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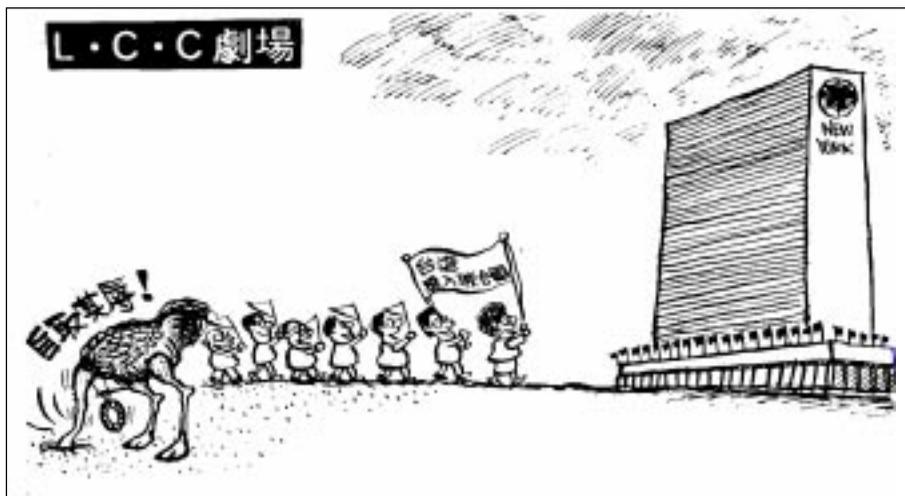
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National Assembly elections coming up *Referendum on independence issue*

On 21 December 1991, elections will be held in Taiwan for 225 seats in a new National Assembly. An additional 100 seats will be allotted to the political parties.

The elections are turning into a major referendum on the *Taiwan independence* issue, since the opposition DPP — at its mid-October Annual Convention — formally adopted independence as part of its political platform. On the following pages we present the main aspects of the increasing momentum towards independence and the broad support for Taiwan membership in the United Nations.



KMT ostrich buries head in sand, while Taiwanese people march towards UN

Although the elections are much more open than in the past, many of the ground rules are still unfair and highly biased, in favor of the Kuomintang and against the DPP opposition. Below we describe the principal aspects.

Finally, the Kuomintang is using the “China will attack” argument to threaten the DPP and scare voters away from supporting independence. In our main editorial, titled “The KMT’s *China-will-attack* ruse”, we show the fallacy of this argument.

Playing field still not level

The elections are for a total of 325 seats in a new National Assembly, which will have as its special task to revise the Constitution. This Assembly replaces the old Assembly, which mainly consisted of old mainlanders, elected on the Chinese mainland in 1947. While only some 500 of the original 3000 members remained, they still constituted an overwhelming majority over the 84 Taiwan-elected members.

The old Assembly had become a major embarrassment for the Kuomintang, not in the least because the old mainlanders attempted to retain many of their perks and privileges, and were holding out for generous pensions. This provoked large-scale demonstrations in February/March 1990, and again in April 1991 by the people in Taiwan, who started to refer to the old Assembly-members as “Old Thieves” for their greed.

Replacing the old Assembly is part of President Lee Teng-hui’s plan of rejuvenating the Legislature, and thus gradually steering Taiwan towards a more democratic system. While this process of democratization is encouraging, it still contains a number of built-in hurdles and biases against the democratic opposition of the DPP. The main aspects:

- * the ruling Kuomintang’s dominant position in the government, the military, and the security apparatus. It has a well-organized and well-financed party machine, which can mobilize large groups of voters from the military, the civil servants, and teachers.
- * the ruling Kuomintang’s control over radio and television, which usually portray the opposition in a negative light. By limiting the opposition’s access to the media, the authorities can thus minimize its exposure and prevent the views of the opposition to become better known to the electorate.

- * the KMT divided Taiwan into 58 election-districts. This is a much larger number than before, which makes it more difficult for the DPP to gain votes, because it requires the opposition to spread its resources very thin.
- * In addition to the 225 elected seats (including six seats reserved for aborigines), there are also 20 seats for representatives of “overseas Chinese” and 80 seats “representing China.” These 100 seats will be allocated to the political parties on the basis of the number of votes the parties receive in elections. While the DPP opposition will thus also be able to fill its portion of the 100 seats, these seats formally do not represent the people of Taiwan, but are still kept to maintain the KMT’s anachronistic claim to represent China and overseas Chinese.

The Kuomintang has vowed to win at least 75 percent of the seats. It aims at this percentage because in the new National Assembly changes of the Constitution will require a 3/4 majority. Thus, with 75 percent or more of the seats, the KMT would be able to push through the amendments it considered desirable.

The DPP, on the other hand, has stated it will win at least 30 percent of the vote. It hopes that, by judiciously spreading its votes evenly over its candidates, it can also gain 30% of the seats. In the past, the DPP often lost seats because too many voters voted for a few of the popular candidates, thus depriving lesser known candidates of votes. In the 1989 Legislative Yuan elections the DPP received some 30% of the votes, but won only 21 out of 101 seats.

