



Published by:

International Committee for Human Rights in Taiwan

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U.S.A. : P.O. Box 15275, WASHINGTON, DC 20003-5275

International edition, December 1992

Published 6 times a year

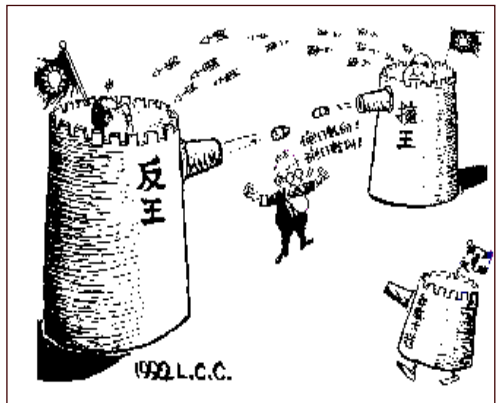
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Elections for the Legislative Yuan

On 19 December 1992, elections are held in Taiwan for the 161-seat Legislative Yuan. This is the first time in the history of Taiwan that elections are held for all seats of this legislative body: up until December 1991, a majority of the seats were held by old mainlanders, elected on the Chinese mainland in 1947. The present elections are thus a significant step forward in the process of parliamentary reform, which was initiated by the Taiwanese democratic opposition (the DPP and its *tangwai* predecessor) in the early 1980s.

A total of 351 candidates are running for 125 seats in 23 district constituencies. The KMT and DPP have nominated an additional 52 candidates for 36 "non-regional seats", six of which are reserved for overseas Taiwanese.

While the present elections can certainly be characterized as more open than before, they are still not fully fair. Control of television and vote buying by ruling party candidates are the most obvious methods used by the Kuomintang authorities in distorting the results. On the following pages, we discuss a number of the aspects of the election campaign. One of these was that in the KMT, a number of members didn't want to toe the party line. This prompted the following cartoon in the press in Taiwan.



KMT-chair Lee: "Don't fight among ourselves !"
DPP: "We are ready for the December elections !"

More open, but not fully fair

The ruling Kuomintang employs a wide range of methods to prevent the opposition from reaching the public, while at the same time many KMT candidates resort to large-scale vote-buying, especially in the rural areas.

The KMT authorities still control the three television stations, which generally do not allow opposition candidates to present their views on the issues, and usually portray the opposition in a negative light. At the end of November 1992, the **Taipei Society**, an impartial group of professors in social science and communications from various universities in Taiwan, called on the Kuomintang to end its “monopoly on the media.” The group stated that the China Television Company is controlled by the Kuomintang itself, the Taiwan Television Enterprise by the Provincial Government, and the China Television System by the military.

Several groups also criticized one of the largest newspapers in the country, the **United Daily News**, for its biased pro-government reporting.

The DPP: on course for 30%

In an interview with *Taiwan Communiqué* in Taipei, the deputy secretary-general of the DPP, Mr. Chiu Yi-jen, indicated that the DPP’s strategy in this year’s elections is to emphasize the need for “checks-and-balances.” Many people view the DPP as a good instrument to check the power of the ruling Kuomintang, but in the view of the general public, the DPP itself was not strong enough yet to become a ruling party. He said he expects the party to receive some 30% of the vote.

Mr. Chiu said that the DPP has many good and qualified candidates, but he expected that in quite a number of districts the Kuomintang would put up a strong fight with their well-financed and well-oiled party machinery. He pointed out that the KMT had many “golden cow” and “diamond oxen” candidates: wealthy businessmen who can afford to spend millions of dollars in their election campaign. Mr. Chiu expected vote-buying to be even more prevalent than during last year’s National Assembly elections.

The KMT divided

In the run-up to the elections the Kuomintang party is having considerable problems of their own. On two sides, party members are not following the party line:

At the end of October 1992, two prominent cabinet members, Environmental Protection Agency chief Jaw Shau-kang, and Minister of Finance Wang Chien-shien, resigned from their positions for different reasons, and decided to enter the elections without having been nominated by the KMT. Both are protégé's of Premier Hau. Their decision thus upset the election strategy of the Kuomintang and will take votes away from other candidates within the Kuomintang camp.

On the other hand, a group of Kuomintang members associated with the more liberal **Wisdom Coalition**, in early October expressed themselves in favor of trying to end Taiwan's diplomatic isolation and voiced their support for the "One Taiwan, One China" concept (see article on page 7). For several weeks discussions raged within the Kuomintang on whether to "discipline" these legislators. On 27 November 1992, one of the most outspoken ones, Mr. Chen Che-nan, was expelled from the Kuomintang, leading to further disarray within the ruling party.



President Lee, riding the KMT campaign carriage: "Without him (Finance Minister Wang), we might go faster!"

Clinton election: impact on Taiwan

The election of Democrat candidate Bill Clinton will have a direct impact on the developments in and around Taiwan. There are three main factors:

- * The mere fact that Mr. Clinton, as an "outsider" from Arkansas, can be elected over an entrenched, sitting President, is a strong example for the people in Taiwan that an entrenched party like the Kuomintang can in due time also be removed from power. This of course requires that the election process is fair, and that the opposition organizes itself efficiently.

