



# TAIWAN COMMUNIQUÉ

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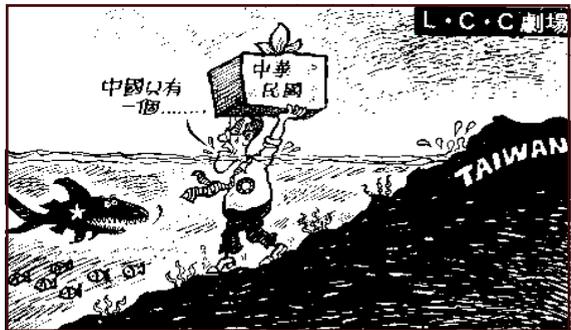
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## Let Taiwan be Taiwan

During the past months, the question of Taiwan's identity has been at issue on a number of separate but related occasions. First, in the beginning of August 1992 the Taipei authorities came up with a "new" definition of "one China". Secondly, when South Korea announced at the end of August that it was establishing diplomatic relations with Peking, and thirdly at the end of September 1992, when GATT member states were considering Taiwan's membership at their meeting in Geneva.

On all three occasions the Taipei authorities took a step backwards: The "new" definition proposed in the beginning of August for "one China" dates back to 1912 — and was thus compared by the press in Taipei with a frog jumping back into the same old mud puddle. In the South Korea case, the Kuomintang authorities shortsightedly decided to break diplomatic relations, while in the discussions with GATT, they lamely accepted the Olympic non-formula "Chinese Taipei."

**Taiwan Communiqué comment:** *the Kuomintang authorities should break loose from their old "one China" straitjacket and their outdated claim to be the rightful government of all of China. The South Korea case shows that this is a dead-end alley: by presenting itself as "Free China" it forces the outside world to choose between Peking and Taipei.*



Taiwan President Lee Teng-hui carrying the "one China" burden.

*By presenting itself simply as “Taiwan” — not more, but also not less — it would give other nations the chance to recognize this new Taiwan as a sovereign nation. A fully free, democratic and independent Taiwan has every right to be a full member of the international community.*

On the following pages we give further background on the three cases mentioned above; and also discuss two steps forward: First, the idea of working towards UN membership is increasingly gaining ground in Taiwan; Secondly, a group of mainlanders in Taiwan courageously set up an organization for Taiwan independence.

## Defining “One China”

In the beginning of August 1992, the KMT authorities announced that they had come up with a “new” definition of “one China.” During a meeting of the National Unification Council, headed by President Lee Teng-hui, the Taipei authorities reiterated their claim to sovereignty over all of China, and asserted that the term “one China” referred to the Republic of China, as it was established by the Chinese Nationalists in 1912, although its rule at present only covers Taiwan and some nearby islands.

**Taiwan Communiqué comment:** *by continuing to make their claim of sovereignty over all of China, the KMT authorities made themselves look slightly ridiculous. There is indeed only one China, but historic realism should tell them that China is ruled by the Communist authorities in Peking. Present-day reality should also tell Peking that Taiwan is not part of their China.*

*Of course everyone hopes that China can become a prosperous, free, and democratic country, but this can only come from the Chinese people themselves. The Kuomintang has no role to play on the mainland. Attempts at unification of tiny Taiwan with giant China will only lead to further tensions in the area.*



**The KMT's "one-China" frog jumping back into the same old mud puddle.**

*The best chances for the future of Taiwan lie in being a democratic nation-state, which lives in peace and harmony with all its neighbors, including China.*

## **South Korea establishes relations with Peking**

On 24 August 1992, the South Korean authorities and the Chinese authorities in Peking announced that diplomatic relations would be established between the two countries. The move was a major blow to the Kuomintang authorities in Taipei, because South Korea was the only country in Asia with which Taipei was maintaining diplomatic ties.

However, besides strongly-worded protestations in Taipei and well-publicized tears at Taipei's embassy in Seoul, there was little the Taipei authorities could do. Direct airlinks by the respective airlines were cut, but this will probably be of short duration: the economic interests in the two countries will force a quick re-establishment of the flights.

In Taiwan itself, many people considered the break in relations the result of the Kuomintang's own shortsighted policies. This opinion is best represented by a statement issued on 24 August 1992 by the **Church and Society Committee** of the **Presbyterian Church in Taiwan**. Below follows a summary:

**“Recently South Korea established relations with China and severed relations with “Republic of China”. This diplomatic setback proves that the KMT regime's claim of sovereignty over China is absurd. The “one China” policy insisted upon by the KMT regime has caused a series of diplomatic setbacks and Taiwan is becoming an international pariah.**

Since Taiwan was expelled from the United Nations in 1971, the “one China” policy has proven to be a dead-end street. After the recent break of ties with South Korea, President Lee Teng-hui still proclaim to continue the “one China” policy and to pursue a so-called a substantive policy of dual recognition. This is self-contradictory. While the majority of nations of the international community recognize the People's Republic of China across the Taiwan Strait as the legitimate government of China, the KMT regime's “one China” policy is leading Taiwan into a dead-end street. The Presbyterian Church in Taiwan is strongly opposed to a “one China” policy.

