



Published by:

*International Committee for Human Rights in Taiwan*

Taiwan : 1st Fl., No. 54, Alley 8, Lane 906, Min-sheng E. Road, TAIPEI

Europe : P.O. Box 91542, 2509 EC THE HAGUE, The Netherlands

Canada : P.O. Box 67035, 2300 Yonge Street, TORONTO, Ont. M4P 1E0

U.S.A. : P.O. Box 45205, SEATTLE, WA 98105-0205

International edition, June 1991

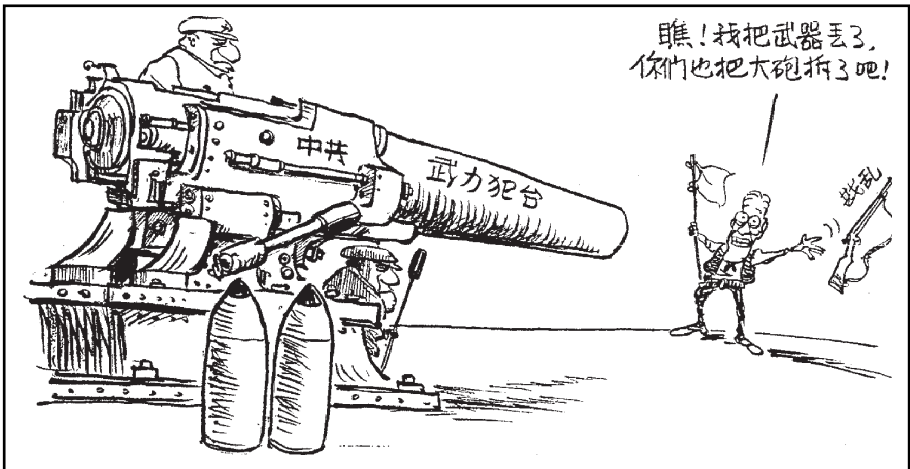
Published 6 times a year

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## Ending the “Period of Communist Rebellion”

On 30 April 1991, President Lee Teng-hui announced the end of the **Mobilization Period for the Suppression of the Communist Rebellion**, the formal state of siege proclaimed by Chiang Kai-shek in 1947, when he was locked in the Chinese Civil War on the mainland.

For four decades, the “Period of Communist Rebellion” was not only the Kuomintang’s main instrument in maintaining a hostile stature towards the PRC (including its claim to sovereignty over all of China), but also formed the KMT’s justification for its iron grip on the political system of Taiwan and for the lack of democracy and human rights on the island.



President Lee Teng-hui to PRC soldiers: *"I am throwing away my gun, why don't you dismantle your cannon ?"*

While ending the “Period” may appear to be a sign of relaxation of tensions across the Taiwan Straits, and the beginning of a more democratic system on Taiwan itself, there are still many hurdles to overcome:

- \* The PRC still has not renounced the use of force in solving its relations with Taiwan, and is still blocking Taiwan’s membership in international organizations as a member in its own right.
- \* While the Kuomintang authorities have now given up on their claim to be the sole legitimate government of China, they still strive to “reunification” — an anathema to the large majority of Taiwanese, who favor a free, democratic, and independent Taiwan.
- \* The political system in Taiwan remains undemocratic: while the KMT has decided that the elderly mainlanders, who presently constitute the large majority in the National Assembly and Legislative Yuan, will have to retire by the end of 1991, the “reform” proposals by the Kuomintang include provisions for one-third of the seats in both houses to be “representing mainland China and overseas Chinese.” These seats would be allocated to the political parties on the basis of their share of the seats captured in elections in Taiwan !! This measure favors the Kuomintang: because of the district-system the ruling party generally wins a much larger share of the seats than of the votes.

On the following pages we first give a summary of the amendments and the reaction of the democratic opposition, and then an overview of the events in March and April 1991, which lead up to the ending of the “Period of Communist Rebellion” on 1 May 1991.

## *True reform or window-dressing ?*

A brief summary of the amendments:

- \* End of the “Period of Mobilization for the Suppression of the Communist Rebellion” proclaimed by Chiang Kai-shek in 1947.
- \* Abrogation of the “Temporary Provisions Effective During the Period of Mobilization for the Suppression of the Communist Rebellion”, a set of statutes adopted in 1948, which overrode many of the freedoms and provisions laid down in the 1946 Constitution.

- \* Retaining the emergency powers given to the President, by lifting them out of the “Temporary Provisions” and adding them to the Constitution.
- \* Retirement of all mainland-elected National Assembly- members and members of the Legislative and Control Yuan by the end of 1991.
- \* Election of a new 327-seat National Assembly at the end of 1991, and election of a new 161-seat Legislative Yuan at the end of 1992.

President Lee Teng-hui promulgated the amendments on April 30th, and they went into effect on 1 May 1991.