- * Mr. Bush always had a bias towards China, because he headed the US delegation in Peking in the mid-seventies. This bias will now be removed from US policymaking towards Taiwan and China.
- * Mr. Clinton is expected to follow a open and liberal approach towards Taiwan, which will be more critical of the conservative Kuomintang regime, and be more favorable to the democratic opposition of the DPP than the Bush administration ever was.

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China: three struggles and a half

During the past three months, the Communist authorities in Peking managed to get themselves embroiled in disputes with at least three different major powers around the world. Two of them relate directly to Taiwan: the dispute with the United States about the sale of F-16's to Taipei, and with France about the sale of Mirage-2000-5's. One is indirectly related to Taiwan: the dispute with the United Kingdom about democracy in Hong Kong. The fourth one is brewing “*under the surface*”: the possible sale of more submarines by the Netherlands.

On the following pages we give a short overview.

United States: about F-16's and human rights

On 12 November 1992, Taiwan's Defense Ministry announced that the contract for the sale of 150 F-16 A and B version fighter aircraft had been signed in the United States. The aircraft will be of the *Mid-Life Upgrade* standards, which is presently being implemented in NATO countries. The total price of the contract was reported to be US\$ 5.8 billion, including associated air-to-air missiles and spare parts. This would amount to US\$ 38.7 million per aircraft.

The sale had earlier been approved by President George Bush, who was in need of votes in Texas, where the maker of the F-16 — General Dynamics — is located. GD was in dire need of new orders if it wanted to maintain its production line — and employment in the Fort Worth area (see *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 56, pp. 7-9).

While the US sale to Taiwan is being criticized by the Peking authorities, there is little the PRC can do. They have not much leverage on the US Administration, and will have even less influence on the new Clinton Administration: during the election campaign, Mr. Clinton criticized Mr. Bush for his soft approach to the Chinese, both with regard to human rights and economic issues. In an apparent gesture to Mr. Clinton, the Chinese announced shortly after the 2 November 1992 election that they would purchase 2 million tons of US grain, the first such purchase in 1992.

France: Mirages in Far East air

On 18 November 1992, the Taipei authorities signed a contract with the French Aviation Marcel Dassault aircraft factory for the purchase of 60 Mirage 2000-5 fighter aircraft. The sale of the aircraft themselves amounts to a total of US\$ 2.6 billion (or US\$ 43.3 million a piece), while missiles, electronic equipment and spare engines amount to an additional US\$ 1.2 billion.

The sale is a life saver for the aircraft manufacturer, which had not sold a single plane of the advanced fighter since 1989. The Mirage is faster, carries more equipment, and has a longer range than the F-16, but is also considerably more expensive.

The French sale evoked an immediate response from the Chinese authorities in Peking — who are never shy to try to bully a smaller country. The French ambassador in Peking was told in no uncertain terms that China was “...*deeply shocked and hurt*” by the French decision. The Peking statement said that France has “...*rudely interfered in Chinese internal affairs, and severely violated Chinese sovereignty, and the PRC's policy of peaceful unification with Taiwan.*”

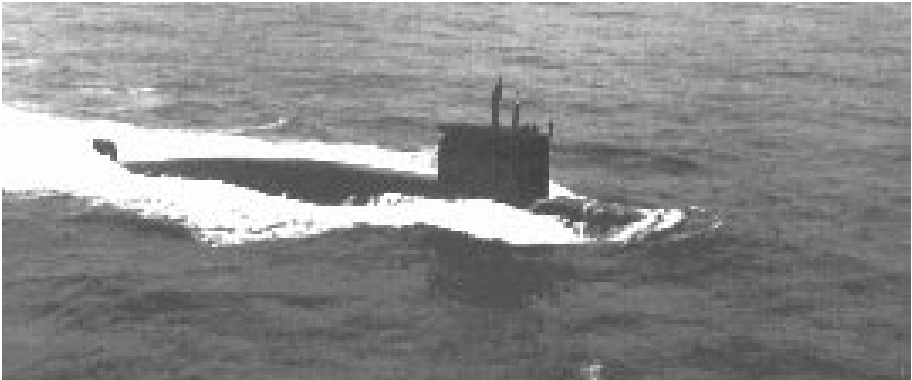
The French response was cool and straightforward: “*if the US can sell aircraft to Taiwan, why can't we ?*” The French also pointed out that the trade balance between China and France has consistently been to the disadvantage of France. It was time to set things straight. They also indicated that the sanctions Peking might take would be minimal in comparison to the large Taiwan order.

The Netherlands: those submarines again ?

In the Netherlands, the impending sale of French Mirages rekindled the discussion on the possible sale of submarines to Taiwan. On 19 February 1992, the Dutch

government had rejected a proposal by the Rotterdam shipyard RDM to sell up to six submarines. In the early 1980's the Dutch had approved the sale of two Swordfish class submarines, which were delivered by the Wilton Feyenoord shipyard in 1986-87.