To safeguard Taiwan's independence, security and freedom, we call on the people of Taiwan to demand that before important foreign policy decisions are made, they should first be openly debated in public forums and then decided in a referendum. The Presbyterian Church believes that only a realistic policy of "one China, one Taiwan" can help Taiwan break out of the current diplomatic quagmire.

We also strongly believe that when Taiwan abandons the fiction of "Republic of China", and establish a new and independent country, it can return to the international community and be accepted and respected by all the members of the international community."

## GATT: back to the Olympic non-formula ?

At the end of September 1992, it was announced by the authorities in Taipei that the GATT member states would consider Taiwan's membership at their meeting in Geneva on 29 September. The matter has been on the backburner for a long time: Taipei applied to become a member of GATT on 1 January 1990 under the name "**Independent Customs Territory of Taiwan, Penghu, Kinmen, and Matsu.**" However, the matter was held up by China, which is also not a member of GATT yet, but which has insisted that Taiwan can only be admitted after China's own admission.

China has also objected to the name Taiwan used in its application, and has insisted on a name which implies that Taiwan falls under Peking's sovereignty. Until recently the Taipei authorities refused, but now they have apparently succumbed to the temptation, and accepted "**Chinese Taipei**" as title.

If Taiwan's application is accepted at the meeting, GATT will establish a working group to consult with the Taipei authorities on the liberalization of the Taiwan market, and on the removal of tariffs. Taiwan will initially become a GATT observer and be allowed to attend its meetings. If after the consultations end, two-thirds of the 104 GATT members endorse Taiwan's membership, it will officially become a full member. At the time of this writing no GATT-decision had been made yet.

*Taiwan Communiqué comment: we endorse GATT membership for Taiwan, but emphasize that it should be under its own name, Taiwan. No other name should be imposed by outsiders. The title "Chinese Taipei" is a non-formula, and as incongruent as "Americans Washington" or "French Paris."*

## *UN Membership for Taiwan*

The idea of working towards UN membership is increasingly gaining ground in Taiwan: originally only the DPP dared to push this idea (see *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 52), but more and more members of the ruling Kuomintang are now rallying behind it. Also internationally the concept is gaining ground: in the United States Congress two resolutions are moving up through committees (see page 20).

In June 1992, the Legislative Yuan in Taipei passed a resolution requesting the authorities to plan a return to the United Nations.

In mid-August 1992, press reports in Taiwan indicated that the Foreign Ministry in Taipei had drafted a “White Paper” emphasizing the importance of joining the United Nations, and outlining a strategy to achieve this goal. Of course the authorities formally still state they adhere to the “*one-China*” concept, but this is de-emphasized more and more, while they see themselves taking “an aggressive yet flexible role” in gaining international recognition. Increasingly this flexibility has been shown in the issue of “name”: *Republic of China* is used less and less, while a subtle shift towards *Taiwan* — via a number of intermediate subvariations — is clearly evident.

The issue was again in focus in mid-September 1992, when a number of KMT and DPP legislators discussed the pro’s and con’s with Foreign Affairs Minister Fredrick Chien at a seminar at the Institute of International Relations in Taipei.

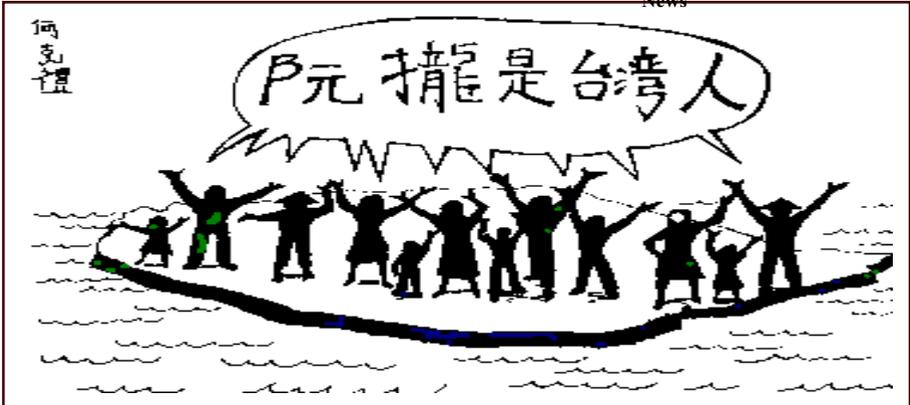
## **Mainlanders for Taiwan independence**

A second positive development is that on 23 August 1992, a group of Taiwan citizens originating from mainland China set up an organization called “**Mainlanders for Taiwan Independence**” in Taipei. Its members pledged to work for the establishment of an independent Republic of Taiwan, and for harmony among the different ethnic groups on the island. The group also aims to convince the 15% mainlander population on the island that their roots are now in Taiwan, and that they should not consider the island only a “temporary” home.