Although amending the Constitution may appear to be a major step in the direction of a democratic system on Taiwan itself, the amendments contain a number of elements designed to perpetuate the Kuomintang’s undemocratic political system, and thus largely amount to window dressing. A summary of the main criticism voiced by the DPP opposition, the Presbyterian Church, and independent legal scholars in Taiwan:

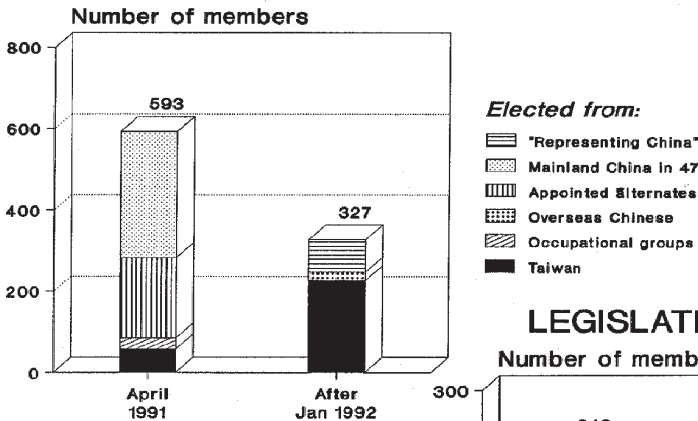
- \* The “Statute for the Punishment of Sedition” remains in force under the Criminal Code. Together with the National Security Law passed in 1987 it represents a continuation of the KMT’s repressive legal system which does not allow the advocacy of a new, democratic, and independent Taiwan.
- \* The amendments totally disregard the results of the **National Affairs Conference** of June-July 1990, which recommended that the President be directly-elected, and that the present three legislative bodies (National Assembly, Legislative Yuan, and Control Yuan) be replaced by a single-chamber parliamentary system.
- \* The emergency powers granted to the President should be ended, but instead, the Kuomintang authorities legalized them even further by making them a permanent part of the Constitution.
- \* The democratic opposition of the DPP, which captured some 30% of the votes in the 1989 elections, was completely frozen out of the process of amending the Constitution.
- \* The Constitution states that a 75% majority of votes is required to modify or overturn the present amendments during the second stage of the amendment

process in 1992-93, which makes it sheer impossible for the opposition to make further changes at that time, even if they gain a majority in the elections.

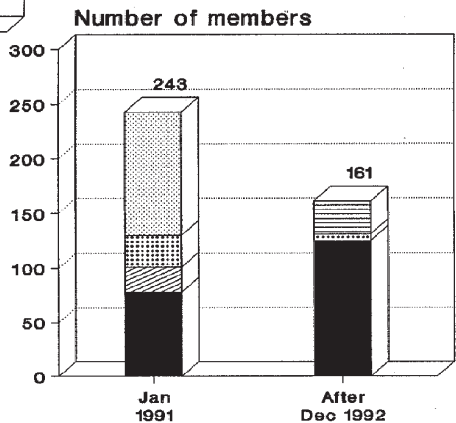
- \* The 100 National Assembly seats and 36 Legislative Yuan seats reserved for delegates “representing mainland China and overseas Chinese” constitute a violation of democratic principles. The National Assembly and Legislative Yuan should be fully made up of members elected in Taiwan.

Below we present a graphic overview of the changes from the present National Assembly and Legislative Yuan to their new composition.

### NATIONAL ASSEMBLY



### LEGISLATIVE YUAN



## *Swan song of the old mainlanders*

The National Assembly formally voted to abolish the “Temporary Provisions” and approved nine amendments to the Constitution in an extraordinary session which was held from April 8 through 23rd. This was the first stage in the Kuomintang’s “Two-stage” approach to changing the constitutional framework of the Taipei government. They intend to have further amendments to be decided by a newly-elected National Assembly at the end of 1991 or beginning 1992 (see “*amending the Constitution: in two stages or one ?*” in *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 49, pp. 6-7).

The April gathering was thus the swan song of the Chinese Nationalist old guard. Only some 400 of them attended: some 250 old mainlanders elected in 1947 on the Chinese mainland plus some 160 equally-old “alternate delegates”, who ran for election in 1947 and were defeated, but who were later appointed by the Kuomintang to succeed Assembly-members who subsequently died off. Only approximately eighty of the members were elected in Taiwan, during the December 1986 elections.