One of the Dutch arguments for the February rejection was that no other European countries were selling military equipment to Taiwan. However, the Dutch parliament accepted a resolution by opposition member Tommel (Democrats '66 party), which stated that RDM should receive the export license for the submarines, if at any time in the future other EC member states would also decide to sell military equipment to Taiwan. The French Mirage decision means that a reversal of the earlier decision is now possible.



The Dutch-made "Seadragon" submarine during sea trials on the North Sea

In the meantime, the RDM shipyard had continued its discussions with the Taiwan Navy, and in September 1992 signed a letter of intent to build the submarines in Taiwan with Dutch assistance. However, this would take an additional three years, since it would require the construction of a shipyard in Taiwan, capable of building of the submarines. This would lead to a delivery date for the first submarine in the year 2000 — a bit on the late side for the Taiwanese Navy.

United Kingdom: democracy for Hong Kong

During October 1992, a disagreement also erupted between the UK and the PRC over Hong Kong, after the newly appointed governor Chris Patten announced on 7 October 1992, that he would propose a much-belated policy of democratic reforms, strengthening the democratic character of the Legislative Council (Legco).

Taiwan Communiqué comment: the four Western countries should continue with their respective policies: the US, France and the Netherlands with the proposed sales, and the UK with the democratization of Hong Kong.

The proposed sales of equipment will give Taiwan the necessary military strength to defend itself against any attack from China. At the same time the three countries should impress upon the Taipei authorities the necessity to move forward to a fully democratic political system. A system in which the voice of the Taiwanese people is finally heard.

Democratization of Hong Kong is needed, not only for the people of Hong Kong themselves — so they can at least maintain a semblance of their rights after 1997 — but also to show the authorities in Peking that they cannot continue to behave like emperors, and dictate their wishes to anyone around. They will have to learn to behave like a responsible player in the international community.

The strong reaction from Peking's leaders against Mr. Patten's (very modest) proposals show that their "one country, two systems" promises are simply unreliable, and that the idea that the Peking authorities would allow a free and open economic and political system for at least 50 years after 1997 is wishful thinking. A reason the more for Taiwan not to fall in the same trap !

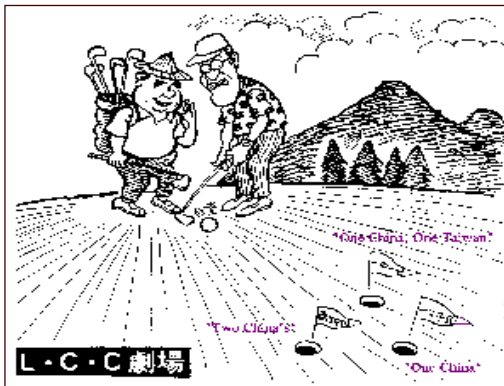
The “One Taiwan, One China” debate

During the past three months, there has been an increasing momentum in Taiwan towards the principle of “One Taiwan, One China.” This is a sign that the movement for independence is taking hold, and gaining broader support, both at the grassroots level as well as among leading Kuomintang figures in the Legislative Yuan.

The KMT authorities, and in particular Premier Hau Pei-tsun — an old former general of the generation that came over from the mainland with Chiang Kai-shek — are attempting to suppress this movement with the argument that this would provoke a military attack by Communist China. However, President Lee Teng-hui, a native Taiwanese, has shown himself more moderate, and has advocated a “flexible” policy, implying he attaches less importance to the name of the country.

Below, we first give our commentary, and then present further information on the developments in Taiwan.

Taiwan Communiqué comment: *the principle of “One Taiwan, One China” is a good one. It would simply formalize what has been reality for four decades. It is the most rational and reasonable solution to the question of the future relations between Taiwan and China: that of peaceful coexistence as two sovereign states.*



President Lee and "three-hole-golf":
"Does it matter in which hole I put the ball?"

It is time to bury the old animosity which is based on the civil war between the Nationalists of Chiang Kai-shek and the Communists in China. The people of Taiwan never had anything to do with that war, and should not be held hostage by old claims by Taipei and Peking to sovereignty over each other's territory.

The KMT's argument that China would attack if Taiwan declares independence is a sinister and self-serving ploy, only designed to keep themselves in power. China has not attacked for more than three decades, while at the same time the KMT regime was claiming it would counter-attack the mainland and "recover" China. Why would China attack if a new and democratically-elected government presents Peking with the perspective of peaceful coexistence, to mutual benefit in terms of economic and political relations ?

Another KMT argument is that the people of Taiwan are of Chinese descent, and therefore should be part of China. This is an equally fallacious argument: if it would be true, then the US should also be part of Great Britain, because the majority of the people in the States are of British descent !

Demonstrating for “One Taiwan”

On 4 October 1992, more than 7,000 people demonstrated for four hours through the city of Taipei in support of a “one Taiwan, one China” policy. The people gathered in front of the Sun Yat-sen Memorial in the eastern part of Taipei. Many people from central and southern part of Taiwan came in chartered tour buses. The demonstration was organized by the **Action Alliance for “One Taiwan, One China.”**

The **Alliance** was formed in early September 1992 with the participation of 22 organizations, including the Taiwan Professors Association, WUFI, Mainlanders for Taiwan Independence, the Taiwan Teachers Associations, the Presbyterian Church, a Buddhist organization, and the Association for Public Plebiscite. Mr. Lee Ying-yuan, the vice chairman of WUFI, is its spokesman. The Alliance asks the KMT authorities to abolish the “one China” policy and to use the name Taiwan to join all international organizations.