The founders of the organization consist of both the older and younger generations of mainlanders. Leading members are Professor Liao Chung-shan of the National Taiwan Oceanographic University, Professors Chang Chung-tung and Chen Shih-

meng of National Taiwan University — the latter served as DPP acting Secretary-General earlier this year. Also involved are the younger generation of students leaders who have been active in the student movement.

Gary Hoff: Taiwan Church News



Mainlanders on Taiwan: "we are all Taiwanese."

This is an important development in the Taiwan independence movement, because for the first time a group of mainlanders are joining the Taiwanese in openly calling for the establishment of an independent Republic of Taiwan. The organization's spokeswoman, Mrs. **Hsu Hsing-sheng**, said:

*"Taiwan has existed in a de facto independent status for more than four decades, and it is time for us to rectify its name to match with its status. The "Great China" policy is not necessarily a good policy, as can be seen from the fact that South Korea dropped us."*

Being a mainlander herself, Ms. Hsu said she expects to be bullied and insulted [by "unification" supporters — Ed.] while campaigning for this goal, but added that the organization is going to pursue its goal of educating the mainlanders in Taiwan that they should not be burdened by the historical legacy of China, but should be a happy Taiwan, free from complexes left over from the past.

Professor Liao Chung-shan added: *"The One-China policy has proven bankrupt in our recent diplomatic break with Seoul, and it is time for our authorities here to seriously consider adopting the 'one-China, one-Taiwan' policy."*

# The Fly-off: F-16 versus Mirage-2000

## *Aircraft sales to Taiwan: further step towards independence*

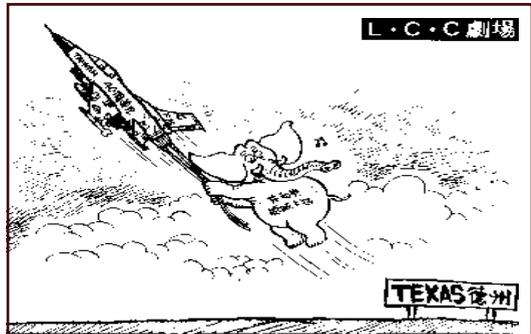
**By: Coen Blaauw and Gerrit van der Wees.**

*Mr. Blaauw is executive director of the Formosan Association for Public Affairs in Washington DC. Dr. Van der Wees is a Dutch aerospace specialist and chief editor of Taiwan Communiqué.*

On 2 September 1992, while visiting the General Dynamics plant at Fort Worth, TX, President Bush announced that he would authorize the sale of 150 F-16B aircraft to Taiwan. The authorities in Taiwan had recently stepped up their decade-old campaign for the purchase of the aircraft, because of reports that China was buying up to some 72 Sukhoi-27 advanced fighter aircraft from the former Soviet Union.

The Bush statement was prompted by the fact that according to public opinion polls, he was lagging behind Arkansas Governor Clinton in the US presidential election race. In the important state of Texas, the win or loss of the thousands of votes of the workers at the General Dynamics plant and their dependents might make a crucial difference.

Arkansas Governor Clinton responded to the Bush statement by saying that it was "... the right move for the wrong reasons." He charged that the Republican Administration had continued to coddle China, despite its continuing crackdown on democratic reforms, and now suddenly reversed its position just for the sake of winning votes.



**F-16 sale to Taiwan: "lift-off" for Republican hopes in Texas !**

President Bush argued that the sale would help maintain peace and stability in the Asian-Pacific region, an argument which has been used frequently by the Kuomintang authorities. However, after the announcement, a number of editorial commentaries in the press in the United States and internationally expressed the concern that it would spur a new arms race in the region.

In a separate but related development, the French authorities announced on 10 September 1992 in Paris, that they were giving approval for the sale of 60 Mirage 2000-5 fighter aircraft to Taiwan. Reports of the deal had circulated in the press for several months. Apparently the Taipei authorities had attempted to use the deal to put pressure of the US government to authorize the sale of the F-16. *Vice versa*, they used the F-16 deal to get a better price on the Mirage, which was considerably higher in price.



### **The French Mirage-2000-5 on take-off**

However, after the positive decision of Mr. Bush, the Taipei authorities wanted to maintain good relations with Paris and be assured of multiple sources of advanced fighter aircraft. They thus decided to proceed with a purchase of a lower number of Mirages, 60 instead of the original 120.

In a further development, it was announced on 23 September 1992 in Washington D.C. that the U.S. government had agreed to an additional purchase by Taiwan: twelve anti-submarine LAMPS (*“light airborne multi-purpose system”*) frigate-based helicopters of the SH-2F model.

From the perspective of the Taiwanese people, the sale of the F-16 and Mirage 2000 aircraft and the helicopters has both positive and negative points:

On the positive side:

- \* The sales carry with them an implicit recognition by Washington and Paris of Taiwan's independent status. Others will follow soon, thus ending Taiwan's isolation, and gradually leading to a return into the international community as an independent country.

