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Let Taiwan join the UN

Opposition plank becomes government policy

During the past months, the movement to join the United Nations has gained new momentum on the island. Until this Spring, only the democratic opposition of the DPP and a few progressive KMT legislators advocated that Taiwan become a full member of the United Nations. However, in April 1993 Taiwan President Lee Teng-hui and Foreign Minister Frederick Ch'ien formally announced that they would start working towards UN membership, and hope to achieve this goal within three years.

Taiwan Communiqué comment: *we welcome this new policy of the Taipei authorities. It is the first step of Taiwan in the direction of becoming a full and equal member of the international community, and casts aside the old policy of political isolation into which the old KMT regime had manoeuvred itself.*

However, the approach used by the Taipei authorities is still not quite right. The KMT government continues to present itself as “Republic of China on Taiwan”, and strives for a “One China — two seats” representation in the United Nations. This is a non-viable option, which should be discarded right away. A truly representative government should apply for Taiwan to become a new member, simply under the name “Taiwan.”



Pro-independence banners at recent opposition rally in Taiwan

DPP appeals for progressive approach

The change-of-heart of the Kuomintang authorities came into the open in the beginning of April 1993, after several prominent opposition DPP legislators — including Dr. Mark Chen, Dr. Shen Fu-hsiung, professor Parris Chang, Dr. Chai Trong-rong and Ms. Lü Hsiu-lien — and several progressive Kuomintang legislators had urged Foreign Minister Frederick Ch'ien to end the isolationist approach of his predecessors, and start working towards Taiwan's membership in the United Nations.

The move also became possible by the fact that former Prime Minister **Hau Pei-tsun** had resigned in February 1993, and had been succeeded by Taiwan-born technocrat **Lien Chan** (see *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 58, pp.1-3). Mr. Hau opposed any move which could be construed as going in the direction of Taiwan independence.

On 9 April 1993, President Lee Teng-hui announced his new policy to the opening session of the National Assembly, which met for two weeks in April. He stated that his government would “actively seek membership in the United Nations.” A few weeks later, on 11 May 1993, Prime Minister Lien Chan stated that he aimed at urging the United Nations to start considering the bid within three years.

Seven Latin-American nations write Boutros-Ghali

On 9 August 1993, seven Latin-American nations sent a letter to UN Secretary-general **Boutros Boutros-Ghali**, urging him to put the matter of Taiwan on the agenda of the upcoming 48th session of the UN General Assembly. In an explanatory memorandum accompanying the letter, they urged consideration of representation of the “Republic of China in Taiwan” (sic) in accordance with the model of “parallel representation of divided countries.”

In an accompanying draft resolution, the seven nations urged the United Nations to establish an ad hoc committee, whose mandate would be to make a comprehensive analysis, and come up with recommendations for the 49th General Assembly meeting in 1994.

The Peking authorities didn't waste any time in responding: on 11 August 1993, the Chinese ambassador to the UN wrote that the move constituted “...a serious infringement upon China's sovereignty and gross interference in China's internal affairs...” He added: “The question of Taiwan is the internal affairs of China (sic) in which no country has the right to interfere.”

After reference to Resolution 2758 (adopted in 1971 during the 26th session of the General Assembly, when the PRC was admitted instead of the former ROC), the ambassador continued his rhetoric, saying that "...to raise the question of Taiwan's representation in the UN is an act that has seriously interfered in the internal affairs of China and deeply hurt the feeling of the Chinese people. We firmly oppose any country or individual in advocating 'two China's', 'one China, one Taiwan' or 'one country, two governments' in the United Nations, under whatever pretext, or in whatever manner, or by whatever means.."

He concluded: "...The Taiwan authorities, ...in an attempt to 'return' to the United Nations, are actually trying to split China, obstruct and sabotage the great undertaking of China's reunification. This attempt has been and will continue to be resolutely opposed by the entire Chinese people, including people in Taiwan, and is, therefore, doomed to failure."

Taiwan Communiqué comment: *the PRC's position is neither rational nor reasonable. Taiwan has **never** been a part of the PRC, and the Communist authorities have never held any sovereignty over the island and its 21 million people. Taiwan has been a **de-facto** independent state since 1945, and like all other people, the people of Taiwan have every right to be represented in the United Nations. The question of Taiwan can in **no** way be considered an "internal affair of China."*

*The present problem stems from the old civil war between the Communists and the Nationalists. This issue can only be solved if the Taipei authorities discard their claim of sovereignty over China, and the PRC learns to live in peace with its neighbors, including Taiwan. The old "One China" concept, which assumes Taiwan to be part of China, is an outdated anachronism. The present-day reality is "**One China** (headed by the authorities in Peking), and **One Taiwan** (to be represented by a truly democratic government in Taipei)."*

Support from the US Congress

Already in September 1992, US-Senator **Joe Lieberman** (D-Connecticut) introduced a Resolution in the US-Senate, urging that Taiwan be admitted to the United Nations (see Taiwan Communiqué no. 56, pp. 20-21). The operative part of the Resolution (***Senate Concurrent Resolution no. 20***) stated:

"...be it Resolved that the Senate (with the House of Representatives Concurring), that it is the Sense of the Congress that the 20 million

people of Taiwan deserve to be represented in the United Nations and in other international organizations ...”