Leading the demonstration were Professors Li Cheng-yuan and Liao Chung-shan. Prof. Li is a retired professor of medicine and a member of the **Academy Sinica**, who has become a leading proponent of a free, democratic and independent Taiwan. Prof. Liao is president of the **Association of Mainlanders for Taiwan Independence**. Before the march began, professors Li and Liao gave speeches to explain the purpose of the demonstration.

They pointed out that the “one China” policy is a wrong policy because it does not respect the wishes of the people of Taiwan. They also argued that the claim by both the Communists and the KMT authorities that “*Taiwan is part of China*” was leading Taiwan into a dead-end alley. They said that they will continue to lead demonstrations to press the KMT authorities to abolish the “one China” policy and do away with the National Reunification Council.

The demonstration began at 2:00 p.m. from the Sun Yat-sen Memorial. DPP chairman Hsu Hsin-liang, secretary-general Chiang Peng-chien, and Reverend Kao Chun-ming of the Presbyterian Church joined Professors Li and Liao in leading the march. Many DPP candidates in the year-end legislative elections and their supporters also joined. They carried colorful banners bearing the message “*oppose reunification*”, “*oppose Taiwan’s international isolation*”, “*oppose sell-out to China.*” Along the way, speakers standing on the back of publicity trucks deliv-

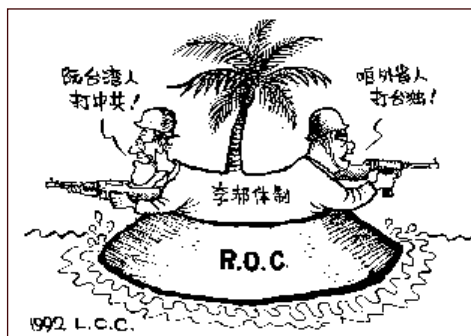
ered speeches in Taiwanese and Mandarin criticizing the KMT's diplomatic setbacks and asked people to speak out and stand up for their rights.

As the parade wound through the center of Taipei, more and more people from the street joined the demonstration and the number increased to more than 7,000, when the demonstrators arrived at the Legislative Yuan at 5:40 p.m. The demonstration ended at 6:30 p.m. after Prof. Li delivered a speech encouraging participants to continue to publicize the ideal of a "one Taiwan one China" policy to friends and relatives so that people would not be fooled by the policy of the KMT authorities.

Debate in the Legislative Yuan

On 13 October 1992, DPP legislators including Hong Chi-chang, Lu Hsiu-yi, Tai Cheng-yao, Lee Ching-hsiung and Tien Tsai-ting in the general interpellation had a heated debate with Premier Hau on the "one Taiwan one China" policy.

The DPP legislators indicated they noted that there was a rift between President Lee Teng-hui, who is native Taiwanese, and Premier Hau Pei-sun, who is a mainlander who came over with Chiang Kai-shek in the 1940s. President Lee has indicated he is in favor of joining international organizations, and that he doesn't attach so much importance to the name under which this happens. Premier Hau, on the other hand, still rigidly clings to the name "Republic of China", and has launched strong verbal attacks against those advocating independence.



Taiwan's "dual strategy":

President Lee: *"We are Taiwanese, we fight against the Chinese (Communists)!"*

Premier Hau: *"We are Chinese, we fight against Taiwanese (Independence)!"*

KMT legislators favor independence

Eight KMT legislators who belong to the **Wisdom Coalition** also expressed doubts about the "One China" policy of the KMT authorities in recent interpellations and expressed support for "one Taiwan, one China" policy advocated

by the opposition DPP. To prevent further erosion of support by KMT legislators for the “One China” policy, the disciplinary committee of the KMT announced it would take disciplinary measures against two of the most outspoken members, Messrs. Wu Tzu and Chen Che-nan. However, KMT officials later appeared divided as to how Messrs. Wu and Chen should be punished. Finally, on 25 November 1992, it was announced that Mr. Chen had been expelled from the KMT party.

On 2 October 1992, another outspoken KMT legislator Huang Chu-wen, also a member of the liberal Wisdom Coalition, had a heated debate with Premier Hau Pei-tsun in an interpellation when he urged the KMT authorities to hold a plebiscite so that the people of Taiwan could express their view on the future of the island.

Mr. Huang is the first KMT legislator to urge the KMT authorities to consider holding a plebiscite. He criticized the “one China” policy as inflexible, and asked Premier Hau to accept the fact that Taiwan and China are two separate countries. He cited West and East Germany as examples of two divided countries that became reunited again when the time and conditions were right.

He also pointed out that asking China to recognize Taiwan as a “political entity” is actually lowering our own status from a sovereign state to a “political entity.”