- \* The sales thus mark the beginning of the end of the outdated “*one China*” policy of Western governments. It opens the door for a more rational and realistic “*One China, one Taiwan*” policy and for stronger economic and eventually political relations between Taiwan and the West.
- \* Although the sales hardly change the military balance between China and Taiwan (China has some 4,000 fighter aircraft, Taiwan only 424), they strengthen the deterrence of Taiwan’s air defense, and reduce the likelihood of an attack from the Chinese mainland,

On the negative side:

- \* The purchase strengthens the mainlander-dominated military establishment on the island, and may reduce the control of the political leadership over the military,
- \* the purchase draws a large amount of funds from the national budget, at the expense of important infrastructure projects and social services.

***Taiwan Communiqué comment:*** *On the balance, we agree with the sale of the aircraft, for the principal reason that it does mean a first step in recognition of Taiwan as a new and separate entity. It also strengthens Taiwan’s defense against China. Peking is still threatening to use force against Taiwan, particularly if it would formally declare its independence.*

*We strongly believe that the people of Taiwan have the right to their independence, and also have the right to defend themselves against a possible foreign aggressor.*

*At the same time, the U.S. and French governments should impress upon the authorities in Taipei the importance of significant progress in moving towards a fully free and democratic political system. Such a democratically-led government can then strive towards peaceful coexistence with all its neighbors, including China.*

## Preparing for the December elections

The upcoming Legislative Yuan election on 19 December 1992 is an important step in Taiwan's parliamentary reform, as it is the first general election in which all the members of the Legislative Yuan will be elected in Taiwan. In the last legislative elections in 1989, only some twenty five percent of the members were elected on the island. The remaining members were old mainlanders who had held their seats for more than 40 years without reelection. They were finally forced to retire in December 1991.

It is expected that the December elections are going to be a heated contest, as the ruling KMT authorities will try to maintain their dominant position, and the opposition DPP will try to make a comeback. The DPP received a disappointing 24 percent of the votes in the 1991 National Assembly (electoral college) elections, down from the 30 percent average received in previous elections.

### *Still no level playing field*

The rules of the game are heavily in favor of the ruling KMT authorities, which have a wide range of national resources at their disposal. The DPP faces an uphill battle because of the many built-in hurdles. It also has little access to the government-controlled radio and television stations.

A total of 161 seats will be contested. One hundred and twenty-five of these represent district constituencies in Taiwan. The remaining 36 are "non-regional" seats, which — in keeping with the Kuomintang's claim to be the legitimate government of the mainland too — are reserved to represent "all of China". However, since the KMT cannot hold elections in China, these 36 non-regional seats are to be allotted to the political parties according to the percentage of the votes each party receives in the election. Of the 36 seats, six are reserved for overseas Taiwanese.

### *The KMT selects its candidates*

On 15 September 1992, the Kuomintang announced that it was nominating 98 candidates for the 125 district seats. The candidates were selected by a seven-member KMT nomination committee headed by vice-President Li Yuan-tzu. The number of nominations shows that the KMT is aiming at winning some 75% of the votes: in

the National Assembly elections in December 1991 the KMT won 71.2% of the votes and 78.2% of the seats. A number of candidates much higher than that would split the vote, and reduce the number of seats won.

More than 20 candidates have military background or are supported by the military, which is in control of the so-called *iron-block* votes from military establishments and villages. The military wants its own legislators in the Legislative Yuan in order to safeguard the passing of defense budget. More than 10 candidates are so called “*golden oxen*”, who are associated with big business and can afford to buy their way into the Legislative Yuan. Many local factional leaders are also nominated, because they have built a power base and can generate local support.

However, one weakness in the KMT nominations was the fact that they left out a number of the present legislators: many of these are associated with two KMT factions in the Legislative Yuan — the more progressive **Wisdom Coalition** and the more conservative **New KMT Alliance** — which have not always toed the party line. Of the 64 incumbents who competed for nomination only 46 were nominated. Legislators of the two factions have already announced that they will not abide by the Party decision, and will run anyway, against the party-nominated candidates if need be.

## *The DPP holds primaries*

The DPP held its primaries for the 125 seats to be contested in the district constituencies in the beginning of July 1992. A total of 52 candidates were nominated. This is a relatively high number, which might lead to a splitting of the vote and loss of seats: the DPP aims for some 30% of the vote, which would warrant approximately 40 candidates.

Many of the democratic movement leaders associated with the former **Formosa Magazine** — which organized the 1979 human rights demonstration in Kaohsiung — joined the race. Mr. Shih Ming-teh is running in Tainan City, Mr. Chang Chun-hung is running in the south district of Taipei City, Mr. Yao Chia-wen is running in Changhua County, while Ms. Lu Hsiu-lien is running in Taoyuan. Mr. Huang Hsin-chieh recently announced that he is to run in Hualien, where DPP so far has made little inroads in this remote, mountainous county on the East Coast of Taiwan. As the former Chairman of DPP and a wealthy businessman, Mr. Huang hopes to cultivate enough support to return to the Legislative Yuan as an elected legislator.

## *Profile of two candidates*

Among the DPP candidates are two men, who gave up very distinguished careers in the United States and returned to Taiwan to join the democratic and independence movement. One is Professor Chai Trong-rong, who is running in Chia-yi City in the south of Taiwan, the other is Dr. Shen Fu-hsiung, who is running in the south district of Taipei City.