In March 1993, Senator Lieberman reiterated his proposal, stating: *“By granting UN membership, we will be sending a clear message that Taiwan is a full-fledged member of the world community, whose independence cannot be threatened by mainland China. China still makes menacing statements about the use of force against Taiwan. UN membership would establish that Taiwan’s status is not an internal affair, but a truly international concern.”*

Senator Lieberman continued: *“Taiwan is a separate nation, and should be free to continue to chart its own course. It is time that we officially recognize its sovereignty by supporting full-fledged membership for Taiwan in the United Nations.”*

In the beginning of August 1993, several other senators and congressmen expressed their support. Some excerpts from their statements:

Senator **Malcolm Wallop** (Republican — Wyoming): *“The PRC has never held jurisdiction over Taiwan ... Thus the rights and privileges of the 21 million residents of a free and democratic Taiwan are not represented in the United Nations. Clearly this goes against the United Nations’ principle of universal representation.”*

Congressman **Rob Portman** (Republican — Ohio): *“...I strongly believe that the 21 million people of Taiwan deserve membership in the UN just as the PRC does.” He added: “But for Taiwan to be taken seriously by the international community in general and by the members of the UN in particular, the Taiwan government must give up its claims on the mainland. A separate Taiwan seat in the UN would help confirm the reality of Taiwan’s independence.”*

Congressman **Peter Deutsch** (Democrat — Florida): *“Presently, Taiwan’s KMT government and China’s Communist Government force nations around the world to choose between maintaining mutually exclusive diplomatic relations with either Taipei or Peking.*

Taiwan has recently made strides towards democratization. These reforms include the lifting of martial law and the release of political prisoners. These changing tides affirm Taiwan’s commitment to a freer society. Despite this, Taiwan has not been the beneficiary of any representation in either the UN or any other international organizations. This gross lack of international recognition has left the more than 20 million Taiwan voices unheard in world affairs.

Today, ... I rise to urge consideration of a US recognition of Taiwan and China. Such "dual recognition" is a model for those nations which seek to align both governments in a mutual coexisting relationship. Moreover, dual recognition is a concept which applies to those in Taiwan who aspire to join the United Nations as well as all other international organizations. ...We note the people of Taiwan and their movement towards self-determination."

The KMT in disarray

The New Party splits off

On 10 August 1993, a group of Young Turks in the Kuomintang — including six members of the Legislative Yuan — announced that they were leaving the venerable old party. They stated that their efforts to reform the Kuomintang from within had failed, and that they were setting up a new party, titled the “**Chinese New Party.**” This is the first formal split in the history of the KMT which has ruled Taiwan for more than four decades, since it fled China following the defeat by the Communists in the civil war.

The group consists of the most outspoken of the former **New KMT Alliance**, a group of second-generation mainlander technocrats, such the former Environmental Protection Agency Chief Jaw Shao-kang and former Finance Minister Wang Chien-shien. They were elected into the Legislative Yuan in December 1992 by portraying themselves as reformist and anti (KMT-Mainstream) establishment.

During the legislative session which took place during the first half of 1993, DPP legislators and the “New K” legislators aligned themselves against the ruling Kuomintang on a number of issues, such as the passing of the “*Sunshine Bill*”, which requires government and elected officials to make public their assets and to put their assets in a blind trust, and the defeat of two costly projects — a new building for the Legislative Yuan and the high speed train.

However, the DPP has ruled out a coalition government with the New Party in the future because of a fundamental difference on the issue of the future status of Taiwan: While the DPP has incorporated Taiwan independence into its party charter, the New Party advocates direct air and sea links with China, and has proposed immediate negotiations with China about eventual reunification.

A new political landscape

The emergence of the New Party to compete with the ruling KMT and the main opposition Democratic Progressive Party will change Taiwan's political landscape. There will be an immediate effect on the coming November elections for country magistrates and city mayors.

Political observers predict that the split in the KMT might benefit the main opposition Democratic Progressive Party in the November elections, because the New Party will attract a large number of KMT defectors, who are disenchanted with the corruption and money politics of the ruling KMT.

But DPP leaders are cautious not to underestimate the strength of the New Party. The leaders of the New Party are veteran politicians, who are known for their ability to attract large crowds. Their support does not come from mainlanders alone — the veterans and residents of military villages — but also have support from the urban middle and lower working class people. Of the six legislators who formed the New Party, two were top vote getters in the legislative election in December 1992. Five — Jaw Shao-kang, Wang Chien-hsuan, Yok Mu-ming, Lee



KMT Chairman Lee Teng-hui trying to save the house, while the "New-K" is breaking it down

Ching-hua, Chou Chuan, were elected in Taipei area, one — Chen Kuei-miao was elected in Peng Hu, an island group off the coast of the southern port city of Kaohsiung. Together they captured 5.2% of the total votes.

Mr. Chiu Yi-jen, the deputy secretary-general of the DPP, indicated that the DPP will have to compete with the New Party for support of the young voters, under the age of 40, especially in urban areas. Many of them, disenchanted with the ruling KMT but hesitant to pledge their allegiance to the DPP, are likely to be attracted to the New Party as a little man's party, which tries to root out "money politics" from the increasingly corrupt KMT.

