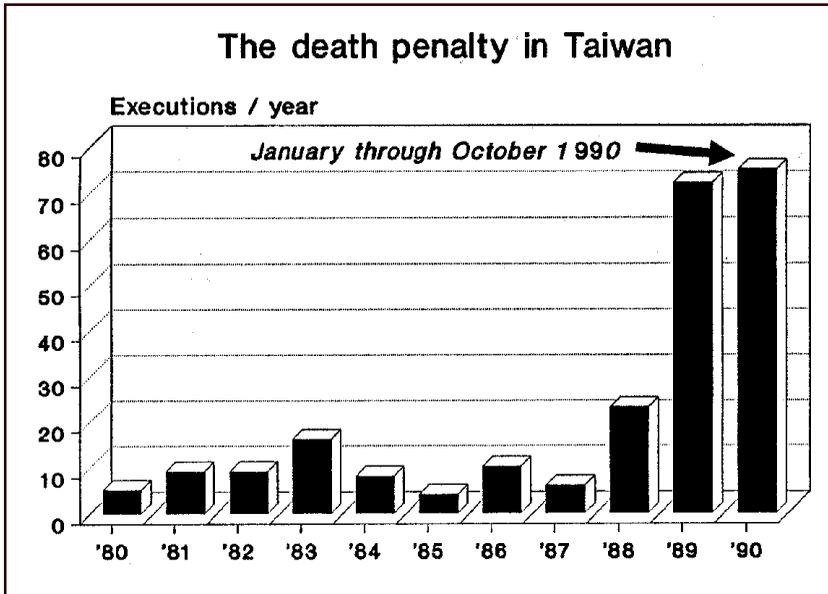
On 4 November 1990, Ms. **Chen Wan-chen**, a prominent opposition journalist, was arrested at the customs of Chiang Kai-shek airport, while she was departing for the United States. Ms. Chen was taken into custody for allegedly violating the **Marching and Demonstrations Law**. She was taken to the Taipei District Court where she refused to answer any questions and the judge ordered her to be taken into custody.

According to the opposition DPP, the arrest of Mr. Huang and Ms. Chen is a sign that the KMT authorities wants to crack down on the independence movement. DPP legislator Lu Hsiu-yi indicated that the KMT authorities is clearly reacting to recent activities by the DPP, which passed a resolution in its annual meeting (on 7 Oct. 1990) with the declaration that the de facto sovereignty of the KMT authorities does not cover mainland China and Mongolia. DPP legislators also called on Premier Hau to declare an independent Republic of Taiwan during the general interpellations.

Death penalty in Taiwan breaks new records

In *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 45 (pp. 16-17) we reported on the record number of executions in Taiwan in 1989, and on the fact that the 1990 rate was already approaching the sad “record” of 1989. Recently, this record was indeed reached:

according to press reports in Taiwan, by mid-September the Supreme Court in Taiwan had handed down 69 death sentences. According to records compiled by *Taiwan Communiqué* since then, the number of actual executions had exceeded 70 by the beginning of November, a record in modern history.



If e.g. mainland China would have the same number of executions per capita, then the PRC would have some 3500 executions per year. According to **Amnesty International** the number of recorded executions in China in 1989 was 273, although AI believes that the actual number is considerably higher. Still, on a per capita basis, the number of executions in Taiwan is exceeding those in China by a wide margin.

In its 1990 Annual Report, the London-based human rights organization Amnesty International expressed its deep concern about the rise in executions in Taiwan, and called on the Taipei authorities to abolish the death penalty.

At the end of September 1990, the **Judicial Yuan** in Taipei stated in response to the Amnesty International plea that "...capital punishment is necessary to deal with serious crimes." The Yuan statement added: "... the question of capital punishment has been debated since the 16th century, and still only some 40% of the world's 180 nations prohibit executions."

Taiwan Communiqué comment: the Judicial Yuan neglected to mention that it is the world's most civilized and advanced nations which have abolished the death penalty. Only in those countries where civilization has not sufficiently progressed — or where the widespread availability of handweapons leads to frequent personal violence — are governments still relying on the death penalty in their attempts to maintain public order.

Military police arrested for murdering detainee

On 4 October 1990, five military policemen were arrested by military prosecutors on charges of beating a staff sergeant to death with an electric prod in a military prison in July. The matter came to light after questions in the Legislative Yuan by “Young Turk” Kuomintang legislator Chao Shao-kang.

The sergeant, Mr. Sui Chueh-hsien, was taken to the Ming-teh penitentiary on 5 July, after he had been absent without leave for five days in June. The head of his unit, the no. 202 armory, decided to send him to the penitentiary in order to set an example for others. The penitentiary initially refused, because according to the regulations it could only take prisoners who had been convicted of “heavier crimes.”