Independence Movement Gains Momentum

During the months of October and November 1991, the Taiwan independence movement gained considerable momentum. After the events in August/September (described in our previous issue, no. 51) the movement picked up further steam when, on 12-13 October, the opposition DPP party — at its Fifth Annual Convention — formally adopted a clause in its charter stating that the party aims “to build an independent and sovereign **Republic of Taiwan**” (see following article).

Then, on Sunday, 20 October 1991, the first formal meeting was held of the Taiwan chapter of the World United Formosans for Independence. Although the police burst into the meeting at a Taipei restaurant and arrested one U.S.-based WUFI-leader (see Prison Report, p. 14), the meeting elected its Taiwan officers.

50,000 demonstrate in Kaohsiung

A few days later, on 25 October 1991, a large rally was held in Kaohsiung, drawing more than 50,000 people. The gathering was a follow-up to the 7-8 September demonstration in Taipei, organized by the Association for a Plebiscite in Taiwan, the opposition DPP-party, and the Presbyterian Church.

The main theme of the rally was “*Join the United Nations under the name Taiwan.*” Placards and banners proclaimed that a plebiscite should be held, so that Taiwan can become an independent country and a full member of the international community. Speakers criticized the Kuomintang authorities for clinging to anachronistic claims over China, and for their reluctance to move faster towards democracy. They also called for the resignation of Prime Minister Hau Pei-tsun, whom they charged with blocking democratic reforms.

The date, 25 October, had a double significance: on this date in 1971 the Taipei authorities withdrew from the United Nations after the PRC had been admitted as the representative of China. Also on this date, in 1945, Taiwan came under the control of Chiang Kai-shek’s troops after the capitulation and surrender of Japan.

The demonstration proceeded peacefully, which was a welcome relief for the organizers, many of whom remembered a similar demonstration in Kaohsiung on 10 December 1979, which turned into chaos after riot police and pro-government instigators caused major disturbances in a peaceful crowd. After the 1979 event, most major opposition leaders were arrested and sentenced to long prison terms.

The crowd, which was estimated at between 30,000 and 60,000, started out at the Kaohsiung Chungshan Stadium, and wound its way for four-and-a-half hours through the city. After the crowd returned to the stadium, several prominent opposition speakers addressed the gathering.

Overseas Independence leaders arrive

One of the speakers was Mr. Lin Ming-che (Dr. Thomas M. Lin), a member of the central standing committee of the United Formosans for Independence. A little over a week after the speech, Dr. Lin was arrested and deported to the United States (Dr. Lin holds a U.S. passport).

Dr. Lin was the latest of a number of prominent overseas independence leaders to return to Taiwan. Earlier arrivals include Dr. Kuo Pei-hung and professor Lee Ying-yuan (both arrested end August/beginning of September) and Dr. Wang Kang-lung (arrested on 20 October) and Dr. Kuo Cheng-kuang (arrested on 21 October and deported on the 22nd).

Other prominent overseas leaders who are expected to return to Taiwan during the next few weeks are U.S.-based Dr. (George) Chang Tsang-hung, Japan-based professor Hsu Shi-kai, and Europe-based Mrs. Ho Kang-mei. WUFI's leaders have stated that the threats of arrest and imprisonment will not prevent them from returning to Taiwan.

WUFI was founded in 1971 through a merger of overseas Taiwanese groups set up in the 1960's in Japan, the United States, Canada, and Europe. It has as its objectives to establish an independent state of Taiwan with a multiple-party democratic political system that respects human rights.



WUFI-leader, Dr. George Chang

In August 1990, WUFI formally announced that it would move its headquarters back to Taiwan before the end of 1991 as part of a campaign for "A New Assembly, a New Nation, and a New Country." WUFI has stated repeatedly that it is dedicated to exhausting all avenues to seek a peaceful solution to Taiwan's future.

Peking against Taiwan independence

As could be expected from a repressive regime, the authorities in Peking condemned the further evolution towards a free and democratic Taiwan. Particularly the adoption by the DPP of a pro-independence clause in its charter (see following story) incensed the old Peking hardliners. On 10 October, during a commemoration of the overthrow of the Manchu Dynasty in 1911, the 84-year-old hardliner President **Yang Shang-kun** (remembered for ordering the crackdown on the Tiananmen student movement in June 1989) said: "... those who play with fire, will perish by fire."

During the following weeks, other Peking officials and Communist publications parroted Mr. Yang's remarks. On 25 October, the *People's Daily* in Peking again attacked the independence movement and — not by coincidence — reported on military maneuvers along the Yangtze River during which "... troops successfully crossed the river" (a reference to the crossing of the Yangtze in 1949 by Communist troops in their final move to sweep Chiang Kai-shek's Chinese Nationalist troops off the mainland).