The block of young voters constituted over 50% of the electorate in the legislative election in December 1992. In the next legislative election in 1995, the young voters will consist of more than 60 % of the total votes. If the New Party succeeds in winning the support of these young voters, especially in urban areas such as Taipei, Keelung, Taoyuan, it could chip away the DPP's support which added up to some 30% of the electorate in previous elections.

Professor Ting Tin-yu of National Taiwan University, an opinion poll expert, estimated that three quarters of the support of the New Party come from KMT, one quarter come from DPP and the independents. It thus poses a bigger threat to KMT than to DPP.

The New Party are filing candidates for the November election. As Jaw Shao-kang told reporters, their goal in the November election is to raise their visibility in preparation for the legislative election in 1995 and the presidential election in 1996. If the New Party can capture 10 to 15% of the votes by 1995, then the chances of DPP winning the presidential election in 1996 are enhanced. Under those circumstances the KMT will have no choice but to cooperate with the New Party in order to prevent a DPP victory.

Prof. Ting also stated that the recent split of KMT could mean the beginning of the breakdown of KMT as the second and third split are inevitable. The likely scenario is that the KMT could no longer rely on the loyalty of the leaders of the non-mainstream faction, who chose to stay in the party. The suspicion of their loyalty could put pressure on the leaders of the "non-Mainstream" to quit the party and resulted in a second or third split.

The future operations in the Legislative Yuan will also be more complex as the three parties will engage in shifting alliances with an eye to advance their own legislative goals.

The KMT will undoubtedly put more pressure on their legislators to toe the party line, but pressure could backfire and result in defection to the camp of the New Party. A tactical alliance between the DPP, the New Party and the independents could result in a vote of no confidence and the fall of the cabinet in the not-too-distant future. Like recently occurred in Japan with the fall of the LDP, an entrenched ruling party is suddenly shaking on its foundations. The LDP could thus become a new "role-model" for the Kuomintang.

The August Party Congress

From 16 through 22 August 1993, the ruling Kuomintang Party held its 14th Party Congress in Taipei. The gathering was attended by some 2100 delegates. The seven-day congress saw President Lee Teng-hui re-elected as party chairman, the installation of four vice-chairmen, and — after much wrangling and acrimonious debate — elected 210 delegates to be members of the party's Central Committee.

On 18 August 1993, the Congress erupted into violent scenes, when a proposal not to establish the position of vice chairman was approved by a majority of 1007 delegates. Delegates of the “non-Mainstream” faction threatened to split from the party if former premier Hau Pei-tsun was not made vice chairman of the party. Mr. Hau had been promised the post as reward for stepping down in February of this year.

President Lee finally defused the issue by agreeing to nominate four vice-chairmen, a compromise to the non-Mainstream faction to prevent a further split in the party. They are the vice-president Mr. Li Yuan-tsu, a mainlander of the “Mainstream” faction, Mr. Hau Pei-tsun, a mainlander of the “non-Mainstream” group, prime minister Lien Chan, a Taiwanese of the “Mainstream” faction, and the president of the Judicial Yuan, Mr. Lin Yang-kang, a Taiwanese who has been more associated with the “non-Mainstream.”

President Lee appears to have consolidated his grip on power after his re-election on 18 August with 1686 votes, or 82.5 percent. However, some 357 votes were deliberately invalidated to protest the one-man race. He was accused by his conservative opponents of “stacking” the election by installing 700 “natural” delegates in order to reduce the influence of the “non-Mainstream” faction.

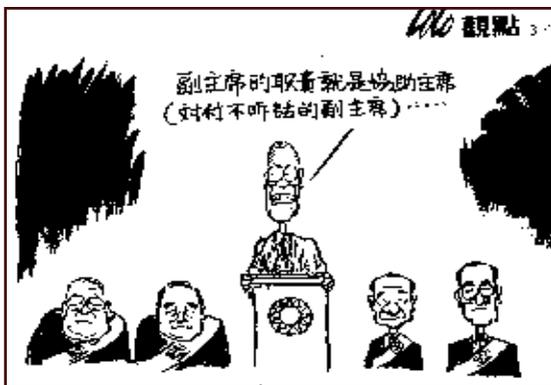
Election of the Central Committee

In an effort to bring democratic changes within the party, the Congress introduced secret ballots for the first time in the KMT history in the election of party chairman and members of the Central Committee and 16 members of the Central Standing Committee.

However, it was a multiple-ballot system, in which each delegate could circle 105 candidates of the 210-member central committee on the ballot. This opened the way for vote-buying, bribery and vote-exchanges among different factions. Thus, delegates

gave little time to the discussion of serious issues, instead, engaged in fierce lobbying for votes. Taiwan newspapers reported that delegates were showered with expensive gifts and entertained with lavish banquets.