**Dr. Shen Fu-hsiung: curing patient Taiwan.** Dr. Shen is a kidney dialysis specialist. He was associate professor of medicine at the University of Washington in Seattle, and director of the kidney dialysis Center of the Veterans General Hospital in Seattle before he returned to Taiwan to work in 1986. He is director of the kidney dialysis center in the Adventist Hospital in Taipei.

His name made headlines in January 1991, when he was arrested and detained briefly for importing EPO, a medicine used for the treatment of patients on kidney dialysis. Dr. Shen's arrest focused international attention on political repression in Taiwan. Many of his former colleagues in the United States sent letters to President Lee Teng-hui to protest his arrest.



**Dr. Shen Fu-hsiung**

Dr. Shen was arrested because of his political activities. He was an active member of the Taiwanese community in Seattle, and served as an eloquent spokesman after the Kaohsiung Incident in 1979. After he returned to Taiwan to work, he became a major donor to organizations which support Taiwan independence, such as the **Association for Public Plebiscite** and the **Foundation for Taiwan International Relations**. During his detention he was interrogated entirely about his political activities.

Having experienced repression first hand, Dr. Shen has decided to come to the forefront of politics. In a political advertisement in the *Independent Evening News*, he said that he is walking out of the hospital to the legislative chamber to treat Taiwan's illness.

Aside from his medical training, Dr. Shen is a qualified lawyer. In 1959, while he was in his second year of medical school in Taiwan, he passed the bar examination and can practice as a lawyer.

**Professor Chai Trong-rong.** Professor Chai is a former chairman of WUFI in the 1970s and one of the founding members of the Formosan Association for Public Affairs (FAPA), the main Taiwanese lobbying organization in Washington D.C. He was a professor of political science at the City University of New York.

After nearly three decades of exile in the United States, two years ago Prof. Chai was finally given permission to return to Taiwan to attend the funeral of his father-in-law. Once Professor Chai set his foot on Taiwan soil, he decided to stay to promote the movement for a public plebiscite on the future of Taiwan. In two years, he has set up branch offices in many parts of Taiwan and has organized large-scale demonstrations in Taipei, Kaohsiung and Taichung.

## *Non-regional seats*

On 30 August 1992, the DPP held a primary election to elect candidates for the non-regional seats. If the DPP can capture 25 to 30 percent of the votes cast in the December elections, then it can win eight or nine of the thirty seats, and perhaps two of the six overseas seats. The winners of these primaries are thus relatively certain to gain a seat. The top eight DPP vote getters who entered the so-called "safety zone" are as follows:

1. Mrs. **Yeh Chu-lan**, an incumbent legislator received over four thousand votes, the highest number of anyone. Ms. Yeh's overwhelming support from the rank and file of DPP is a confirmation of her outstanding performance as a legislator.
2. Mr. **Chang Chun-hsiung**, also an incumbent legislator, from Kaohsiung City.



**Mrs. Yeh Chu-lan and her daughter Chu-mei**

3. Mr. **Tai Cheng-yao** -- also an incumbent legislator supported by the New Tide faction of the DPP.
4. Ms. **Yu Ling-ya** -- a member of the powerful Yu family in Kaohsiung County. She is a member of the Provincial Assembly and daughter of the county magistrate of Kaohsiung county, Mrs. Yu Chen Yueh-ying.
5. Mr. **Lin Rui-ching**, head of DPP office in Yun-lin, is an associate of Mr. Lin Wen-lang and received support from Mr. Lin.
6. Mr. **Hsieh Tsung-min**, a former political prisoner, who has built up a political power base in Chang Hwa county.
7. Mr. **Huang Er-hsuan**, a scholar who served as the first secretary-general of DPP. He was supported by members of WUFI in Taiwan.
8. Ms. **Chao Hsiu-wa**, a former member of the Provincial Assembly from Miao-li county.

Mr. **Chiang Peng-chien**, the former chairman of DPP, regrettably did not gain an electable seat. He was considered a heavyweight candidate because of his distinguished career as a former legislator, but he is not associated with any of the factions within the DPP, and thus did not gather sufficient support. He served as a legislator from 1983 to 1986, and is one of Taiwan's prime human rights lawyers.

In the nomination for the overseas seats, the two prime DPP-candidates are Professor Parris Hsu-cheng Chang and Dr. Mark Chen. Professor Chang is a prominent scholar, who teaches political science at Pennsylvania State University in the United States. He returned to Taiwan to run for political office. A profile of the second overseas candidate, Dr. Chen, follows below.

## *Mark Chen: from Exile to Lawmaker*

A year ago, Dr. Chen was still on the black-list and was denied entry to Taiwan. The recent revision of the sedition law, which lifted the ban on overseas opposition supporters, made it possible for many political exiles to return to Taiwan.

For Dr. Chen, it was a dream come true to return to Taiwan to participate in the legislative election after having been in political exile for more than 25 years in the United States.