In the words of the Taipei-based magazine, **The Journalist**, the elderly mainlanders at the meeting were truly a “silent majority”. A brief description:

*The 400-odd aging members look irrelevant in the large Assembly Hall. They are mostly hard of hearing, and do not seem to comprehend what is going on around them. They mainly spend their time reading newspapers and dozing off. Half of them are gone after the lunch break. They are the KMT’s faithful rubber stamps. They are truly the “silent majority.”*

The democratic opposition of the DPP voiced strong protests against the fact that these elderly mainlanders in the National Assembly were playing a role in amending the Constitution. The DPP argued that the old mainlanders have not run for elections for more than forty years and have thus lost their legitimacy. They pointed out that only a completely new Assembly, fully elected by the people of Taiwan, would have the necessary legitimacy to decide on a new Constitution.

During the two-week meeting the eight DPP-members in the Assembly did not let any opportunity pass by to make their presence and views known: on April 8th, during President Lee Teng-hui’s opening speech, they unfurled a banner calling for direct presidential elections and protesting the involvement of the Chinese mainlander “Old thieves” in the Constitutional amendment process. The eight DPP Assembly-members

were pushed and shoved out the Assembly Hall by security men and plainclothes policemen. Later on in the day, the eight took the oath as delegates, but used the Taiwanese language instead of Mandarin, and substituted “Taiwan” for “Republic of China” — the term which the Kuomintang authorities still use for their government.

Several times during the next few days of the Assembly meeting the tempers flared and fistfights erupted when DPP members protested the rubber-stamp procedures followed by the Kuomintang and the steamroller tactics applied by the Kuomintang-controlled presidium. Finally, on 15 April, the eight DPP-members concluded that no useful dialogue was possible, and decided to withdraw from the Assembly. By that time, the DPP had decided to stage a large-scale demonstration on April 17 against the fact that the old mainlanders were involved in the amendment process (see story below).

On April 19th, four highly-regarded non-affiliated members of the Assembly also withdrew. The four were Mrs. Chang Wen-ying and Mrs. Chen Chao-erh, Mr. Su Yufu, and Mr. Frank Wu, the President of the **Independence Evening News**. In a statement to the press, they charged the Kuomintang with total disregard of public opinion, intolerance of differing views, and with railroading changes to the Constitution to benefit its own position. They also pointed out that the dignity of the Assembly was trampled by the presence of police guards and secret police agents.

Without the DPP and the neutral independents present, the National Assembly pressed ahead with its rubber-stamping and on April 22nd, the nine amendments to the Constitution were adopted with near-unanimity: with 457 out of 470 members present, the Assembly adopted what had been cooked up for them by the KMT’s strategists.

That only 470 members were present is an interesting fact in itself: according to the KMT’s own statistics the Assembly presently has 593 members. Minus the DPP and independents, there should have been 581 members. Only 470 shows means that some 111 were either too old or to infirm to be present at this most important final meeting of the “eternal Assembly.”

## *17 April 1991 protest against anachronistic system*

From the beginning of the National Assembly meeting on 8 April, the DPP had organized smaller-scale meetings of up to 1,000 people in front of Lungshan temple in downtown Taipei. When it became clear that the Kuomintang would use the occasion to perpetuate its undemocratic system, the DPP decided to organize a major rally at the Chiang Kai-shek Memorial.

The gathering started in the afternoon on 17 April 1991, when some 10,000 people gathered at National Taiwan University, and in a long procession wound their way towards the center of town. However, the area around the Chiang Kai-shek Memorial and the Presidential Palace had been cordoned off with barbed-wire barricades and thousands of police. By their own admission, the KMT authorities acknowledged that plainclothes policemen had joined the crowd “to collect evidence.”



**April 17th demonstration winding its way through downtown Taipei**

The crowd, which had grown to some 30,000 in the course of the afternoon and into the evening, moved past the KMT Headquarters towards Yangmingshan, in the northern outskirts of the city, where the National Assembly was holding its meeting. However, the way towards Yangmingshan was also blocked by thousands of police and riot troops, so the demonstration's leader, DPP chairman Huang Hsin-chieh, called on the protesters to return to the Taipei Railway Station in central Taipei.



### **Former DPP chairman Yao Chia-wen addressing nighttime crowd**

By that time it was around midnight, and the crowd had dwindled to some 10-15,000. The procession wound its way back to Taipei past the residence of 94-year-old Madame Chiang Kai-shek, where a brief stand-off occurred.

However, further towards downtown the march was stopped again by riot troops. The participants sat down on the street while the five members of the DPP's "Decisionmaking Committee" (DPP Secretary-General Chang Chun-hung, former Chairmen Yao



Chia-wen and Chiang Peng-chien, Parliamentary whip Cheng Yu-cheng, and National Assembly member Su Chia-chuan) started a lengthy four-hour negotiation with a KMT delegation.

Finally, at 5:20 a.m. in the morning of 18 April 1991, the negotiations ended when the DPP agreed to disband the demonstration while the KMT in return agreed that two key secret police organizations, the **National Security Bureau** and the **National Security Council** will cease to exist at the end of 1993. The earlier plans by the KMT to maintain these two agencies — which had been set up "temporarily" by an administrative decree of generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek in the late 1940's — as permanent agencies rather than temporary ones, had been a major source of disagreement between the KMT and DPP.