The election of the Central Committee showed that a new generation of younger leaders is taking over power from the old guard. A total of 38 government officials were elected, with 13 government officials among the 15 top winners. Government officials, elected officials and business representative are the majority in the central committee. Mr. Wu Po-hsiung, Minister of Interior, was the top vote getter. The second, James Soong, governor of Taiwan, the third John Chang, chairman of the Overseas Chinese Commission. Minorities groups such as farmers, fishermen, laborers, academicians and aborigines received only token seats. They are losers in the war of money politics. The “non-Mainstream” faction captured 30 seats. It remains a small but vocal group.



KMT Chairman Lee Teng-hui: "It is the job of a vice-chairman to assist the chairman in dealing with disobedient vice-chairmen."

Election of the Central Standing Committee

On 23 August 1993, the 210-member Central Committee elected 16 members from among themselves to the more powerful Central Standing Committee. The sixteen supplemented fifteen new members, who had been appointed by President Lee on 19 August, making a total of 31-members.

Observers predict that the KMT is facing a turbulent future, because the party remains divided. The members of the non-Mainstream faction remain a strong force in the party. They were able to push through two major changes, the installation of vice-chairmen and a change in the party charter to hold the party congress every two years instead of the current every five years. This change will not only exhaust KMT resources but will create more instability. The creation of four vice-chairmen will only intensify internal power struggle to see who emerges as Lee's successor.

The Journalist, a Taipei-based news magazine, in its August 22nd-28th issue, called the KMT's 14th party congress a big disappointment. It says that the split of the party would have forced the KMT to do some real soul-searching, but the only thing the public saw was party delegates jockeying for seats in the central committee. "The election of the members of the central committee exposed that KMT is entrenched in money politics and factionalism", the magazine wrote, "Aside from some procedural changes, such the use of secret balloting in electing party officials, there are no real changes in the basic power structure of the party."

It pointed out that the 14th party congress was the last opportunity for KMT to make real changes in the power structure by turning the party into a truly modern political party, whose primary goal is policy development and running election campaigns, and leaving the running of the government to the executive branch. The KMT is still modeled according to the Communist-Leninist structure, with the Central Standing Committee as the supreme policy-making organ, which must approve all government policies.

Corruption charges abound

The KMT Party Congress was overshadowed by charges that the ruling Kuomintang had become too closely associated with big business and by several corruption scandals: during the past few months, several major cases came into the open, where officials closely associated with the Kuomintang government or the party were linked to corruption and fraud. Even **TIME Magazine** devoted a major critical article to the issue ("*Backlash against money*", 23 August 1993, pp. 34-36).

TIME focused in particular on the KMT's large business holdings -- some 70 major properties and corporations, with a total worth of an estimated US\$ 15 billion -- and the funding this generates for the Party's coffers. The magazine also devoted considerable attention the KMT's monopoly on the electronic news media through its holdings in the Taiwan Television Co., the Broadcasting Corp. of China, and the China Television Co.

One of the major corruption cases which came to light during the past few months was the China Petroleum Company (CPC), where eventually fifteen officials were indicted on charges of accepting a total of some NT\$ 150 million (approximately US\$ 6 million) in kickbacks in return for granting a contract to build a waste water treatment plant for the CPC. One of the indicted persons was Mr. Andrew Yen, a son of former president Yen Chia-kan.

In another case, three top military officials were impeached by the Control Yuan on 3 August 1993. The three generals, including a former director of the Political Warfare Department, and two former vice-chiefs on the general staff, had approved their own applications for luxurious apartments in the **Hoping New Village** military apartment complex in Taipei. They had paid only a nominal sum for the apartments. A fourth general, the current head of the Political Warfare Department, escaped impeachment when only six of the 13 Control Yuan Committee members voted for his impeachment, one vote short of the majority.

Taiwan and China

The Singapore talks

A noteworthy event in the relations between Taiwan and China during the past few months were the "Singapore talks" between the heads of the two unofficial organizations which deal with mutual relations: Mr. Koo Chen-fu of Taiwan's Straits Exchange Foundation, and Mr. Wang Daohan, head of Peking's Association of Relations Across the Taiwan Straits.

The meeting was held from 27 to 29th April. Hundreds of reporters from Taiwan went to Singapore to cover the event. By all accounts, the Taiwan delegation was a loser, because it failed to obtain an agreement from China for the protection of the estimated \$3 billion private investments made by Taiwanese businessmen in the coastal provinces.



Leading DPP-members in Singapore: "We oppose the talks between the Nationalists and the Communists."

Two minor agreements were ironed out after exhaustive discussion, one dealing with lost mail, and the other one with government access to personal data, designed to speed the process of cross-strait marriages, adoptions and inheritances.

The gathering almost collapsed when the Peking delegation brought up the topic of “three communications” - allowing direct flights and trade links. The Taiwan delegation avoided the question by saying that they were not authorized to discuss these issues.

The most significant event took place outside the building. A group of DPP legislators and members of National Assembly led by Mr. Shih Ming-teh, demonstrated in front of the building where the meeting took place. Worried about the drift towards unification, they came to Singapore to warn the KMT not to sell out Taiwan to China, and to let the international community know that the people of Taiwan want freedom and independence, and have no wish to be unified with China.