At the end of October, the Hong Kong-based *Chen Ming Magazine* reported that 87-year-old **Teng Hsiao-ping** had agreed with his fellow-octogenarians to set out the following strategy to deal with Taiwan:

- * First, the foreign affairs authorities and media should be utilized to press Taiwan against independence,
- * Second, Peking should proceed to gain economic power and seal off the Taiwan straits in order to impose economic sanctions,
- * Thirdly, if by the end of 1992 Taipei did not show any inclination to abide, then military force should be used in order to achieve unification.

Further press reports from Hong Kong (see "*Double Ten double-talk*" in the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 24 October 1991) indicate that the clamoring and saber rattling in Peking may have a domestic Chinese purpose: concerned about the increasingly independent behaviour of the southern coastal provinces, the leaders in Peking may wish to "create" a foreign enemy and attempt to pull everyone together. This would also distract public attention from the current economic and political problems in China itself.

The DPP holds Fifth Annual Convention

On 12-13 October 1991, some 349 DPP-party delegates gathered in Taipei for the party's fifth Annual Convention. The delegates elected Mr. Hsu Hsin-liang, the former county magistrate of Taoyuan, as the party's new chairman. They also elected a new 31-member central executive committee and the 11-member central standing committee. The most significant event was the adoption of a pro-independence clause into the party charter on 13 October 1991. The KMT authorities subsequently started to threaten to disband the DPP for advocating independence. Below we give a brief analysis.

Hsu Hsin-liang wins by narrow margin

The election for the DPP chairmanship proved to be a close one: Mr. **Hsu Hsin-liang** narrowly won over Mr. **Shih Ming-teh**, by a margin of 180 to 163 votes. The two men are good friends and old colleagues, dating back from the time when both were associated with the *Formosa Magazine* in 1979, before the magazine was banned after the infamous “Kaohsiung Incident” of December 1979.

Since 1979, they traveled different routes: Mr. Shih was imprisoned for his role in organizing the 1979 Kaohsiung human rights demonstration, and remained Taiwan’s most well-known political prisoner until his release in May 1990. At the time of his release, Mr. Shih had served a total of 25 years in jail for his political ideas, and became known as *Taiwan’s Nelson Mandela*.

During the past decade, Mr. Hsu was in exile in the United States, where he was active in the overseas Taiwanese movement. He became well-known for his various attempts to return to Taiwan. He finally entered the island in September 1989, disguised as a fisherman. He was arrested and, after a farcical trial, sentenced to a prison term of ten years, but was released in May 1990.

By the time they faced each other in the chairmanship elections, both were considered political heavyweights. Mr. Hsu has a strong powerbase in his native Taoyuan County, and was supported by the more conservative **Formosa** group of outgoing chairman Huang Hsin-chieh, while Mr. Shih was supported by the more progressive **New Movement** group.

As was apparent from a public debate in early October, Messrs. Hsu and Shih differ only in their approach how to reach the goal of turning DPP into a ruling party. Hsu stressed that the main strategy should be “working within the system” and winning elections, while Mr. Shih emphasized the importance of demonstrations and protests in mobilizing public support.

Both Messrs. Hsu and Shih support an independent Taiwan, but Mr. Hsu favors a more cautious approach. Mr. Hsu as an experienced politician is known to be more adapt to compromise, while Mr. Shih has a reputation as a man of high principles.

The New Movement Faction as Key Players

Although the New Movement faction lost in the election for chairmanship, it emerged as the key player by winning overwhelmingly seven out of 11 seats on the Central Standing Committee. It also captured 16 out of 31 seats on the central executive committee. As the central standing committee is the decision-making body of the DPP, the Movement faction has taken over the control of the party from the Formosa group, which has dominated the party for the past three years.

The Movement group was also instrumental in getting delegates to the congress to adopt almost unanimously an independence clause in its party platform, calling for an independent and sovereign Republic of Taiwan to be decided in a plebiscite.

The name of the group originated in 1984-85 with the *Hsin Chao Liu Magazine*, but the group now encompasses the whole progressive wing of the DPP-party. With its increased influence in the party, the Movement will push more aggressively for an open debate on the issue of Taiwan independence. The new chairman, Mr. Hsu Hsin-liang, who belongs to the Formosa faction, will not have a free hand in pushing his own policy.

Both sides will have to learn to work closely in the year-end elections of the National Assembly if DPP wants to reach the goal of winning at least 30 percent of the votes in order to have a say in the process of revising the Constitution in the new National Assembly.

The Democratic Progressive Party calls for the establishment of an independent and sovereign Republic of Taiwan and the enactment of a new Constitution, to be decided by the people of Taiwan in a plebiscite.

New clause in DPP Political Platform

DPP adopts Independence Clause

The Fifth Party Congress will be lauded as a watershed in the history of DPP for adopting the pro-independence clause into the party platform. On the first day, 12 October, Mr. Lin Chu-shui of the New Movement group proposed that the Convention decide to add a clause into the Charter and Party Platform calling for “the establishment of an independent and sovereign Republic of Taiwan.”

