



TAIWAN COMMUNIQUÉ

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China, human rights and MFN

By the end of May 1994, President Clinton will decide on the extension of **Most Favorite Nation** (MFN) status for China, and in particular on the linkage with human rights. He has stated that the MFN-status will only be renewed if China makes significant progress in this area.

During the past few weeks, especially during and after Mr. Warren Christopher's mid-March trip to Peking, the Clinton administration was criticized for establishing this linkage and for trying to bring China to adhere to some basic human rights.

Taiwan Communiqué comment: *We believe the policy is right and that the criticism is not justified. Mr. Clinton is one of the first world leaders who has had the courage to establish a firm human rights policy. Few others have shown a strong backbone in this regard. He also applies one of the few levers which can -- and should -- be used: trade preferences.*

There are those, especially in the business community and former Reagan and Bush officials, who argue in favor of a "business as usual" approach with the Chinese. Their argument is that business ties and trade will bring economic change, which somehow will automatically lead to improvements of political and human rights.

This argument is fallacious: as the experience in Taiwan has shown, the advancement of political freedom and human rights require an active policy, in addition to hard work by the people themselves. It doesn't come automatically.

The "business as usual" line also amounts to appeasement of the present regime in China, which has shown itself in blatant violation of the most fundamental of human

rights standards, whether it be on Tienanmen Square in 1989 or in Tibet. Appeasement will not work, just as appeasement of the Hitler regime in the late 1930s did not work.

China will need to understand clearly that only when it moves in the direction of improvement of human rights, it can be a fully respected member of the international community. Basic human rights are universal and not bound to any culture. Arrests of Mr. Wei Jing-sheng and others, and the continued repression in Tibet, have no place in this day and age.

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Taiwan increasing international profile

During the past few months, Taiwan has been able to increase its international political profile. It has been a very slow process, since at each step the People's Republic of China attempted to block the move forward, using its full economic and political weight to attempt to force other countries to kowtow to Peking.

It didn't quite succeed, as evident from the persistent progress made by Taiwan, although France apparently knuckled under to Chinese pressure in January 1994, when it decided against any further weapon sales to Taiwan. In November 1992, Paris had decided to allow the Marcel Dassault company to sell 60 Mirage fighters to Taiwan. Below we present a brief overview of the main recent events.

APEC in Seattle

In the second half of November 1993, President Clinton invited the heads of government from the Asian and Pacific region to a meeting of the newly founded **Asian Pacific Economic Community** (APEC). While the meeting itself was a success for Mr. Clinton's Asia policy, there was a sour note, in that the United States invited heads of government of all countries except Taiwan.

Dr. **Shen Fu-hsiung**, a DPP legislator who headed a group of opposition legislators to Seattle, urged the American government not to bow to the pressure from China and to allow the Taiwan APEC delegation to be headed by the head of government. At the same time, he criticized the Kuomintang authorities for attending under the incongruous name "*Chinese, Taipei.*"

Dr. Shen pointed out: *"Taiwan has been a de facto independent state since 1945. It is the world's 14th largest trading nation and has a population of 21 million -- more than that of 130 United Nations members. We are in all respects a sovereign nation state, and we want the international community to recognize our sovereignty and support our full membership with equal rights and privileges at APEC and in the United Nations."*

The delegation emphasized that they came to Seattle to let the world community know that the people of Taiwan want a free and independent Taiwan and have no wish to be reunified with China.

Mr. Lee's Southward "vacation diplomacy"

During the first few months of 1994, the Taipei authorities started to implement a new approach to foreign policy: ***"vacation diplomacy."*** High government officials go on vacation in a particular country, and there they "happen" to meet high officials of the host country.

Thus, in the beginning of January 1994, Taiwan's Premier **Lien Chan** traveled to Malaysia and Singapore and met with Prime Ministers Mahathir bin Mohamed and Goh Chok Tong and other ministers of those countries. Even more importantly, in mid-February 1994, President **Lee Teng-hui** himself went on an eight-day "vacation" to the Philippines, Indonesia and Thailand, and respectively met with President Fidel Ramos, President Suharto and with King Bhumibol.