Their fear about a possible sell-out is not quite unfounded: Mr. Koo’s father, Mr. Koo Hsien-jung, was the person, who — in 1895 — invited Japan’s Imperial Army to enter Taipei after Taiwan was ceded to Japan by the Manchu Dynasty in Peking, and was thus considered a traitor by the Taiwanese, who were attempting to establish the first Republic in Asia.

The United Daily controversy

In the previous issue of *Taiwan Communiqué*, we reported on the controversy surrounding the **United Daily News**, a major pro-unification newspaper in Taiwan, and the campaign by a group of prominent professors and church leaders to boycott the newspaper.

On 29 July 1993, after a clearly political trial, the Taipei District Court found the four leaders of the boycott campaign “guilty” of libel. Prof. **Lin Shan-tien**, an authority on criminal law, was sentenced to five-months imprisonment. Rev. **Yang Chi-shou**, secretary-general of the Presbyterian Church, Dr. **Li Cheng-yuan** of the Medical Professionals Association and Prof. **Lin Feng-ching** of the Taiwan Professors’ Association were sentenced to 50 days of forced labor.

The defense lawyers argued in court that the United Daily News does not practice responsible journalism. The reporter who penned that article admitted in court that he did not attend the press conference, and simply based his article on hearsay accounts

from colleagues. Mr. Li Rui-huan, a member of the politburo of the Chinese Communist Party made the remark in a press conference that “*China will stop Taiwan from declaring independence by any means including bloodshed.*”

The paper published the quote with sensational headlines, thus exaggerating Mr. Li’s remarks and using them as a scare tactic against those in Taiwan who advocate a free and democratic Taiwan instead of unification with Communist China.

The guilty verdict seemed to have provide new impetus into the boycott movement. Demonstrations were held in front of the office of the United Daily News and rallies were planned in Taipei and Kaohsiung. The three major organizations, Taiwan Professors Association, Taiwan Medical Professionals Association and the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan, which are the leading force of the boycott campaign, stated that they would continue the boycott campaign.

The four defendants have decided to appeal their sentence to the High Court to continue their battle in court.

Jockeying for the November elections

In June 1993, the DPP held a two-day party congress in the northern port city of Keelung to nominate candidates for the November 1993 elections of county magistrates and city mayors, when 21 positions will be up for election. Besides nominating candidates, the party congress approved two stringent new rules regarding nomination procedures.

The first rule restricted elected officials from running for other elected offices if they have not served half of their present terms. In short, they must resign from their current position to become a candidate. The second rule restricts candidates, who receive less than 60 percent of the votes needed to win, from competing for party nomination in the next five years. Only a draft from the party will free candidates from these restrictions.

These two new rules are meant to prevent DPP “position-hopping”, a practice of some DPP elected officials, by which they use one elected office as a stepping stone for a higher position. The new rule will force the incumbents to serve out their terms. The new rules also aim to reduce the number of candidates especially in multi-seats electoral districts and to minimize the loss of a race due to the fact that too many candidates vie for the same position.

The Candidates

All the six DPP incumbent heads of county government won their renomination unanimously. They are: Dr. **You Ching** from Taipei County, Mr. **Fan Cheng-chung** from Hsin Chu County, Mrs. **Chou Ching-yü** from Changhwa County, Mr. **You Hsi-kun** from I-lan County, Mr. **Su Cheng-chang** from Pingtung County, and Dr. **Kao Chih-peng** from Peng-hu county (the Pescadores).

Dr. Kao Chih-peng, a medical doctor, won a by-election to become the first DPP county magistrate of Peng-hu in February 1993 after his KMT predecessor died in office. However, Mr. Kao has been indicted on charges of receiving a kickback of NT\$5,000 (US\$ 200 !) from a businessman. Dr. Kao denied the charges. The DPP leadership stands firmly behind their candidate and accused the KMT of using the court as an instrument of political persecution to eliminate the DPP candidate from the race.

Candidates who ran unopposed were also nominated. The most notables are as follows:

Mr. **Wang To** of Keelung county, who is a member of the National Assembly and a former political prisoner imprisoned in connection with the Kaohsiung Incident of 1979.

Prof. **Lin Chun-yi** of Taichung city is a member of the National Assembly and professor of biology at Tunghai University in Taichung. Prof. Lin is a pioneer in the environment protection movement.

Mrs. **Hsu Jung-shu** of Nantou County, who is also a member of the National Assembly and a former legislator.

Dr. **Chen Yung-hsing** was drafted by the party to run in Hualien county. Dr. Chen is a psychiatrist and a prominent human rights advocate. The DPP leadership hopes that Dr. Chen, who gained national prominence after he broke the taboo on the "February 28th" incident by organizing commemorative activities in early 1980s, will repeat the feat of Mr. Huang Hsin-chieh, the former chairman, who was elected to the Legislative Yuan after a draft by the party.

Primaries were held on 27 June 1993 to nominate candidates in Tainan City, Tainan County, Yun-lin County, and Kaohsiung County, Taoyuan County and Hsinchu City.

The most surprising result came from Tainan County, where Dr. **Mark Chen** narrowly lost to Mr. **Cheng Tzu-tsai** by a margin of 14 votes, 338 vs. 352.