The proposal generated a heated debate among the delegates, with some members of the Formosa faction arguing that the decision should be postponed until after the upcoming December 21 elections. They pointed out that DPP might lose votes because some voters might not identify with the new platform and therefore decided not to vote for DPP. However, supporters of the clause argued that international developments in the Baltic States and Eastern Europe was favorable to Taiwan independence, and the election campaign provided the best public forum to debate the independence issue. They pointed out that DPP would gain votes as shown in the legislative election of 1989, when the candidates of the New Country Alliance, who campaigned on the platform of a new Taiwan state, won overwhelmingly.

In the end, Legislator Chen Shui-bian proposed a revised text, calling for "...the establishment of an independent and sovereign Republic of Taiwan and the enactment of a new Constitution, to be decided by the people of Taiwan in a plebiscite." This clause was adopted with virtual unanimity.

The Kuomintang threatens to disband DPP

After the DPP adopted the change in its Charter, the Kuomintang authorities launched a strong fear-and-slander campaign against the opposition. KMT officials, from President Lee Teng-hui and Premier Hau Pei-tsun on down, issued harsh condemnations against the DPP, and used language such as "*...bringing the nation and its people to the brink of catastrophe*", and "*jeopardize national security, social stability, and public well-being.*" Pro-Kuomintang newspapers, television and radio blared anti-independence propaganda, while Justice Minister Lu You-wen and chief High Court prosecutor Chen Han warned that the DPP would be prosecuted and even banned.

The Kuomintang also orchestrated a campaign in the business and financial community, implying that the push for independence would "detrimental" to the economy, foreign trade, and investments in Taiwan. To help matters along a bit, one day after the DPP's decision, Taipei's Central Bank depreciated the NT-dollar by nine cents against the US-dollar.

On 1 November 1991, the Political Party Screening Committee of the Cabinet instructed the Interior Ministry to notify the DPP that it should submit the revised platform for approval, otherwise the party would be disbanded. The political tension reduced slightly after a November 4th meeting between Premier Hau and leading DPP legislators.

DPP officials pointed out that it was the spastic overreaction by the KMT authorities which caused instability, not the DPP new party platform itself. Mr. **Chen Shui-pien**, a DPP member of the Legislative Yuan, also argued that "... the KMT authorities have imposed a policy of reunification on the people of Taiwan,



President Lee Teng-hui, sitting with his small "anti-independence" machine gun in barrel of big PRC "anti-independence" cannon, waiting to ambush DPP.

whereas the DPP is offering the people of Taiwan a choice on the future of the island. The final decision has to be made by the people through a democratic procedure, such as a plebiscite. We are following the principal of self-determination."

Mr. **Wu Nai-jen**, a leader of the Movement faction asked "why KMT authorities are so afraid of the reaction of the Chinese Communists. If KMT cannot stand the pressure from China, how could the people of Taiwan have confidence in the KMT authorities ability to lead the country?"

The publisher of *The Journalist*, a prominent, non-affiliated Taipei-based news magazine wrote:

The DPP is acknowledging the reality that Taiwan is separate from China. The KMT's charges of "dividing national territory" and "changing the political system" cannot be substantiated. It was the civil war, fought between KMT and the Communists, that resulted in the division of the na-

tional territory. There is nothing wrong with changing the name of the country if it is done through a democratic procedure in accordance with the wishes of the people.

Editorial

The Kuomintang's "China will attack" ruse

The root of the present day "Taiwan problem" is that during the past forty years, the KMT has maintained a belligerent profile towards the PRC. The regime in Taipei not only continued its claim to legitimacy as government of all of China (calling itself "Republic of China" to this day), but also announced time and again (for forty years) that it would "recover" the mainland. Only the past few years they softened their tone, and termed it "reunification under Sun Yat-sen's Three People's Principles."

Then came along the democratic opposition of the DPP, which simply wants the KMT to face reality and forget about its claim over China. The Taiwanese opposition, which is representative of the views of the 85% native Taiwanese on the island, started pushing for a free, democratic, and independent Taiwan, which lives in peace with all its neighbors, including China.

What does the KMT do in response to these rational and reasonable DPP overtures? Seeing that in a truly democratic Taiwan they would quickly lose their hold on power, they started to use China as a bogeyman, and proclaim loudly that the DPP's push for independence will "invite an attack from China." The Taipei leaders are thus behaving like a puppet on Peking's string.

In the KMT's perverted logic, all the saber rattling and "recover the mainland" hype was allright to Peking, but the DPP's call for independence and peaceful coexistence with China is offensive to Peking??

The Kuomintang would do well to enter the 20th century and gain an understanding of the modern concept of nation-state as laid down in the Charter of the United Nations. The confusion on the part of the KMT — and the authorities in Peking for that matter — is that they mix up the concept of na-

tion with that of race. If all Chinese should be citizens of China, why hasn't anyone advocated that Singapore "reunify" with China? Of course one will hear excuses that for Singapore "it doesn't apply" or it is "different."