For more than a decade, the tall and soft-spoken Dr. Chen has served as a leader of the overseas Taiwanese community in the United States. In late 1970s, he was elected president of the Taiwanese Association of the United States and later elected president of the World Federation of Taiwanese Associations, an umbrella organization for all overseas Taiwanese around the world. He also helped to found Formosa Association for Public Affairs (FAPA), the main Taiwanese lobbying organization in Washington D.C., and was elected its president in 1984.



**Dr. Mark Chen**

Mr. Chen earned the respect from American congressmen and senators for his diplomatic skills in rallying support from the American lawmakers for the democratic opposition in Taiwan. For which he earned the title as the unofficial ambassador-at-large for Taiwan.

Because of his lobbying effort in American Congress for support for the democratic opposition in Taiwan, for more than a decade, he was denied entry back to Taiwan, even to attend his father's funeral. In 1987 — after Martial Law was lifted — he was finally allowed to return to Taiwan.

Mr. Chen was trained as a scientist with a Ph.D. in physics from Purdue University. He is employed by the Commerce Department of the American federal government. He said that he would give up his American citizenship and resigned from the Commerce Department if he becomes a member of Taiwan's parliament.

## Vote-buying problems plague DPP

In June and July 1992, the DPP was plagued by a scandal involving several ranking party members who were suspected of trying to buy votes from delegates in order to win the nomination for the non-regional seats.

The scandal broke out after Ms. Tsai Ming-hua, a lawyer and a DPP member of the National Assembly and Mr. Hsu Yang-ming, a member of the DPP's Justice Alliance headed by legislator Chen Shui-bian obtained evidence that intermediaries of several ranking party members tried to buy votes on behalf of their candidates.

The scandal made headlines in the Taiwan press. During the past five years, the DPP has tried to distinguish itself from the ruling KMT as a party of high principles and ethical standard.

The scandal tarnished the image of the DPP as a clean party. The Central Standing Committee of DPP took swift action in an attempt to repair the damage by authorizing an independent committee of five lawyers to conduct an impartial investigation. After interviewing some 30 witnesses, the committee concluded that there was sufficient evidence to show that Messrs. Lin Wen-lang, a member of the Central Standing Committee, and Hsu Ming-teh, the party treasurer did attempt to buy votes from delegates. Three others were exonerated due to lack of evidence.

The DPP Central Standing Committee then disqualified Messrs. Lin and Hsu from competing in the non-regional seats. Messrs. Lin and Hsu held a press conference to deny that they bought votes and vowed to fight back.

In an attempt to prevent further vote-buying, a DPP convention on 2 August 1992 decided to let the rank and file of the party — instead of delegates to a party convention — choose the candidates for the non-regional seats.

The subsequent attempts by Messrs. Lin and Hsu to reverse the decision only generated more controversy. On 21 August 1992, DPP's Central Advisory Committee — instead of confirming disciplinary action against Messrs. Lin and Hsu — overturned the conclusion of the five-member committee, and asserted that there was no evidence to prove that Messrs. Lin and Hsu bought votes from delegates. The decision was reached by the six members of the Formosa faction after three members of the New Tide faction walked out because they didn't agree with lifting the disciplinary measures.

*Taiwan Communiqué comment: the episode shows the regrettable increase of factional infighting within the DPP. If the party indeed wishes to present itself as a clear alternative to the KMT, it should rid itself from those elements involved in vote-buying and other means of influence peddling.*

*At this point in time, the DPP still has a chance to become a party which shows vision, leadership, and a clean image. However, the leadership needs to realize that for this to happen, the party needs to let quality and high ethics speak, not money.*

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## Ending the “Period of Rebellion”

### *Taiwan Garrison Command abolished*

On 31 July 1992, the once so much-feared **Taiwan Garrison Command** was disbanded. President Lee Teng-hui ordered its abolishment in the wake of the ending of the “Period of Communist Rebellion” in May 1991. This state of siege had been in force on the island since 1948, when Chiang Kai-shek withdrew to Taiwan, which had been under Japanese control from 1895 through 1945.

During the past decades, the Garrison Command was the Kuomintang’s prime — but not only — secret police organization, often outdoing the KGB in the former Soviet Union in terms of its pervasive reach into society and its repressiveness.

From its founding in the 1950’s through the mid-1980’s, the Garrison Command was all-powerful, arresting anyone speaking out against the ruling Kuomintang authorities. In the early years, many people simply disappeared, never to be heard of again. It was also notorious for torturing prisoners and extracting forced confessions. In December 1979, most of the key leaders of the present opposition party, the DPP, were arrested by the Garrison Command in the aftermath of the 1979 **Kaohsiung Incident**.

In the first half of the 1980’s, its influence decreased when the newly evolving democratic opposition movement started to openly criticize the Garrison Command as the authorities’ instrument of repression. Its disbandment is thus a significant victory for the democratic opposition.

However, the tasks of the Garrison Command will not be fully ceased: Coastal patrols against smuggling and illegal immigration will be performed by the newly formed Coastal Patrol Command, while the implementation of the controversial “anti-hoodlum” law will be transferred to the police and Ministry of Justice.