Dr. Chen, a legislator representing the overseas Taiwanese community, was considered a front runner in a race of four contenders. However, the **New Tide** faction of the DPP, which supports Mr. Cheng, was able to mobilize sympathy votes for Mr. Cheng, who is serving a one-year prison sentence on charges of “illegal entry” into Taiwan.

Mr. Cheng later was forced to withdraw from the race after a clemency appeal by his supporters was rejected by the Ministry of Justice and he would not be released in time to register as a candidate. Dr. Mark Chen was then nominated by DPP as a candidate in race of Tainan County magistrate.

DPP Election Strategy

After the split in the ruling KMT, DPP needs to change its strategy in a three way race. The DPP now faces two opponents, the KMT and the Chinese New Party. Observers predict that the split in the KMT will enhance DPP’s electoral success and expect DPP to win 11 to 13 seats. On Page 6, we have given an analysis of the emergence of the New Party on the future political landscape in Taiwan.

The November elections could be a watershed for DPP: if it could win 11 of the 21 seats, a simple majority, it could pave the way for DPP to become a ruling party.

The most likely winners are the six DPP incumbent magistrates, who have been praised for their administrative skills, their efforts to clean out corruption in the local government, and their dedication to the protection of the environment and the promotion of the teaching of the Taiwanese language in primary schools.

With 11 magistrates and mayors as head of local administration, the DPP will have access to local resources and manpower to develop an extensive network of grass-roots organizations and consolidate its local power bases in preparation for several major elections to be held in the next three years: elections for the mayors of Taipei and Kaohsiung and the governor of Taiwan in 1994, Legislative Yuan elections in 1995, and the presidential election in 1996.

Increasing DPP profile in the Legislative Yuan

In the run-up towards the November elections, the DPP will be greatly aided by an increasing DPP profile in the Legislative Yuan: although DPP legislators constitute only one third of the total 161 in the Legislative Yuan, they exert a greater influence than their number represents.

With the KMT splitting into the main and non-main stream factions in the legislature, DPP has been able to use a strategy of shifting alliances. In one instance, it cooperated with KMT's non main-stream faction in forging a majority in favor of a disclosure act, the "Sunshine bill." In another case, the Plebiscite Bill — which advocates a plebiscite on the future status of the island, and which was drafted by DPP Legislator Chai Trong-rong — was endorsed by a majority of Mainstream KMT legislators.

During the past half year, DPP legislative leaders Messrs. Shih Ming-teh and Chen Shui-pien were able to impose party discipline on the DPP legislators, who were required to take part in all the meetings where the budget was reviewed. Tardiness costs a DPP legislator a fine of NT\$10,000. KMT legislators, who often have their own business to take care of, are often absent from the session.

Nelson Mandela visits Taiwan

by our Taipei correspondent Phyllis Hwang

The first time African National Congress representatives visited Taiwan in 1992 and requested to see the DPP, they were told by the Taipei Ministry of Foreign Affairs that the opposition party was too busy with the ongoing legislative campaigns to receive foreign guests. In fact, the Ministry had never contacted the DPP about the ANC's requests for a visit.

Thus it came as no surprise to the DPP when the Ministry of Foreign Affairs revealed the schedule it had arranged for ANC president Nelson Mandela's four-day trip to Taiwan — allotting only 30 minutes to the DPP. After pressure from both the DPP and ANC, the government ultimately relented, extending Mandela's time with the DPP to 50 minutes, and permitting DPP chairman Hsu to greet Mandela at the airport.

“To be with people who are fighting for democracy, as you do, is always an inspiration,” Mandela warmly declared when he finally met with DPP legislators and National Assembly members on 1 August 1993 at the Grand Hotel in Taipei. Mandela expressed his gratitude for the long-standing friendship between the DPP and the ANC, as evidenced by the presence of a DPP delegation at the ANC’s First Congress in 1991.

DPP legislators Ms. Annette Lu and Mr. Yao Chia-wen raised the question about South Africa’s future relations with Taiwan, in the light of recent reports that the South African government — under the ANC’s prodding — was becoming increasingly friendly with Peking. Lu and Yao urged Mandela to “recognize the simple fact that Taiwan is Taiwan, and China is China.”

Mandela referred the question to Pallo Jordan, ANC director of Information and Communications. Jordan replied: “We appreciate the historical fact that for the last 100 years, Taiwan has existed as a separate entity from China ... We will respect the views of the people of this country (regarding independence) as they are expressed through the electoral process, and we will express our views to the PRC government.” Jordan also urged the DPP to begin a dialogue with Peking, in the meantime.



**Mr. Mandela with DPP-Chairman
Hsu Hsin-liang**

Another issue raised during Mandela’s meeting with the DPP was the South African sale of anti-riot equipment to Taiwan, which in the past has been employed by the Nationalist authorities against democracy activists. National Assembly-member Michael Tsai made an appeal that the South African government would cease the sale of this “anti-human rights apparatus.” Jordan asserted that such sales would be discontinued in the future. “Having been on the receiving end of tortures inflicted by equipment imported from all over the world, the ANC cannot condone export of such equipment to other countries,” Jordan reassured.