KMT Double-talk in political sauna:

To China: "The Taitu separatists are our enemies."

To DPP: "The Communists are our enemies."

For Singapore it is precisely the same as for Taiwan: the majority of the people there may be ethnically Chinese, but that doesn't mean it should be part of China.

The KMT would be wise to change its course and follow the DPP in its lead towards independence. That doesn't mean that it should happen all at once tomorrow, but it means that a course should be charted out towards UN membership, diplomatic relations with other nations, and of course (undoubtedly lengthy) negotiations with China, leading to mutual recognition.

Report from Washington

Solarz's Asian Affairs Committee condemns blacklist

On 24 September 1991, the House Committee on Asian and Pacific Affairs asked three witnesses to testify on the status of democratic elections in Taiwan. Professor Parris Chang called the KMT's acts "strictly-guided democratization." "They set the rules of the game which are blatantly unfair and favor only the ruling party." In doing so, the KMT may win the election battles but risk losing the war — the regime's credibility and legitimacy in the eyes of the people.

Professor June Dreyer, a pro-Kuomintang academic at the University of Florida at Coral Gables, presented arguments in favor of Taipei's ruling party.

Mr. Wang Kang-lu, a member of the World United Formosans for Independence, called the elections a game played on an unlevel playing field. He also highlighted the blacklisting of overseas Taiwanese, and explained how the KMT uses its vast network of informers and special agents in the U.S. to report on the Taiwanese. Since the Hearings, Mr. Wang returned to Taiwan, only to be arrested.

After hearing the testimony, Congressman Solarz expressed his indignation at the fact that the Taipei authorities impose their political controls on Taiwanese living in the United States. Mr. Solarz also noted the blacklisting, and said it was unacceptable that Taipei prevents Taiwanese from returning to the island because of their political views. He linked the blacklisting to future U.S. arms sales to Taiwan by stating that the Arms Export Control Act stipulates that weapons must not be sold to countries that keep threatening U.S. citizens.

Resolution on UN-membership introduced in House

On 25 September 1991, U.S. Congressman Dennis Hertel (D-Michigan) introduced a resolution in the House of Representatives in support of Taiwan's membership in the United Nations and other international organizations. The Resolution presents a number of considerations in favor of UN membership by Taiwan, the main ones being:

- * the fact that Taiwan is *de facto* an independent political entity, and has become an important partner in world trade and in the international economy (it holds the world's largest foreign currency reserve, is the 5th largest trading partner of the U.S., and is the 13th largest trading nation in the world);
- * the fact that the people of Taiwan have, through their elected legislators, expressed a strong desire to join the United Nations and other international organizations; and
- * that Taiwan's membership in the United Nations and other international organizations would further enhance the peace, security, and stability in the Pacific and is in the best interest of the United States and other countries on the Pacific Rim.

The text of the Resolution then states that it be “Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), that it is the sense of the Congress that the 20 million people of Taiwan deserve to be represented in the United Nations and other international organizations....”

Prison Report

Eleven Independence Proponents Arrested

In mid-October, the Taipei authorities began a new wave of arrests to clamp down on the movement for Taiwan independence, which has been gaining increasing support on the island during the past few months.

On October 17, six key members of the Taichung-based Organization for Taiwan Nation-building (OTNB) were arrested, including reverend Lai Kuan-yi, a minister of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan. The organization’s leader, former journalist Ms. Chen Wan-chen, has gone underground after a warrant was issued for her arrest. On October 18, three activists of the local chapter of WUFI were also arrested. One of the three, Mr. Chiang Kai-shi, 33, is often referred to as Taiwan’s Gandhi, because of his advocacy of peaceful resistance against the KMT’s repressive measures.

On 20 October, Dr. **Wang Kang-lu**, Secretary-general of the U.S.-based World United Formosans for Independence (WUFI) was arrested when police raided the first formal meeting of WUFI in Taiwan, which was held in a restaurant in Taipei. Dr. Wang, age 50, who holds a Ph.D. in plant physiology from Kansas State University, has been blacklisted by the Kuomintang authorities, and was denied entry to Taiwan in December 1990, when he attempted to return to see his 95-year-old mother on her sickbed before she passed away.

Dr. Wang is the third key member of WUFI to be detained by the Taiwan authorities. In the beginning of September, two other prominent US-based leaders of the organization, Dr. **Kuo Pei-hung** and Professor **Lee Ying-yuan** were arrested in Taipei. They have been indicted on charges of “sedition” and “illegal entry into Taiwan” (a particularly *peculiar* charge in view of the fact that the two men still hold Taiwan citizenship).

A fourth overseas Taiwanese activist, Dr. **Kuo Cheng-kuang**, a member of the central standing committee of WUFI, was arrested on 21 October 1991, at Taipei international airport when he was on his way out of the country. Dr. Kuo, a space food nutritionist working at the NASA Space Center in Houston, is a U.S. citizen. He was deported from Taiwan on 22 October 1991.