Premier Hau in his reply rejected the call for a plebiscite, and said he didn’t think that Taiwan would be able to join the United Nations if the KMT authorities would give up their claim to sovereignty over China.

Two city councils endorse “one Taiwan, one China”

On 16 September 1992, the Tainan City Council passed a resolution calling on the KMT authorities to give up “one China” policy and change the name of the country to “Republic of Taiwan.” The resolution had bipartisan support.

One KMT member, who endorsed the resolution pointed out that the KMT authorities have already adopted a “one Taiwan, one China” policy in its so-called substantive diplomacy in international affairs. He said that although he is a member of the ruling party, he must reflect people’s wishes.

The Tainan City Council earlier passed a resolution calling on the KMT authorities to release George Chang, the leader of **World United Formosan for Independence**, who has been sentenced to 10 years imprisonment for advocating Taiwan independence.

Tainan city is the birth place of George Chang and many leaders of the independence movement. The Presbyterian Church, which has advocated an independent Taiwan since the 1970s has strong influence in the city.

On 19 September 1992, 27 members of the Kaohsiung City Council, including 12 KMT members, endorsed a similar proposal calling for the adoption of “one Taiwan, one China” policy.

The Taipei-based magazine **The Journalist** (issue 290, 27 September 1992) reported that the examples of Tainan city and Kaohsiung city councils would lead to similar endorsements in other cities and counties. The magazine indicated that after South Korea established relations with China and broke diplomatic ties with Taiwan, many elected officials shifted their position and started to favor the “one Taiwan, one China” advocated by the DPP.

Independence Movement comes home

United Formosans hold Taipei convention

During the second half of October 1992, the prime Taiwan independence organization, the **World United Formosans for Independence** (WUFI), came to Taipei for the largest open meeting of the organization in Taiwan yet. Up until the middle of 1992, the organization was banned in Taiwan, and many of its members were arrested by the Taipei authorities and served long jail sentences.

For many of the leading members it was a homecoming after more that 30 years in exile. They helped set up the movement in Japan and the United States in the sixties and early seventies, and spent a large part of their adult life in spreading the message for an independent Taiwan, and in helping to build overseas support for the democratic opposition movement on the island.

A peaceful movement

The overseas Taiwanese movement was an amazingly peaceful movement. This in contrast to the violence of the repressive measures employed by the ruling Kuomintang, which was extremely harsh from the 1940's through the 1970's, and only

slackened off in the early 1980's, when the democratic opposition on the island became more vocal, and when more international attention was focused on the repressive and undemocratic nature of the Kuomintang regime. Particularly in the early years, the Taipei authorities were responsible for thousands of political arrests and hundreds of executions. Even in 1980 and 1981 there were several political murders of people associated with the opposition, which remain "unsolved" to this day.

Taiwan Communiqué comment: it is incorrect to portray the independence movement as "radical" (Re: Newsweek, 9 November 1992, p. 22). There were indeed a number of attacks on pro-government personnel and property during the past two decades, but these were isolated incidents, not the result of the policy of the independence movement. In fact, most of the key leaders of the movement are scholars at universities in Japan, the United States, and Europe, who have continuously emphasized the importance of peaceful change.

It was indeed the Taipei regime itself, which resorted to repressive and violent measures. In similar cases of "taxation without representation" around the world, such measures have resulted in a much more "radical" response than has been the case in Taiwan. One example of such a "radical" response was the United States Declaration of Independence in 1776. The Taiwanese people are awaiting their own George Washington, and their own Declaration of Independence.

Interview with Dr. Wang Kang-lu

One of the leading overseas members at the Taipei WUFI meeting was Dr. Wang Kang-lu, who returned to Taiwan in October 1991, but was arrested and held imprisoned until 23 May 1992, when he was released following the revision of the infamous Criminal Code 100 (see *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 55, pp.15-17). Below follows an interview of our correspondent Phyllis Hwang in Taiwan:

Q In response to Taiwan's political developments in recent years, how has WUFI changed its goals and strategies ?

Dr. Wang: WUFI has never changed its political goals. These are very clear: to establish a free, democratic and independent Taiwan.... As far as the strategy and tactics are concerned, from the beginning up until now we maintain that oppressed people have the right to resist a repressive and undemocratic regime by any means. For example, when during the Second World War countries like France and the

Netherlands were occupied by the nazi's, the French and Dutch underground used violence. That was totally justifiable.

Now, in the case of Taiwan, certainly from the forties through the mid-eighties we were also faced with a repressive and undemocratic regime. Still, we remained largely peaceful. We now emphasize that we opt to use nonviolent means, which requires wide participation, not only from the organizations involved, but from the people That process is also conducive for an open and democratic government afterwards.

Q: How does WUFI address the argument that raising the independence issue invites PRC aggression ?

Dr. Wang: Over the past forty years, the KMT has been telling the people that they want to counter-attack the mainland, that they want to “recover our national territory.” Why would the PRC — in the face of this hostile attitude — not launch an attack on Taiwan, and — while we advocate peaceful coexistence — suddenly turn around and launch an attack on our island. That’s logically totally inconsistent.