During the meeting, Ms. Yang Maysing, the DPP Director of Foreign Affairs also presented Mandela with a DPP Central Standing Committee Resolution passed on 31 July 1993. The Resolution pledged continued support for the ANC's goals and requested Mandela to respect the political aspirations of the Taiwanese people. Finally, Chairman Hsu Hsin-liang presented Mandela with a plaque to recognize the ANC president for his "dedicated struggle to bring democracy and human rights to the peoples of South Africa."

While the future of Taiwan's relations with South Africa remains uncertain, Nelson Mandela's visit marked an important step in celebrating and strengthening the solidarity between the Taiwanese people and the people of South Africa.

Social / Human Rights Issues

Compensating victims of "February 28" Incident

After years of foot dragging, in June 1993 the Executive Yuan approved the draft of a new law to compensate the families of the victims of the "February 28" incident of 1947. The provisions say that the government will donate NT\$2 billion to form a foundation, that will be in charge of building a monument to commemorate the incident and offers "consolation money" to victims or their surviving family members. The upper limit per family is set at NT\$ 5 million.

After the government was criticized for lack of sensitivity for the victims, the term "consolation" was changed to "compensation." The upper limit of the compensation was raised from NT\$5 million to 10 million.

On 27 June 1993, Interior Minister Wu Po-hsiung and Justice Minister Ma Ying-jeou gave their apologies in an interpellation in the Legislative Yuan on behalf of the government to the families of victims killed in the 1947 massacre, saying the government must take responsibility for this tragedy.

The DPP leadership criticized the government for not doing enough to help heal the historical wounds and urged the government to do more:

1. The government should offer an formal apology to the people of Taiwan for the atrocities committed 46 years ago. It should also identify and punish the main government and military officials who were responsible for the massacre.
2. It should make all the records related to the Incident, including those from the Ministry of Defense, available to scholars for research.
3. An objective description of the February 28 incident should be included in the text books of schools as a lesson to the future generations.

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Prison destroys records of political prisoners

In an interpellation in the Legislative Yuan, the deputy ministry of defense disclosed that all 2250 records of former political prisoners stored at **Jen Ai Educational Reformatory** were burned on 5 July 1993, following the decision by the Ministry of Defense to close it after the end of martial law. The Reformatory was one of the main places where political prisoners were held.

The burning of records caused an outrage among the former political prisoners who pointed out that an important part of the history of “white terror” perpetrated by the KMT authorities is lost permanently.

Before the martial law was lifted, the Jen Ai Education Reformatory housed prisoners who were sentenced to reformatory education, and political prisoners who were sentenced to sedition were sent here to serve their last two years in order to undergo the last phase of political indoctrination.

Ms. Chen Chü, the new director of **Taiwan Association of Human Rights**, who spent six years in Jen Ai said that the Germans preserve the concentration camps of the Nazis as a reminder to the next generation not to commit the same mistakes. In contrast, the KMT authorities tried to cover up the history of human rights violations and political persecution by burning these records.

This is not the first time that the KMT destroyed records of political prisoners: in 1984, the politically-sensitive diary of Lei Cheng — a major political figure from the early period, who had opposed the KMT’s policies — was also burned.

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National Parks threaten Livelihood of Aborigines

Taiwan's aborigines, an ethnic minority of the Malay-Polynesian stock, are fighting for their rights of survival. Worried that they are being uprooted from a traditional way of life that could bring an end to their cultural heritage, they began to demand a say in the development of national parks on their tribal homeland.

In March 1993, thirty representatives from the Yami tribe from Lanyu, the Orchid Island, traveled to Taipei to protest the government's plan to build a national park on their island without prior consultation with leaders of the Yami people.

The Orchid Island, off the coast of Taitung, one of the last remaining spot of pristine beauty, is site of Taiwan's major nuclear waste dump.

In 1989, the interior Ministry announced its plan to develop Lanyu as a national park to "protect the island's natural resources and preserve the Yami's culture." Ironically, the aborigines pointed out that the national park will threaten their survival, because part of the area intended for the national park is the only farm land left on the island.

In June 1993, 50 representatives from the Pu-non tribal people protested outside the Ministry of the Interior in Taipei for including their reservation in the Yushan National Park. The park is located at the highest mountain in Taiwan.

They complained that they were not consulted about the drawing up of the Yushan national park and demanded the government to exclude their reservation, which covers small areas of Nan-tou and Kaohsiung counties, from the Yushan National park, grant the aborigines rights to hunt and to cultivate mountain land in order to maintain a livelihood and preserve their cultural heritage.

Scholars have urged the government to slow down their plan to development more national parks, because invasion of tourists and the resulting pollution of car exhaust and garbage has done tremendous damage to the environment, whereas the aboriginal people has not seen their livelihood improved. They are plagued by poverty and their daughters become child prostitutes.