However, the head of the armory insisted, and Mr. Sui was brought to the penitentiary, where the five military police decided to interrogate him. They made him stand in a bowl of water and hit him with the cattle prod, finally passing 20,000 volts of electricity through him. He fell, and was fatally injured when he hit his head against the cement floor.

Legislator Chao said he believed Sui's death was *not an isolated incident*, and stated that such acts of brutality in the military should be stopped immediately. To his credit, Prime Minister Hau Pei-tsun offered a public apology to the father of the Mr. Sui.

Gun-runner tortured by police

In a separate development, the wife of a gun-running suspect charged on 3 November 1990 that Taipei City police had tortured her husband. Shortly after her husband had been arrested, she learned that he was in a Taoyuan hospital, suffering from a head injury requiring ten stitches, and three chipped teeth and bruises on his chest.

On 4 November, some 20 of the relatives staged a small demonstration in front of the hospital and the Taoyuan Prosecutor's Office, protesting police brutality. Police had no explanation for the injuries.

Three environmental protesters get prison term

On 27 October 1990, three environmental activists were sentenced by the Kaohsiung District Court to one year imprisonment each for their participation in a protests against the proposed construction of a fifth naphtha cracking plant in Houchin, near Kaohsiung, in March 1990 (see “*Environmental Concern Growing*”, in *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 44, p. 22).

Two of the three, Messrs. Liu Yung-ling and Yang Chao-ming, had climbed to the top of a ten-story pumping installation, and had unfurled banners protesting the proposed refinery. The third person, Mr. Tsai Chao-peng, was the organizer of the protest.

In a related development, Houchin activists pulled down their banners and tents from the West gate of the CPC refinery after agreement had been reached on the implementation of anti-pollution measures, which are to accompany the construction of the fifth naphta cracking plant at Houchin. The protest banners had been in place since the local environmental movement started in mid-1987.

As we reported in our previous issue (*Communiqué* no. 46, pp. 19) the authorities have agreed to set up a US\$ 55 million fund to implement anti-pollution measures, civic projects and subsidy of water, gas, and medical fees for Houchin residents. A 23-member committee, made up of 12 scholars, three representatives of environmental organizations, and eight local community leaders, will monitor the construction of the plant and implementation of the anti-pollution measures.

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Freedom of the Press ?

Police and GIO close opposition TV-station

In the early evening of Friday, 26 October 1990, some 400-500 policemen and officials of the Government Information Office (GIO) converged on the newly opened cable television station “**Taiwan Democratic Capital TV**”, which had been set up by the DPP in the Taipei suburb of Shihlin, and seized all equipment.

The station had just been opened on the previous day, and was the democratic opposition party's latest effort to break the Kuomintang's monopoly on television broadcasting. The three existing TV-stations are still under tight control of the ruling Kuomintang, and generally present a highly biased view of the opposition and its activities.

During its one day of operations, the TDC-TV station broadcast programs on democracy education, sessions of the Legislative Yuan and other political issues concerning Taiwan. It also relayed a number of Japanese programs, which are popular among the native Taiwanese, who favor those over the Nationalist Chinese propaganda of the government-controlled stations.

At a news conference on 27 October, the DPP strongly protested the closure of the station and the seizure of the equipment. Spokesman Chen Sheng-hung, a DPP-member of the Taipei City Council, termed the action of the authorities a violation of freedom of the press, and said the DPP would continue its efforts to set up similar stations around Taiwan.

In response, the GIO termed the DPP's broadcasting station "illegal". Deputy GIO Director Liao Cheng-hao said that the closure of the station was an example of the government's determination not to allow such stations. For the past year, the DPP has attempted to obtain licenses for TV broadcasting, but the authorities have continued to refuse to issue a license.

Radio host indicted for setting up "Voice of Democracy" TV

On 6 November 1990, the Kuomintang authorities indicted a popular radio presenter, Mr. Wu Le-tien, for his role in setting up a "Voice of Democracy" TV station in Yangmingshan near Taipei in March 1990. During the night of March 29th some 100 policemen and GIO officials had closed in on the station and had confiscated over US\$ 1 million worth of equipment (see *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 44, p. 22).

Mr. Wu had been instrumental in setting up the station. He had rented the house in which the station was located, and had coordinated the programming. His indictment appears to be part of the GIO-coordinated campaign to prevent the opposition from gaining access to television. For the past three years, the DPP has attempted to break to Kuomintang monopoly on radio and television broadcasting.