The rally participants then grudgingly broke up. Many of them — as well as the students on hunger strike (see below) — felt that the DPP negotiators had given in too easily, and could have gained more concessions if they had persisted into the next day. However, the DPP leaders felt that prolonging the demonstration would seriously increase the risks of a major confrontation with the heavily-armed police and riot troops.

In all, the demonstration had been peaceful, with the exception of a number of minor skirmishes between protesters and riot troops along the route. A potentially serious incident occurred at around 10:00 p.m., when four police cars drove into the crowd. DPP officials defused the situation by positioning themselves in between the crowd and the police cars and forcing the police cars back, thereby preventing a confrontation.

### *Students and opposition leaders on hunger strike*

The KMT's moves to prolong its hold on power prompted students and professors at Taiwan's major universities into protest action. They set up the **Taiwan Alliance of Students and Professors for a New Constitution**. Activities started on 14 and 15 April with relatively small demonstrations of students, carrying banners favoring a new Constitution and a fully democratic system, and protesting the role of the old mainlanders in the process of amending the Constitution. Some small scuffles occurred when riot police prevented the demonstrations from proceeding towards the Yangmingshan building where the National Assembly was holding its extraordinary meeting.

During the next few days, several of the people who had taken part in the early demonstrations (where police had been omnipresent with video equipment) received anonymous threatening phone calls. In the evening of 24 April, one researcher at the **Academia Sinica**, was beaten up by unidentified men when he was walking past MacDonald's near National Taiwan University. Another student was attacked during the same evening by five or six men who yelled at him: "It's him, the pro-Independence guy." On 3 May 1991, the Taipei police announced that it would prosecute 30 students who took part in the demonstration.

In the evening of 18 April, nine students started a hunger strike at the gate of National Taiwan University. They were soon joined by others, and at its peak, on 23 April, some 27 students were taking part in the hunger strike. They were joined by about ten professors and several prominent opposition members: Reverend Kao Chun-ming, the former general secretary of the Presbyterian Church of Taiwan, former Provincial Assembly member Lin Yi-hsiung, Mr. Shih Ming-teh, long one of Taiwan's most prominent political prisoners, and Dr. Shen Fuhsiung, the Taiwanese-American medical doctor who was briefly arrested in January 1991 when returning to the island from the U.S. (see *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 49).



### **For a new Constitution and democratic reforms**

Besides their protest against the involvement of the elderly mainlanders, elected more than 40 years ago in China, in the process of amending the Constitution, the students issued a statement that their hunger strike was designed to call attention to three basic principles:

1. Taiwan is an independent country, and its sovereignty should be independent of mainland China;
2. The people on Taiwan desire a wholly new Constitution, created on the basis of popular consent;
3. The new Constitution should include articles providing for social rights, such as the protection of minority groups, the environment, labor welfare, and learning.

The students published pamphlets explaining their ideals. The statement in support of Taiwan independence was significant, because it was the first time in Taiwan's history that students in Taiwan itself had openly expressed support of the idea. Until now, the KMT's control of student life on campus had been so tight, that it had only been discussed in private groups.



**Students in Taipei: "No to reunification with China !"**

The hunger strikers also set up a shrine commemorating “The death of Democracy in Taiwan” and organized ceremonies and speeches, which were attended by up to 1,000 people.

On 24 April the strikes was ended with a ceremony in which some 28 university professors burned their KMT membership cards to show their dissatisfaction with the KMT’s undemocratic system.

## ***Martial law reimposed on Kinmen and Matsu***

For the inhabitants of the two off-shore islands Kinmen and Matsu, the termination of the “Period of Communist Rebellion” lasted only very briefly: on 1 May 1991, the very day that the “Period” was lifted, the military commanders on the two islands imposed martial law again, and on the next day, the Cabinet approved the Defense Ministry proposal to impose martial law “ad interim.”



**KMT soldier to people of Kinmen and Matsu: "If I let you go,  
I will not be tall enough"**

The move drew sharp criticism from the inhabitants of the islands, as well as from the younger, more progressive “Young Turk” Kuomintang legislators in the Legislative Yuan. Since the DPP had withdrawn from the Legislative Yuan, they were not present to criticize the move.

The martial law entails a curfew on the islands between midnight and three a.m., and that travel to and from the islands is restricted: all visits have to be approved by the military. Demonstrations, boycotts and strikes are banned. Particularly the travel restrictions are a major inconvenience for the some 50,000 inhabitants of the islands, most of whom are farmers or shopkeepers who cater to the large military garrisons.