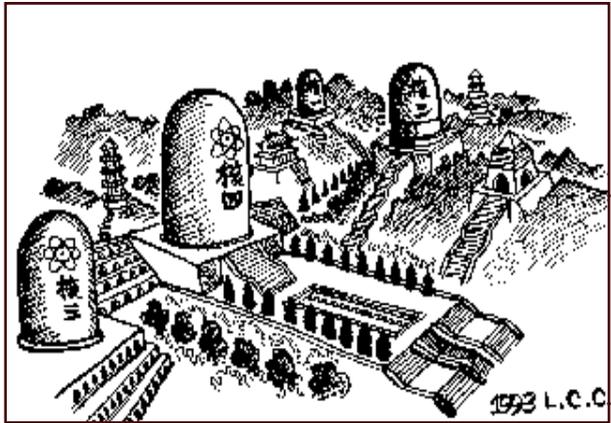
Economic / Environmental Report

Nuclear power plant issue flares up again

The controversy on the Fourth Nuclear Power Plant continued to dominate national attention in June 1993 when the Taipei authorities attempted to revive the budget for construction of the plant. This led to tumultuous scenes inside and outside the Legislative Yuan.

The protests started peacefully on 30 May 1993, when nearly 7,000 people, representing 50 civil groups, marched down the streets of Taipei in an orderly demonstration, one of the largest anti-nuclear gatherings in Taiwan until now.

In the subsequent weeks, the **Taiwan Environmental Protection Union** and villagers from Kungliao, the location of the new plant,



Plenty of nuclear power monuments in Taiwan

started to lobby the legislators, especially the large number of KMT legislators from Taipei county. In preparation for the vote on 21 June, when the budget for the fourth nuclear power plant was to be reviewed again, they began a peaceful sitdown in front of the Legislative Yuan.

On 21 June 1993, the protesters including many senior citizens and children arrived early. They brought idols from the village temples with them. But the protest got out of hand after scores of protesters broke the police cordon and stormed into the meeting room. In the ensuing confusion, the KMT chairman called a vote. The result was disputed by the DPP legislators and a bi-partisan negotiation agreed to nullified it. Another vote was scheduled on 23 June 1993.

On 23 June 1993, representatives from industry and business community came to deliver a petition signed by 10,000 companies in support of the building the plant.

Before the vote took place, some 600 protesters broke down the door and stormed into the meeting room. DPP legislator Huang Chao-hui suffered serious head injury after a scuffle with KMT legislator Shih Tai-sheng.

Gansters in the legislature

The worst conflict took place on 25 June 1993, when hundreds of Mr. Shih Tai-sheng's "supporters" arrived from Kaohsiung. However, these were no ordinary supporters, but gangsters, hired by Mr. Shih, who used iron bars and clubs to attack Mr. Huang's supporters. The pro-government **China Post** reported that "...the gang leaders wore dark suits, dark sun glasses, carrying a cordless telephone, surrounded by body guards, who tried to stop photographers from taking pictures." The clashes outside the Legislative Yuan resulted in some 35 injuries.

Meanwhile, hundreds of gangsters entered the Legislative Yuan to show their support for Mr. Shih Tai-sheng. They openly flouted the law by storming into the Legislative Yuan without registration or going through a weapon detector. They occupied the upstairs gallery of the legislative chamber and disrupted the plenary meeting with shouts of threats and obscenities. The few policemen on duty were powerless and did not attempt to silence the mob.

Mr. Shih Tai-sheng is a KMT member of the Legislative Yuan who most openly has connections with the underworld. According to the *Journalist*, the Taipei-based news magazine, Mr. Shih was arrested and imprisoned himself, during the "Clean Sweep" anti-corruption campaign of 1984.

The Journalist criticized President Lee Teng-hui and Premier Lien Chan for not speaking out against the appearance of gangsters in the Legislative Yuan. It pointed out that by keeping silent, they were condoning the action of the gangsters. The KMT party whip in the Legislative Yuan actually praised the gangsters as "patriotic citizens", because they fought DPP supporters.

On 10 July 1993, the KMT authorities mobilized their members for a vote against reviewing the budget of the nuclear power plant again, and thus passed the budget. The anti-nuclear protesters said they were not defeated, they are prepared for a long-term battle and have vowed to take their case to the people. Their next goal is to push for a plebiscite on this issue.

Notes

Publication: The Unknown Taiwan

Just recently we received a copy of an excellent booklet about Taiwan, which was published in 1992 by the Coalition for Democracy in Taiwan and the North American Taiwanese Women's Association in the U.S.A. The booklet was written by Dr. Marc J. Cohen. It gives a good overview of geography, history, people, political developments up until the end of 1992, economy, energy and environment, and social issues. The book can be ordered from: **Coalition for Democracy, 230 Jen-Ai Road, Section 4, 9th Floor, Taipei, Taiwan, fax (02) 755-4226.**



A Note from the Editors

We must apologize to our readers for the fact that Taiwan Communiqué did not appear for several months: attentive readers may have noted that our latest issue came out in February 1993.

We did of course aim at bringing out the April and June issues, but didn't succeed — first one of the editors was seriously ill and it took her several weeks to recuperate, and later because of a breakdown of our trusted computer. One may also say because of illness: he caught a virus. In any case: both are healthy and well again, and eager to proceed with the task of reporting and analyzing events in Taiwan.

Still, we foresee some discontinuity in our reporting by the end of the year: the Taiwan Communiqué editors are moving to Washington DC, where we will merge with the group there. We still hope to bring out an issue by November, so — in any case — you will hear from us again soon.