Dr. Wang Kang-lu

We also believe the PRC doesn't have the necessary military means to attack Taiwan. I am a layman in terms of national defense, but the US State Department has made the same kind of assessment: China has some 2 million men in its armed forces ... but they really don't have a modern naval force, they don't dominate the air.

The real question remains: would China be willing to pay the price for attacking Taiwan? Internationally, it would isolate them even more than they are already, and what would they gain? By attacking Taiwan, they would ruin our and their own economy and industrial base, which right now is showing some promise, particularly in the coastal provinces.

Another aspect we should not lose sight of, is that China is still very much unstable. China's ethnic minorities and coastal economic zones are building their own regional interests, gradually they are developing a stronger regional identity. If the government in Peking would launch an attack or a blockade, this would incur a heavy cost on those areas. Do you think the people in those areas are going to keep quiet ? So Peking really cannot dictate the other regions to follow its policy lines. So, that's why I say, that unless the people in Peking go insane, they will not launch a military attack on Taiwan.

Q.: Are the majority of the people in Taiwan comfortable with the idea that Peking is not "insane" enough to attack Taiwan ?

Dr. Wang: No, as I said they are not but that is mainly because of the KMT's scare tactics. That is why we are saying that we should inform the people here better about the pro's and con's of independence. We should have an open debate on this issue. The status quo cannot be maintained, because following the KMT's fallacious line that "Taiwan is part of China" they are really eroding Taiwan's position economically, politically, and diplomatically. Following the "One China" policy is a suicidal policy.

Q.: When do you see independence taking place ?

Dr. Wang: I really have no timetable. If you had asked the people in the former Soviet Union, East Germany or Czechoslovakia in 1987: "do you foresee an overthrow of the Communist Party in the next two years ?" you would have drawn blank stares, and no sane person would have told you: "Yes we have a five year plan, or a three year plan." At some point in time — often due to totally unforeseen circumstances — the movement towards democracy and independence reaches a critical point. At that point we will be ready to turn the page of history.

Professor Peng Ming-min returns

On 2 November 1992, Professor Peng Ming-min returned to Taiwan to a welcome by a tumultuous crowd of some 1,000 opposition supporters who greeted him at Taoyuan International Airport near Taipei.

The 69-year old former Taiwan National University professor became well-known in Taiwan in 1964, when he was arrested after he and two of his students published

a “*Declaration of Formosan Self-Salvation*”, in which they elaborated a number of arguments for Taiwan independence. Professor Peng was released in 1965, but put under house arrest. He escaped from Taiwan in 1970, first received asylum in Sweden, and later moved to the United States, where he became a leading figure in the overseas Taiwanese democratic movement.

Professor Peng’s return will undoubtedly bolster the DPP in the run-up to the 19 December 1992 Legislative Yuan elections: he is an internationally-known figure, and has been an eloquent spokesman for the cause of democracy in Taiwan and for an equal and independent status as a sovereign nation-state.

Washington Report

By Coen Blaauw

Senator Pell criticizes US “China” passport policy

On 5 November 1992, the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Mr. **Claiborne Pell** (D-Rhode Island), wrote a letter to the Department of State, urging the Department to follow a more realistic policy in issuing passports to Taiwanese-Americans.

Still mired in its historical “One-China” morass, the State Department continues to list “China” as the country of birth for people born in Taiwan, who are becoming American citizens. This in spite of the requests by many Taiwanese-Americans to have “Taiwan” listed as their country of birth.

Senator Pell wrote in his letter:

“Allowing Taiwanese-Americans who request indicating Taiwan as their place of birth to do so, I believe would be consistent with American policy towards Taiwan. ...

*In the 1982 Joint Communiqué, signed by the United States and the PRC, the United States ‘acknowledges the Chinese position that there is but one China and that Taiwan is part of China...’ **but did not adopt that position.***

I therefore request that the Department authorize the Passport Office to enter Taiwan as the place of birth when Taiwanese-Americans request it, ...”

Congressman Hertel urges UN to send observers to Taiwan elections

On 22 October 1992, US Congressman **Dennis Hertel** (D-Michigan) wrote a letter to UN Secretary General Butros Ghali, and urged him to send a UN observer delegation to the upcoming 19 December 1992 elections in Taiwan. The letter states:

“...After last year’s December elections, the Washington Post reported on 10 January 1992, that Taiwan’s Kuomintang (KMT) government candidates bought votes, manufactured votes, gerrymandered districts and limited the opposition candidates to minimal airtime on the three national (KMT-controlled) television stations.”

The letter also refers to the recent statement by several members of the US Congress to give Taiwan’s opposition equal access to the electronic media (see **Taiwan Communiqué** no. 56, pp. 19-20). It states:

“Several members of the U.S. House of representatives recently sent a letter to the President of Taiwan’s legislative body expressing their support for free, fair and open elections on Taiwan. It is also my hope that the people of Taiwan will some day soon enjoy true democracy.”

The democratic opposition party DPP also recently sent a letter to the UN Secretary General, requesting him to send an observer team.

In general the UN sends observer teams to monitor elections only upon request of the government of the country where these elections are being held. In a sense, this is illogical, since in most cases the governments themselves are responsible for election fraud, ballot stuffing, and vote buying.