The “Young Turk” legislators argued that the military’s move was in violation of the Constitution, which gives only the President the right to declare martial law. However, the Defense Ministry stated it had applied Article 3 of the Martial Law, which empowers the commander-in-chief of an area to declare martial law “... *when it is suddenly surrounded by the enemy during wartime or rebellion.*” The Ministry argued that reimposition of the martial law was necessary “...*since Peking has not renounced the use of force and might launch a sneak attack anytime.*”

\* \* \* \* \*

## Chaos in the Legislative Yuan

*The Premier walks out ...*

*... so does the opposition*

While during the Spring of 1991 the National Assembly was the main focus of political activity in Taiwan, the Legislative Yuan was also the scene of major debate ... and more. The confrontations started right on the opening day of the 87th parliamentary session, on 26 February 1991: DPP members filibustered the opening session for two hours in protest against the KMT’s failure to keep its December 1990 promise to retire the 28 oldest and mostly infirm mainlander legislators by the beginning of this parliamentary session. This delayed Premier Hau Pei-tsun’s report on his administrative policies by two hours, and he stalked out of the Legislative chambers, leaving even the Kuomintang legislators perplexed. He returned in the afternoon, but the session had started on a sour note.

On 1 March, the DPP returned the favor by walking out of a session in which the Premier was giving his administrative report.

## *Confrontations about a highway ... and independence*

During the beginning of March, the Legislative Yuan was the scene of frequent confrontations, mainly about the KMT's attempts to maintain its power and the essence of its anachronistic system, but also about down-to-earth matters, such as the planned Ilan Highway Project. At the end of February 1991, the US\$ 2 billion plan for a major freeway between Taipei and Ilan was canceled by Premier Hau Pei-tsun, obviously as "retaliation" against Ilan, after residents and officials of the County protested the construction of the island's 6th naphtha cracking plant in Li-tze, near Suao (see "*Debate over 6th naphtha crackers intensifies*" in *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 48, pp. 20-21).

Both Legislative Yuan members representing Ilan, the highly-regarded Chen Ting-nan as well as his Kuomintang counterpart Lin Tsong-ming, strongly protested the move, supported by DPP legislators, in particular lawyer Chen Shui-bian. On 15 March 1991, after much debate, the Prime Minister reversed his position and agreed to reinstate the 308-kilometer highway project in the government's 1993 budgetary plans.

Another major debate occurred on 22 March 1991, when DPP legislators Mrs. Yeh Chu-lan, Chiu Lien-hui and Chen Shui-bian interpellated the Prime Minister on his views on Taiwan independence. They argued in favor of independence and a more open democratic political system, charging Premier Hau with selling out Taiwan to the communists by steering towards secret unification talks with the communist regime on the mainland. The Premier responded by calling independence "impossible, not feasible."

## *Fistfights in session ... and the DPP pulls out*

Full-fledged fistfights didn't occur until April 10th, after the KMT overrode objections from DPP and liberal KMT-lawmakers against a new controversial method to review the government's fiscal 1992 budget. The proposed method would have some 10 teams review the various budget categories. In this way the KMT apparently hoped to spread the opposition so thin that they could easily override any objections and avoid any substantial debate on the issues.

The matter so angered DPP legislator Lu Hsiu-yi, that he got into a fighting and wrestling match with a KMT colleague, which led to a major free-for-all.

Two days later, on 12 April, the matter got even worse: when opposition legislator Chang Chun-hsiung went up to the elderly Speaker of the Legislative Yuan, Mr. Liang Su-yung, to reprimand him for his lack of neutrality and for his bias towards the KMT. He symbolically “slapped” him with a light pat on the fingers. However, the elderly chairman took it a a major insult and hit Mr. Chang hard in the face. The two started scuffling, which led to another round of fighting.

This time however, some 50 policemen swarmed out into the legislative chamber, and zoomed in on DPP legislators, kicking and punching them while they dragged them out of the chamber. Mr. Lu Hsiu-yi was hit hardest and lost consciousness. He and another DPP-member, Mr. Tai Cheng-yao, required hospitalization.

On 16 April, the DPP-members of the Legislative Yuan followed the example of their eight National Assembly colleagues a day earlier, and withdrew from the Legislative Yuan in protest against the fact that the Kuomintang authorities were using their majority of elderly mainlanders in the National Assembly to push through amendments to the Constitution, which consolidated the KMT’s grip on the political system, and which would make true reforms at a later stage more difficult.

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## Prison Report

### *Four Arrested in Taiwan on Sedition Charges*

On May 9, a prosecutor of the High Court ordered the arrest of four people on charges of sedition. They were accused of violating the second article of the **Statute for the Punishment of Rebellion** for “attempting to seize the national territory, to change the national constitution, to overthrow the government by illegal means.” The mandatory penalty when someone is convicted on this particular charge is the death sentence.