Another — unspecified — agency will be set up to handle electronic communication and mail inspection, or telephone tapping and mail censorship in plain English. This was an area in which the Garrison Command had developed great expertise, and which was quite prevalent through the mid-1980’s. While it has decreased considerably by now, the practice is apparently still being continued.

## ***Blacklisting officially ended, but ...***

Another relic of the Kuomintang’s repressive regime officially disappeared in the beginning of July 1992, when the Legislative Yuan formally approved a revision of **Article 100 of the Criminal Code**. Under the old Article 100, overseas supporters of the democratic opposition had been banned from entering Taiwan.

According to an announcement by Interior Minister Wu Poh-hsiung, some 277 persons on the existing blacklist of 282 would be cleared to enter the island, leaving only five persons who were still being denied entry. According to the Taipei authorities the five had either used or advocated violence. However, the authorities declined to identify the five “for privacy reasons.”

The ending of the blacklist is to a great extent the result of the persistent efforts of DPP-members in the Legislative Yuan, in particular Messrs. Chen Shui-bian and Hsieh Ch’ang-t’ing, both of whom frequently queried KMT officials on the blacklist, which in its heyday during the mid-1980’s numbered around 1,000 overseas democratic opposition supporters in the U.S., Canada, Europe, and Latin America.

Until very recently, KMT authorities blandly maintained that no blacklist existed, but when prominent U.S. Senators and Congressmen increasingly expressed themselves on the issue (see *Taiwan Communiqué* no.’s 50 and 54), the KMT position became more and more untenable.

However, reports during the second half of September 1992 indicate that the KMT authorities have problems dropping their old ways: three prominent members of the Japan Chapter of the World United Formosan for Independence (WUFI) still have difficulty in getting permission to return to Taiwan.

Professor Hsu Shih-kai, the former chairman of WUFI, Professor Huang Chao-tang, chairman of the Japan Chapter and Professor Chin Mei-ling, a member of the central committee of the WUFI Japan Chapter, applied for visa to return to Taiwan at the end of August and the in the beginning of September.

On 25 September 1992, accompanied by lawyer Lee Sheng-hsiung from Taiwan, they were told by a representative of the Taipei Economic and Cultural Center, the KMT authorities' unofficial embassy in Tokyo, that their cases have to be reviewed by the Ministry of Interior in Taipei and it will take one to two months before they can get a reply.

Professors. Hsu Shih-kai and Huang Chao-tang teaches political science in Japan, and have lived in exile for more than 30 years. Professor Chin teaches English literature in Japan.

Ms. Ho Kang-mei, head of the WUFI European Chapter is in the same predicament: she applied for visa to return to Taiwan at the end of August and after weeks of waiting has not received any response from the KMT authorities' representative office in Brussels. Ms. Ho holds a five-year valid passport issued by the KMT authorities.

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## Report from Washington

By: Coen Blaauw

### *U.S. Congress: Equal access to the media*

Three members of the US House of Representatives have urged Taiwan's KMT government to allow members of Taiwan's democratic movement access to Taiwan's three television stations. The initiative for this campaign was taken by **Neil Abercrombie** (D-HI), **Jolene Unsoeld** (D-WA), and **John Miller** (R-WA). Currently a "*Dear Colleague*" letter is circulating in the House, requesting other members to co-sign the letter. The campaign is very timely now that the Legislative elections are coming up in December 1992. A few excerpts from the letter:

*“For a political system to offer truly fair elections, major party candidates must be guaranteed fair play in the written press and on the airwaves. And because of its reach and the power of the images it conveys, fair access to television is vitally important in the exercise of democracy. We understand that this last hurdle is one your country still faces. Observers (...) note that opposition parties do not receive fair play on the three state-controlled stations. Unless independent television stations are allowed and unless measures are taken to ensure fair and impartial coverage on Taiwan’s three state-owned stations, progress towards genuine democracy in your country will be crippled.”*

The letter is titled **“Support Free and Fair elections in Taiwan”** and also states that *“...numerous independent observers attest to the fact that the three national stations — the only ones on the island — provide heavily biased coverage which favors the ruling KMT and seeks to diminish the opposition parties.”*

It is interesting to note that the letter was drafted by staffers of House members who just got back from a CCNAA sponsored trip to Taiwan. The Foreign Affairs aides of Mr. Abercrombie and Mrs. Unsoeld both went on the July trip. They came back with the idea of doing something about the problem of unfair media coverage in Taiwan’s elections.

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## *United Nations Resolution in the Senate*

On 16 September 1992, Senator **Joe Lieberman** (D-Connecticut) introduced a resolution in the US Senate in support of Taiwan’s membership in the United Nations and other international organizations. The resolution, **Senate Concurrent Resolution no. 136**, 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 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 United States, 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 under the name *“Taiwan”*,

\* that Taiwan's membership in the United Nations would further enhance the peace, security, and stability in the Pacific, which would be in the best interest of the United States and other nations on the Pacific Rim.