Taiwan Communiqué comment: *In the case of Taiwan, it will be a positive development if the KMT authorities would take the step to invite the UN. Taipei claims that Taiwan’s elections are free, fair, and open. Why not let this be confirmed by a UN team ?*

The people of Taiwan are eager to join the “family of nations”. An initial contact with the UN in the form of an observer team should thus be applauded.

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Prison Report

Independence leader George Chang released

On 24 October 1992, Dr. **George Chang**, the imprisoned leader of the Taiwan independence movement organization World United Formosans for Independence (WUFI) was released on medical bail. Dr. Chang had been arrested on 7 December 1991, when he flew in from Tokyo, and was sentenced to 10 years imprisonment on 8 June 1992 (see *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 55, p.1) on charges of “sedition” for his life-long struggle for a free and independent Taiwan.

The release of Dr. Chang came after increasing international criticism of the Taipei authorities for their stubborn refusal to consider his lawyer’s request for medical bail. The 56-year old Dr. Chang is suffering from high blood pressure and medical problems. He was finally released on NT\$ 300,000 medical bail (approximately US\$ 12,000) a week, after an American doctor examined him, and declared that the Taipei regime was not treating Chang’s illnesses properly, and was thereby putting his life at risk.

Opposition activists arrested

Mr. CHUANG Chieu-fong (62). Mr. Chuang was arrested on 25 October 1992. He is the older brother of Dr. Chuang Chieu-hiong, a prominent independence advocate in the United States. The younger Dr. Chuang was in Taiwan to attend the meeting of WUFI and to give a number of lectures about the future of Taiwan (see “*Going into the mainstream*”, **Newsweek**, 9 November 1992).

On 25 October 1992, the two brothers went to Taichung to attend the opening ceremony for a new magazine on Taiwan Independence, published by Dr. I. En Liao, which was to be held in the evening of the 25th. They arrived a bit early, and ran into Ms. Chen Wan-chen, who was on her way to the court building in Taichung to demand a return of a big sign the authorities had taken down from her office a few months earlier.

Being early for their appointment, the two brothers decided to join Chen Wan-chen and her some 50 supporters in her walk to the courthouse. There they were met by some 500 club-wielding riot police. Scuffles ensued when Chen Wan-chen tried to take down the sign from the court building. The police — which was present by a majority of ten to one — began to systematically beat the marchers.

The older Mr. Chuang observed one policeman beat the marchers in a very violent manner. He went up to the police and asked him to stop, saying that this wasn't necessary at all. When the policeman continued to beat the marcher, he tried to grab the policeman's arm, and pull him away from the marcher, who was already lying on the ground.

Then Mr. Chuang (age 62 !!) was himself dragged away by the riot troops, and systematically beaten. For one month, he was held in prison, suffering from numerous bad bruises and also internal injuries, for which he was not receiving any treatment. He was also not receiving his medicine for his diabetic/high blood pressure condition, although the family brought the medication to the prison.



Mr. Chuang Chieu-fong (on the ground), being beaten by security troops.

Relatives of Mr. Chuang twice submitted a petition for a release on medical bail. Finally, on 24 November 1992, Mr. Chuang was released on NT\$ 70,000 medical bail — but only after considerable international pressure was exerted on the Taipei authorities.

Nine other persons were arrested together with Mr. Chuang; six persons were subsequently released. The three other persons still in jail are: Reverend Lai Kuang-yi, a Presbyterian minister; Mr. Pan Tsih-jung, a driver of a van, who allegedly

drove into the police barricade; and Mr. Liao Jui-huang. On 16 November 1992, they were hauled into the District Court in Taichung without their lawyers being informed. According to press reports in Taiwan, eleven persons — including Ms. Chen Wan-chen herself — were subsequently indicted.

Mr. CHENG Tzu-tsai. Was arrested on 6 November 1992. he was dragged away by several plainclothes police during a lunch party in a Japanese restaurant in Taipei. He had just held a press conference to announce that he and his wife, Mrs. Wu Ching-kuei (who is a member of the National Assembly), will hold 24 political rallies in the weeks before the December elections.



Mr. Cheng Tzu-tsai

Mr. Cheng is one of the two persons who were originally sentenced in the United States for the 1971 attempt at Mr. Chiang Ching-kuo's life. He served some time in prison in the United States, but later received political asylum in Sweden.

He returned to Taiwan a year ago, but was later charged with entering Taiwan illegally. On 16 July 1992, the High Court upheld the one-year sentence. Mr. Cheng pointed out that others who committed the same "crime" (entering Taiwan illegally) received much lesser sentences, only four to eight months. Thus, he argued, the authorities were not applying justice in a fair manner.

Since July, the authorities didn't make any move to arrest him. He was under the impression that they wouldn't arrest him until after the elections. The arrest was thus directly related to his announcement that he would hold political rallies.