The Investigation Bureau claimed that the four were members of **The Association for an Independent Taiwan**, an organization based in Tokyo, that advocates Taiwan



independence. The four are Mr. Chen Cheng-jan, a graduate of National Taiwan University and a businessman; Mr. Liao Wei-chen, a graduate student from the department of history at Tsing Hwa University; Ms. Wang Hsiu-hui and Mr. Lin Yin-fu, a graduate of Tainan Theological College.

Mr. Liao is president of the Student Union at his university. Ms. Wang and Mr. Lin are members of the DPP, and Mr. Lin is also a member of the Amei tribe in Taitung county.

The alleged "criminal evidence" produced by the Investigation Bureau were a tape-recording of overseas telephone conversations and documents published by The Association for an Independent Taiwan, which were confiscated during house searches.

Mr. Liao Wei-chen's fellow students at Tsing Hwa University staged a protest demonstration on campus. About 50 students also traveled to Taipei from Hsin-chu to deliver a letter to the Government Information Office and a petition to the Legislative Yuan, protesting the violation of academic freedom by the authorities: Mr. Liao specializes in the history of socialism. The DPP also accused the KMT authorities of renewing the 1950s' reign of white terror on campus.

**The Association for an Independent Taiwan** is headed by an elderly Japan-based oppositionist, named Shih Ming. In his youth, Mr. Shih Ming had gone to the Chinese mainland, and joined the Communist Party there. He later became disenchanted and left China. Since the 1970s, he has lived in self-exile in Japan, where he wrote a book entitled *"The 400-year history of Taiwan."*

The Taiwan Association for Human Rights issued a statement on May 10, and accused the KMT authorities of arbitrary arrest, which completely disregarded an individual's human rights. The statement pointed out that there was no evidence of sedition, because the suspects did not advocate or engage in any violence. Yet the arrest and search took place in a raid at midnight, which reminds one of a police state.

The statement also stressed that a democratic society should respect pluralism and encourage its citizens to exercise the right of freedom of speech that includes the advocacy of Taiwan independence. The KMT authorities deliberately suppress the expression of Taiwan independence and began to crack down on student activism, which has recently become more involved in the advocacy of Taiwan independence.



# A “Social Order Bill ?”

## *Judges and lawyers protests increase of police powers*

As we reported earlier (see *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 48, pp. 17-18), the Kuomintang authorities are planning to pass a **Law on Maintaining Social Order**. The draft law contains a provision which would make it a crime to “...spread rumors, or lead, control, or join bad organizations.” Another section would make it punishable to “...wander around suspiciously late at night without proper reasons and refusing to obey police.” According to the draft law, the police could punish these “crimes” with up to seven days in jail or a fine of up to NT\$ 30,000 (approx. US\$ 1,070) — without a trial.

On April 26, a petition signed by 330 judges, 234 lawyers and 75 law professors, was delivered to the Legislative Yuan. The petition strongly protested the inclusion of articles that empower the police to determine the severity of a crime and administer the punishment accordingly by issuing a fine, detaining the suspect, or turning him over to the court. The petition also pointed out that these articles violate human rights and undermine the judicial system because the police are playing the roles of judges.

The law governing the maintenance of social order is to replace a controversial police law, which gives police sweeping power, including issuing fines, enforcing labor and detaining suspects. Human rights advocates have long campaigned for the abolishment of the police law, which has led to abuses of police power. The **Taiwan Association of Human Rights** has documented many cases where detained persons died as a result of police brutality during interrogation.

The new law by including the old provisions of the police law is simply old wine in a new bottle, the legal profession pointed out. The petition asked that the new law should be returned to the Executive Yuan and redrafted.

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# Special Report: Air Pollution

## *Who should wear the face mask in Taiwan tomorrow ?*

The severe environmental pollution in Taiwan has forced many people on the island to use white paper or cloth face masks to prevent polluted air from getting into their noses, mouths and lungs.

This phenomenon prompted professor **Spenser W. Havlick**, a visiting American scholar in Taipei, to give a recent lecture for the Taiwan Environmental Protection Union the title: “*Who should wear the facemask ?*” In the lecture professor Havlick urged for stronger measures against the sources of pollution and for a broad-based grassroots environmental campaign. A summary of his lecture:

“This fall, in the bustle of Taipei as well as in the rural villages, I see the face mask in use by motorcyclists, adults and children alike, by workers, bicycle riders, and mothers pushing their baby strollers to the market.

It occurs to me that the programs of economic development do not seem to put the protection of the environment and of people’s health high on the list. In fact those two ideas do not seem to be on the list of business and government priorities at all. If you as an individual want any protection from the carcinogenic particles kicked up into the urban atmosphere, you have to put on a face mask.