The crackdown is seen as the first step in tightening the screw against pro-independence sentiments in the DPP party and other groups around it. The Presbyterian Church in Taiwan has joined the opposition DPP-party in protesting the arrests as an act of oppression against the freedom of speech and assembly, which are basic human rights enshrined in the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Taiwan Communiqué urges the Taipei authorities to release the arrested opposition members immediately. Their advocacy of Taiwan independence is an integral part of political freedom and freedom of speech as guaranteed under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The Taipei authorities should allow a full and open discussion of the issue of Taiwan independence. It is the most rational and reasonable solution to the island's diplomatic isolation and would be in the best interest of the people of the island.

U.S. Senators and Congressmen condemn Taipei arrests

At a November 1st demonstration on the U.S. Capitol steps, two prominent U.S. Senators and several congressmen condemned the arrests of opposition-members in Taiwan. The demonstration was attended by some 300 Taiwanese-Americans.

Senator **Claiborne Pell**, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, addressed the gathering, and said that the arrests were harming the relations between Taiwan and the United States. He said that the arrests violated basic human rights, and urged the Taipei authorities to release the pro-independence activists, and to work towards further democracy on the island.

Senator **Edward M. Kennedy** added that the release of the arrested persons "...would be an important symbol of the [KMT] government's commitment to continue the process of democratic reform, increased political freedoms, and improve human rights in Taiwan." He stated: "Any attempt by the government of Taiwan to place restrictions on the Democratic Progressive Party, or to curtail the activities of the party's leaders because of their position on independence, would be a seri-

ous setback to democratic values and institutions in Taiwan. ...”

Congressman **Stephen Solarz**, chairman of the House Committee on Asian and Pacific Affairs, called the situation in Taiwan a political crisis, and set out three basic points:

- * First of all, the future of Taiwan should be settled peacefully, free of coercion, and in a manner that is consistent with the will and wishes of the people on Taiwan. This is not a time for saber rattling and shows of force (a clear hint at both the authorities in Peking and in Taipei — Ed).
- * Second, in the context of Taiwan’s increasingly democratic system, any organization committed to peaceful political change should be allowed to advocate anything they want. To crack down on parties that advocate Taiwan independence would be a violation of fundamental principles of human rights. It would also betray a distressing lack of confidence in the political wisdom of the people on Taiwan. The real test of the extent of freedom of speech is whether a government is willing to tolerate what it doesn’t wish to hear, and is willing to let the people make the ultimate judgment.
- * Third, all Taiwanese outside of Taiwan who are committed to peaceful change should be allowed to return to their homeland and participate in the political process. I am opposed to political blacklists in the United States. I am opposed to political blacklists in Taiwan.

Mr. Solarz then called upon the KMT to release Mr. Wang and the other arrested persons, as well as to end to the blacklist. He concluded his statement with the following appeal:

“I say to the leaders in Peking, end your threats of force. Put aside any thought of using force against the people of Taiwan. Commit yourself to a peaceful resolution of the Taiwan conflict. To the DPP, I say, reaffirm your commitment to peaceful change. Work through the existing system. Take your case to the people, who are the best judge of the value of your proposals. To the KMT, I say, let your democracy work. Resist the impulse to treat your political opponents as criminals. Have confidence in the wisdom of the people on Taiwan.”

Special Report: Academia in Action

The "100 Mobilization Committee"

Since the arrest and indictment of Dr. Kuo Pei-hung and Prof. Lee Ying-yuan under Article 100 of the Criminal Code (see *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 51, pp. 4-6), the campaign to repeal the sedition law has gained broad support. An important development in the campaign is the participation of intellectuals, who have become the leading force in the campaign.

In September, the **100 Mobilization Committee** (later renamed **Action 100 Alliance**) was formed by a group of university professors, who announced that they wanted to pressure the KMT authorities to repeal the controversial Article 100 of the Criminal Code. The leaders of the group are some of the most prominent



"Action 100 Alliance" leaders Lee Cheng-yuan (center) and Chen Shih-meng.

scholars in the academic community. The founder of the group is Dr. **Chen Shih-meng**, a soft-spoken young professor of the economics department of National Taiwan University (NTU).

Prof. Chen is a former KMT member and supporter and his grandfather was a prominent advisor to former president Chiang Kai-shek. In May of this year, he burned his KMT membership card in a demonstration and joined the opposition DPP. Prof. Chen is a shy, introvert scholar and shuns the political limelight. He decided to come to the forefront to lead the campaign to repeal the sedition law because he was disillusioned with KMT policies. He said that intellectuals should stand up and join the fight for freedom of speech and assembly.

He persuaded two prominent scholars, Dr. **Lee Cheng-yuan** and Professor **Lin Shan-tien**, to join the leadership. Dr. Lee, the 76-year-old a former dean of the medical school of NTU is an internationally renowned scientist. Professor Lin of the law department of NTU is an authority on the criminal law. Prof. Lin said he decided to join the campaign because Article 100 of the Criminal Code is an instrument for political persecution against advocates of Taiwan independence.