A similar Resolution had previously been introduced in the US House of Representatives by Congressman **Dennis Hertel** (D-MI) — see *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 52, pp. 13-14. In the accompanying statement to the present Resolution, the Senator said:

*“Taiwan has undertaken a different political route than China. While Taiwan is still far from being a perfect democracy, it has made significant progress in developing democratic representative institutions. In contrast, China still has thousands of political prisoners.*

*By granting membership, we will be sending a clear message that Taiwan is a full-fledged member of the world community whose independence cannot be jeopardized by mainland China. China still makes threatening statements about the use of force vis-à-vis Taiwan. UN membership would convey to China that Taiwan's international status is **not** an “internal” matter, but a vital international issue.”*

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## ***Taiwanese-American Student Group set up***

***By: Rolla Chuang***

During the past three decades thousands of students from Taiwan went to the United States for graduate study at American universities. Many became active in the overseas Taiwanese democratic movement and now constitute a strong force in the opposition movement on the island.

Their children grew up in the United States and many of them are presently reaching college age. During the past years these second-generation Taiwanese-Americans have become increasingly organized at the local and regional level. They have now formed an organization at the national level: the **Intercollegiate Taiwanese American Students Association** (ITASA), a network of college students who come together, based on their common Taiwanese heritage.

ITASA now has several hundred members across the United States. It sponsors annual regional collegiate conferences, and publishes a periodical newsletter, entitled

ITASA Times (IT). The organization specifically focuses on issues and concerns of the generation of Taiwanese growing up outside Taiwan. On the one hand it wishes to maintain ties to the culture and heritage of Taiwan, and keep alive the concern for their country of origin and its people. On the other hand it considers it necessary to recognize that growing up in another culture and society brings with it the need to adopt values and address concerns of their new — American — society.

Further information can be obtained from: **Mr. Tim Chuang, ITASA Times Editor, Room 245-2 Hawkins Grad House, Purdue University, West Lafayette, IN 47906, (317) 495-7704.**

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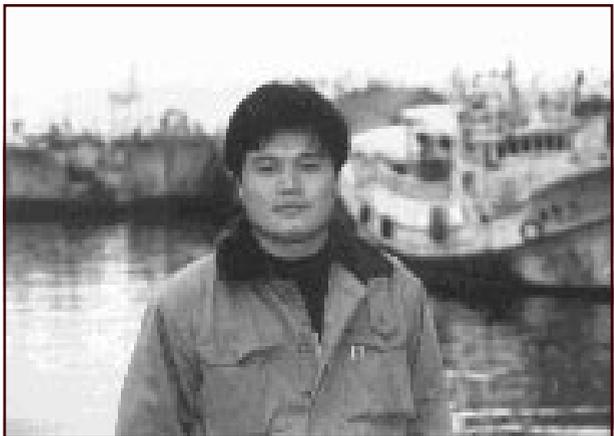
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## Prison Report

### *“Taitu Five” acquitted*

At the end of July 1992, the High Court in Taiwan formally dropped charges against five young pro-independence activists. The five had been arrested in May 1991, for allegedly having contacts with an elderly Japan-based independence activist, Mr. Shih Ming.

They were charged with “sedition” under the draconian security laws still in force at that time (see *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 50, pp. 15-16). However, their arrest prompted a wave of demonstrations, which in turn led President Lee Teng-hui to abrogate the “Statute for the Punish-



**Masao Nikar (Lin Yin-fu), one of the "Taitu Five", serves as the Director of the Fishermen's Service Center in Kaohsiung.**

ment of Sedition”, under which the five had been charged (see *Communiqué* no. 51, pp. 13-15).

The five were subsequently released, but were still put on trial, and sentenced to prison terms ranging from 10 months to two years on charges of “conspiring to commit sedition” under the equally outdated Article 100 of the Criminal Code (see *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 53, pp. 20-21).

The revision of the Criminal Code, which went into effect in the beginning of July 1992, also meant that the legal basis for the charges had disappeared, and the High Court was thus forced to find the five innocent under the newly revised Code. On 3 September 1992, the Prosecutor’s Office decided not to appeal against the High Court acquittal, thus formally ending the case against the five.

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## ***Medical bail for Dr. George Chang rejected***

In the beginning of July 1992, the High Court in Taiwan rejected an appeal by family and lawyers for medical bail for Dr. George Chang, the only Taiwan independence leader presently still held imprisoned by the Taipei regime. The Kuomintang authorities arrested Dr. Chang on 7 December 1991, when he flew in from Tokyo (see *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 55, p.1).

In late July 1992, a group of ministers representing the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan submitted another appeal for Mr. Chang’s release to the Presidential Office, but up until now no response has been received yet.

The 56-year old Dr. Chang is reported to suffer from high blood pressure and heart problems. International human rights organizations and the Taiwanese democratic opposition have appealed to the Taipei authorities to release him, but to no avail yet. The KMT authorities charged Mr. Chang with “sedition” for his vocal and open advocacy of Taiwan independence — he has been the driving force behind the movement for a free, democratic, and independent Taiwan, and has long served as the chairman of the World United Formosans for Independence (WUFI).