What seems to have happened is that the external economies of growth, in this case the cost of treating air pollution, are being passed on to the individual. The citizen-at-large was never asked whether or not she or he wanted to bear that cost. Instead of putting a “face mask” or other pollution control device on a power plant smokestack or an industrial waste outfall or on the fleet of buses, trucks and cars, the action was left to the individual. Now everyone is left to bear the collective cost of air pollution while certain individuals and companies profit from their actions of avoiding to pay the air pollution treatment costs.

It is the question of unfairness or unevenness that makes any kind of pollution an especially challenging problem. By not being required to treat wastes such as particulates, sulfur dioxide, carbon monoxide, carbon dioxide, heavy metals, etc. a

polluter is saving money. But the pollution control expenses which the polluter is not bearing are being placed on the public-at-large in a rather uneven way ....

With Taiwan's so-called economic miracle one argument might be that everyone is better off. Have the standard of living and the health of the public-at-large been raised at an equal rate and to a level of equal quality? Should the people with less talent or less ambition or less political awareness be penalized by suffering more pollution? Who should pay for corrective action?

Of course the oversimplified answer is those who benefit most from using a resource such as coal, oil, iron, an automobile, etc. They should bear the appropriate and pollution-equivalent cost of their actions. Pollution is actually a resource out of place which puts a negative cost on someone without his/her "approval."

.... I do not want to get into the political, social and economic arguments which surround pollution control. I would prefer to raise questions about appropriate steps an organization or an individual can take to try to correct the problem of pollution. In this case, let us focus on air pollution.

Here are several revealing statistics from Taiwan's EPA report called "Working Towards Environmental Quality in the 21st Century", July 1989. There were 9,782,000 registered motor vehicles in Taiwan at that time. That is 272 vehicles per square kilometer. That is 15.1 times the 1985 U.S. figure, 2.4 times that of Japan, 2.37 times that of the United Kingdom, and 6.04 times that of France. ....

All of EPA's enforcement programs and actions seem satisfactory on paper. Project "Flying eagle" (air patrols for open burning), Project Luban (road construction dust control), Project "Skunk" (regulates diesel emissions) all sound very progressive. However, perhaps the EPA, with all of its excellent staff and forthright regulations, need some additional help. Possibly this is where the **Taiwan Environmental Protection Union** and other neighborhood grassroots organizations might be of critical assistance.

After listing a number of specific goals and steps to achieve these goals, professor Havlik stated:

A campaign to reduce air pollution or any other environmental abuse will take time, money and courage. The information base needs to be accurate and solid. The objective must be clear and achievable. Small victories along the way should be celebrated. The

educational effort must be thoughtful (not appearing fanatical) and broad-based. The environmental education effort must include schools at all levels, business, the professional community (doctors, atmospheric chemists, lung cancer experts should all be allies), government and the general public-at-large.

People who are bearing the heavy air pollution costs should be informed that solutions to the problem are possible and have been achieved elsewhere. People must be given hope that their health and their lives do count in the economic future of this country. The EPA has many of the correct goals. However, there needs to be broad commitment and desire in the population to help achieve the appropriate goals and to raise the pollution standards as necessary.

Fairness, economic accountability with the true social and environmental costs, and pride in the nation and its environmental carrying capacity all suggest that the mask is in the wrong place. *Who do you think should wear the face mask in Taiwan tomorrow?*

\* \* \* \* \*

## **Economic / Environmental Report**

### ***10,000 protest against nuclear plant near Taipei***

On 5 May 1991, nearly 10,000 people in Taipei joined the largest environmental demonstration in Taiwan's history. The "**505 anti-nuclear protest**" against the proposed construction of a 4th nuclear power plant at Kungliao, only 36 kilometers away from the Taipei Metropolitan area, was organized by Dr. You Ching's Taipei County Government and a coalition of several local environmental groups. The protesters gathered outside the National Taiwan University at about 1:00 p.m., and walked towards the nearby state-run Taiwan Power Company building, where they joined a group of students, who had begun a sit-in on the previous day.

The organizers had wanted to march towards the Presidential Office and the Chiang Kai-shek Memorial in downtown Taipei to present petitions to the Presidential Office and the Executive Yuan, but the area was cordoned off by a large number of police and riot troops. The crowd then walked some eight kilometers to the Sun Yat-sen Memorial, where they waited until the return of two delegations, which had been sent

to the Presidential Office and the Executive Yuan to present petitions against construction of the plant.

In December 1990 and January 1991, the Cabinet's Atomic Energy Council (AEC) set up a 21-member review committee to assess the necessity for building a fourth plant and all aspects of its construction, including its environmental impact. To its credit, the AEC included a number of external experts in the group, including four professors recommended by DPP Taipei County Magistrate You Ching.