Dr. Lee Cheng-yuan said that he accepted the invitation to lead the campaign to repeal the sedition law, because he believes that people must have the freedom to debate independence versus reunification, an important issue that concerns the future of Taiwan. He has earned respect from colleagues and students because he is willing to come out and lead the protest at such high age, and has become an articulate spokesman for the campaign. Dr. Lee inspired many of his fellow medical doctors to come out and join the campaign to repeal the sedition law. He gained international recognition for his 50 years of research on the study of venom of poison snakes. He became a member of the prestigious Academia Sinica in 1970.

Dr. Lee pointed out that many of his former colleagues from the medical school of National Taiwan University were victims of Article 100 of the Criminal Code in the aftermath of the February 28 incident of 1947. In 1950, Dr. Hsu Chiang, a bright young doctor who was chief of internal medicine, was arrested and executed without any due process. And the chief of the eye department, who is Dr. Lee's brother-in-law was imprisoned for 10 years on Green Island. As if a curse was put on the medical school, for the next four decades, medical doctors of NTU shunned politics.

Professors into the Streets

The Alliance has kept a high profile. They organized protests outside the Legislative Yuan, held public discussion at National Taiwan University to debate the issue, and lobbied both KMT and DPP legislators and government officials to repeal — not just revise — the sedition law. A petition drafted by the Alliance to repeal the sedition law has been signed by 300 professors and 600 medical doctors.

Originally, the Alliance planned to hold a large demonstration on 10 October, to coincide with a military parade organized by the authorities on the occasion of the “Double Ten” celebrations commemorating the 1911 uprising against the Manchu Dynasty in China. However, the Alliance changed its plans on 8 October, after a peaceful sit-in by



Military police beating students

some 50 students and faculty on the parade stands for the military parade in front of the Presidential Palace was broken up by a large force of baton-wielding military police. Several students were seriously injured.

Instead, on 9 October, it organized a sit-in protest at the medical school of National Taiwan University, in which some 500 faculty and students participated. Unfortunately, this peaceful demonstration was also broken up by military police: in the early morning hours of 10 October, close to 1,000 armed military police moved in, and forcefully dispersed hundreds of professors and students, who were sitting down in the corridors of the medical building.

The police action was strongly criticized by the DPP and by progressive Kuomintang members: they termed the forced break-up of a peaceful gathering on the campus a flagrant violation. The President of National Taiwan University offered his resignation after Prime Minister Hau chided him publicly for his handling of the incident. After the Premier apologized, he decided to stay on.

Secret Police Infiltrates Academia

On October 28, DPP legislator Hsieh Ch'ang-t'ing made public two secret government documents showing that the National Security Bureau tries to infiltrate the academia in order to gather intelligence about student and faculty activism on campus. The disclosure caused an uproar through the academic community. The opposition accused the National Security Bureau of engaging in illicit activities in the name of national security. The National Security Bureau was caught off guard by the disclosure, and — characteristically — began an urgent internal investigation, not into the infiltration charges, but to find out how the two secret documents were leaked out !!

The two documents, dated March 26 and May 20, showed that the National Security Bureau recruited Professor Tsai Cheng-wen, chairman of the prestigious political science department of National Taiwan University to set up an academic think-tank research institution as cover-up for the operation of the National Security Bureau.

The purpose of this institution among others is to gather intelligence on the activities of students and professors who are increasingly active in the opposition movement and to manipulate public opinion. It also emphasizes the need of secrecy in order to avoid public attention.

On 29 October 1991, the National Security Bureau issued a denial in a press release, in which it stated that the purpose of setting up this academic institution was to ask academicians to conduct research on specific projects on behalf of the Bureau.

The Taipei-based news magazine, *The Journalist*, in an editorial sharply criticized the National Security Bureau of trying to use the academia as front in order to gain respectability, in effect it is trying to set up a spying network on campus.

Legislator Hsieh Ch'ang-t'ing said that the reason behind his decision to publicize the two secret documents was that he wanted to show that the National Security Bureau has had a long history of using academic front institutions as instrument to attack the opposition. He pointed out that two institutions, the Center for the Study of International Relations of Cheng Chi University and the Asia and World Society, which have long been supported by the National Security Bureau, played such roles before.

Mr. Hsieh pointed out that scholars from such front institutions have played the roles of henchman since the Kaohsiung Incident of 1979. When the KMT authorities cracked down on the opposition, they would join the authorities in condemning the opposition on television programs, panel discussions and newspaper articles.

The National Security Bureau, set up in 1954, is the highest intelligence-gathering organization, which is under the National Security Council. The Center for the Study of International Relations was originally set up by the National Security Bureau to study the developments in Communist China. Later its operation was expanded to include the study of international affairs. To improve its image, it became a research institution of Cheng Chi University only in name. The Asia and World Society was set up in 1976 by Mr. Han Li-wu as an institution to study international relations.