His wife visited him on 11 November 1992, and told reporters that Cheng is being treated very harshly in the prison:

- a) his hair was shaven, and he is not allowed to wear a hat. He is only allowed out of his cell for fresh air for only five minutes a day. He is not allowed to wear his socks and shoes.
- b) He has to sleep on a concrete floor with only a thin straw mat on it. He shares his small cell (two *ping*, which is about two by one-and-a-half meter) with another prisoner.

Economic/Environmental Report

Protests against Fourth Nuclear Plant continue

In earlier issues of *Taiwan Communiqué*, we reported on the plans of the Taiwan authorities to build a Fourth Nuclear Power Plant at Kungliao, only 36 km from the Taipei metropolitan area (see issues no. 50, 54 and 55).

At present the Kuomintang authorities are still attempting to push the NTS 170 billion (US\$ 6.8 billion) budget for the plant through the Legislative Yuan, where it has met with strong opposition from the DPP and independent legislators.

The fight against the plans for the nuclear reactor is being supported at the grass-roots level by an increasingly strong environmental movement on the island. Key among the organizations is the **Taiwan Environment Protection Union** (TEPU), which has urged the authorities to hold a referendum to let the people decide whether Taiwan needs a fourth nuclear power plant.

The Taiwan Environment Protection Union was founded in 1987 by a small group of college professors from leading universities in Taiwan, a year after the disaster at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant in the former Soviet Union.

The organization has been in the forefront in the campaign to stop the construction of Taiwan's fourth nuclear power plant. On 5 May 1991, it mobilized some ten thousand people for an anti-nuclear march in Taipei.

In the second half of May 1992, while the Legislative Yuan was reviewing the budget of the fourth nuclear power plant, hundreds of college professors took part in a

demonstration in front of the Legislative Yuan.

TEPU now has a network of 10 branch offices throughout the island. Through its publications including a monthly magazine, **Taiwan Environment**, and through rallies, TEPU tries to educate the public about the dangers of radiation, and about the need to conserve energy. The economic boom has made many people on the island careless about the use of energy.

TEPU has also tried to counter the propaganda disseminated by the Taiwan Power Company that nuclear power is the safest, cleanest and cheapest source of energy.

Among the arguments presented by TEPU against the construction of a fourth nuclear power plants are:

1. The nuclear technology is not fool-proof. If a nuclear disaster happened in Taiwan, which is a densely populated island, it can have gravest consequences to its people and the environment. Taiwan has 20 million inhabitants in an area of 36,000 square kilometers.

Taiwan already has three nuclear power plants. Two are situated on the north-east coast of Taipei County, which is the most densely populated area in Taiwan, and where traffic congestion continues from morning until night. The third nuclear power plant is situated on the southern tip of Taiwan in Pingtung County. The site for the proposed fourth nuclear power plant is only 30 kilometers away from the first two nuclear power plants. There are at least six million people living in the vicinity of the first two nuclear power plants. In the event of a nuclear disaster, evacuation efforts will be paralyzed by the congestion on the roads.

2. The storage of nuclear waste, which remains radioactive for many years, poses grave danger to the environment and to the lives of future generations.

The Taiwan government stores nuclear waste on the Orchid Island, a small island off the east coast of Taiwan. The island is home to a small aboriginal tribe, Yamei. Many of the tribal people participated in the construction of the storage facilities with the belief that it was going to be a food-processing plant. The press in Taiwan has reported that some of the Yamei tribal people have developed radiation-related illnesses.

3. Taiwan should explore alternative sources of energy such as water, wind and solar energy, which is cheaper and cleaner in comparison with the cost of nuclear energy, whose by-product, the nuclear waste, is hazardous to the environment. Taiwan has ample supply of water, but hydroelectric power accounts only about 10 percent of the total energy supply. Nuclear energy already accounts for one half of the total energy supply.
4. Since the Chernobyl accident, most of the industrial countries have canceled plans for new nuclear power plants or shut down old and unsafe ones because of fear for radiation contamination in the event of an accident. But the Taiwan government goes against the global trend and is going ahead with the construction of a fourth nuclear power plant. A fifth one is slated to be built in Yun-lin county in the center of Taiwan before the year of 2,000.

Further information about the activities of the Environmental Protection Union can be obtained from: **Taiwan Environmental Protection Union (TEPU), 3rd Floor - 4, no. 12, Lane 74, Wen Chou Street, Taipei, TAIWAN. Faxnumber: 886-2-362-3458.**

Refinery protesters get heavy prison terms

In issue no. 55 of *Taiwan Communiqué*, we reported on the nighttime, forcible breakup of a protest by some 300 residents of the Kaohsiung suburb of Talin against the polluting Talin oil refinery, reportedly one of the worst polluting refineries in Taiwan.

To add insult to injury, on 18 July 1992 the authorities sentenced the leading figures in the demonstration to long prison terms. The leader of the group, Mr. Sung Shih-fu, was sentenced to four years and six months for "obstructing official duty", when he led the group in resisting police and riot troops, who came to destroy their tented camp in the middle of the night on 26 May 1992. Five other men received prison terms ranging from one year and six months to two years. One woman was sentenced to six months imprisonment. The prosecutor stated that he recommended the heavy prison terms against the protesters, "*....because they openly challenged the government's authority.*"