However, in a press conference on 12 February 1991, Premier Hau Pei-tsun asserted that the nuclear power plant "must be built because it affects the living standard of some 20 million people here as well as the entire development of the nation." Premier Hau thus pre-empted any results of the study of the review committee, and reduced their work to being a rubber stamp for the Cabinet.

Premier Hau's statement was strongly criticized by both DPP and KMT legislators, as well as by Taipei County Magistrate You Ching, who argued that the statement would bias the work of the review committee and violated the principle that a decision on the building of the plant would only be made after the environmental impact assessment studies had been completed.

At the end of March 1991, more than 700 university professors, among them some 250 from the prestigious National Taiwan University, signed a petition opposing construction of the nuclear power plant. In the petition, the professors urged the government to immediately cease plans for the construction of the plant, provide medical checkups for employees of existing plants and nearby residents; conduct research on alternative energy sources, and stimulate energy conservation measures.



**Petition against nuclear power**

In the beginning of May 1991, the matter came to a further head, when DPP Taipei County Magistrate You Ching vowed to have some buildings at the planned construction site demolished, because they had been built without the required building permits.

## Aborigines protest nuclear waste dumping

The Kuomintang authorities have always portrayed the aboriginal inhabitants of Orchid Island as “liking” to have nuclear waste deposited on their island (see *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 8/9, pp. 30-31).

However, the new political and environmental activism has also reached far-away “Lanyu”, some 85 kilometers off Taitung on the Southeast coast of Taiwan: on 20 February 1991, some 400 members of the aboriginal Yamei tribe staged a demonstration to protest the dumping of nuclear waste on their beautiful island.

At 9:00 a.m., the protesters — many wearing traditional tribal garments, with war helmets on their heads and spears in hand — gathered in front of the Taipower warehouse. They asked Taipower to meet three of their requests: 1) that the expansion of the storage warehouse be stopped right away, 2) that there will be no more new deliveries of radioactive waste to Lanyu, and 3) that the storage warehouse be removed by the end of June. The protesters indicated that stronger measures would be taken if Taipower failed to meet the deadline.

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## NOTES

### *Taiwan Independence leaders meet in Manila*

At the end of March 1991, the most important organization of overseas Taiwanese favoring Taiwan independence, the **World United Formosans for Independence (WUFI)**, held a meeting in Manila to prepare for the organization’s return to Taiwan (see “*WUFI plans return to Taiwan*” in *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 46).

Interestingly, the Kuomintang authorities had at first attempted to prevent the meeting from taking place by putting pressure on the Philippine authorities to refuse entry visa to the main leaders coming from the United States, Canada, and Japan. However, after

U.S. Senators and Congressmen inquired into the situation, the Manila government allowed the overseas Taiwanese to enter the country.

The Manila meeting also brought out into the open that the Taipei authorities have set up a blacklist of their own people (see also story below): when a group of 22 prominent members of the DPP flew to Manila to meet with the overseas Taiwanese leaders, several of them were at first refused entry. Immigration officials in Manila indicated that the KMT authorities had provided them with a blacklist, and had asked that those on the list should not be allowed to enter the Philippines. Among those refused entry were the former chairman of the DPP, Mr. Yao Chia-wen, and the chief executive of the DPP branch in Taipei County, Mr. Lin Yung-shen. Only after a six-hour delay were the men finally allowed to enter the Philippines.

## ***Blacklisting of overseas Taiwanese continues***

In spite of the relaxation of their tight grip on political life in Taiwan, the Kuomintang authorities have continued to blacklist overseas Taiwanese because of their support for human rights and democracy in Taiwan. Many of these people have been prevented from returning to Taiwan, even in case of sickness or death of family on the island (see our earlier report in *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 33, pp. 14-15).

The most recent proof of the KMT's recalcitrance on this issue occurred in the beginning of April 1991, when a group of prominent Taiwanese-Americans from California, led by the chairman of the Taiwanese Association of America Mr. Chai Min-lu, wanted to visit Taiwan. Most of them were refused visa, and when 15 members got on a Taiwan-bound plane in Los Angeles, the Taiwan authorities told the airline, **Singapore Airlines**, to force 6 of them (presumably blacklisted) off the plane — otherwise the Taiwan authorities would take measures against the airline.

According to the most recent estimates some 600 to 1,000 Taiwanese living in the United States, Canada or Europe are still refused entry into Taiwan because of their political activities. Also barred from entering Taiwan are U.S. and European citizens who have worked in support of the Taiwanese democratic movement. Among these are Dr. Marc Cohen, our Washington DC editor, and our European editors Dr. Gerrit van der Wees and his Taiwan-born wife, who have been refused visa six times since the end of Martial Law in 1987. Ironically, when Martial Law was still in force, they were able to travel to Taiwan without too many problems !!

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