Academic Teaching in the Taiwanese language

For the past four decades, the official language of instruction in the classroom has been Mandarin, the so-called official language designated by the KMT authorities. This language policy is now being challenged by a law professor of Chung Hsing University.

For three years, Professor **Liu Hsing-yi** of Chung-hsing University has been teaching his students at the law department in the Taiwanese language. Prof. Liu said that he decided to use the Taiwanese language in class, because he wanted to show university students, who are more familiar with the colloquial use of the Taiwanese language from exposure to crude Taiwanese programs on television, that the Taiwanese language can be used as a language of intellectual expression in academia.

Prof. Liu, who studied for six years in Germany, said that he was inspired by the language policy of Switzerland, which has four official languages. Whereas in Taiwan, only Mandarin, the Peking dialect brought over by the Chinese Nationalists after 1945 is considered official, and the Taiwanese language, which is the mother tongue of the majority of the people on the island, is relegated to the status of “local dialect.”

Although Taiwanese is Prof. Liu’s mother tongue, it still took him two years to learn the grammar and to improve his pronunciation. In the beginning, it was not easy for him to use the Taiwanese language to explain legal concepts and theories.

But after some practice, he became used to it. He said that he sees no reason why the authorities should forbid him from using the Taiwanese language as the language of instruction. He said that academic freedom includes the freedom to choose the language of instruction. He indicated that it is important that the Taiwanese language should be used more extensively in academia as part of the efforts to preserve the Taiwanese culture and language.

Notes

More Dutch submarines? for Taiwan yes, ROC no!

In October 1991, press reports in the Netherlands indicated that the Dutch authorities and parliament are seriously considering new feelers by the authorities in Taiwan for the purchase of six submarines.

The issue of submarines for Taiwan was a hot political topic in the Netherlands in 1980-81 and again in 1983. On the first occasion the Dutch Cabinet approved the sale of two submarines, to be built by the Schiedam shipyard Wilton Feyenoord. It almost cause the fall of the Dutch Cabinet, and led to a downgrading of diplomatic relations with China. On the second occasion, the Cabinet turned down a request for two to four more submarines, arguing that the first time around it had given its word to do it only once.

Proponents of the sale now argue that in 1991 the situation is quite different: 1) since 4 June 1989, the repression of the “Tienanmen” democratic student movement, the international political stature of China has decreased considerably and doesn’t count as much as before. 2) the volume of trade with China — once considered a promising appetizer — has hardly grown, while trade with Taiwan has grown to double that of China. 3) Other nations have started to improve trade relations with Taiwan, and some — like France — have decided to make major military sales (16 frigates) without any repercussions in their relations with China.

Taiwan Communiqué comment: *we advise the Dutch Cabinet and Parliament to proceed, but with caution. The sale might still lead to considerable tension in the area because the Taipei authorities still claim themselves to be government of all of China. In addition, Prime Minister Hau Pei-tsun is a former four-star general, while in the legislature in Taipei old mainlanders “representing China” still hold a majority.*

It would be prudent to await the results of the upcoming National Assembly elections and see if the Taipei authorities are really serious with moving forward with the democratic process. If Mr. Hau stays in power, Taipei continues to cling to calling itself "Republic of China" (ROC), and the changes in the Legislative Yuan and National Assembly are merely cosmetic, then the submarine sale would increase tension and should be rejected.

However, if after December 21st, President Lee Teng-hui really moves ahead, drops the claim to sovereignty over China, and steers the island in the direction of a free, democratic, and independent Taiwan, then the Dutch could go ahead and approve the submarine sale.

Taiwan Fishermen's News

In the past we have on several occasions reported on the plight of Taiwanese fishermen — many of whom are aborigines (see *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 29, pp. 22-23). One of the organizations which has been most effective in working for the rights of these fishermen is the Fishermen's Service Center set up by the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan. The Service Center publishes a regular report, titled Taiwan Fishermen's Report, in which it describes its activities and their results. An overview:

- * urging the authorities to pay closer attention to ecological concerns and ban pelagic driftnetting in international waters, while at the same time advocating fishing rights in the North Pacific for Taiwanese fishermen on the basis of equal sharing of resources and equal treatment as accorded to Korea and Japan.
- * bringing to light serious abuses of aboriginal young men by unscrupulous agents of boat owners and fisheries companies. The Center was instrumental in producing two educational cartoons to fight these abuses.
- * helping to set up unions, particularly for deep-sea fishermen. The authorities allow only one union per work sector. There is thus a Fishermen's Association in each of the 16 fish harbors, but these are controlled by the interests of the boat owners. The voice of the fishermen themselves is not heard.

The **Taiwan Fishermen's News** is available from: Fishermen's Service Center, No. 24-1 Yu-Kang Chung 2nd Road, Chien-Chen District, Kaohsiung, Taiwan.