Taiwan Communiqué: *We commend the Taipei authorities for their inventiveness. If Taiwan is to gain in international stature, it is certainly best to start with the six nations of ASEAN. Once they support a free and independent Taiwan, the rest of the world will follow.*

It is also wise to expand economic ties with the Southeast Asian nations: business and industry from Taiwan traditionally have a strong foothold there. Increasing ties with Southeast Asia also reduces the present over-reliance on economic ties with China, which could eventually give China a stranglehold on Taiwan.

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Elections, elections, elections

Since we published our previous issue in September 1993, two elections were held in Taiwan: the County Magistrate elections on 26 November 1993, and the elections for city and county councils on 29 January 1994. The latter was followed on 1 March 1994 by the selection of chairpersons of the councils by the members of those councils. Below we present a brief summary of the most pertinent aspects of those elections, in particular the rampant vote buying.

A third election which is still to take place when we write this, is the election of chairman of the DPP. We present some background of the candidates. By the time our readers receive the *Communiqué*, the results will probably be known already.

November 1993 election a mixed bag

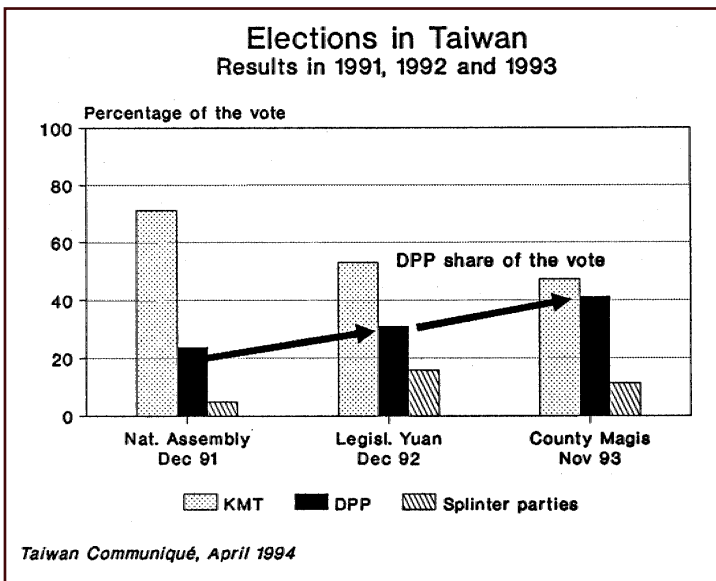
On 26 November 1993, elections took place for 17 county magistrate seats and 5 city mayor positions. There were gains and losses on both sides: the Kuomintang won 15 out of the 23 seats, and was thus able to claim victory. The DPP only barely held on to a total of six seats, losing two significant positions (Mrs. **Yao Chou Ching-yü** in Changhua and Mr. **Su Chen-chang** in Pintung), but gaining Tainan County (Dr. **Mark Chen**) and holding on to the highly important Taipei County magistrate position (Dr. **You Ching**). Two positions were won by independent candidates.

At the same time the DPP gained significantly in the percentage of the vote, as shown by the graph on the next page.

Still, Mr. **Hsü Hsin-liang** resigned as Party chairman after the elections, since he had - rather too optimistically -- boasted that the DPP would at least win 11 out of the 23 county magistrate and city mayor positions. This didn't quite happen, and Mr. Hsü resigned, handing the DPP chairmanship position temporarily to former political prisoner **Shih Ming-teh**, who had been elected to the Legislative Yuan in December 1992.

The November 1993 campaign was characterized by a no-holds-barred competition between the candidates, not only between the parties, but often also within parties. The major competition though, was between the KMT and the DPP. Since the DPP is emerging as a full-fledged opposition party, the KMT is no longer taking victory for granted: it decided to play its trump card: President Lee Teng-hui, who has built up a large popularity on the island with his down-to-earth style.

The KMT reasoned that, since Mr. Lee is also Chairman of the ruling KMT party, he could campaign for KMT candidates. And he did: he traveled up and down the island to towns and villages which had never seen such as high government official before, and where townfolks and villagers were overwhelmed by the presence of the president. The DPP cried foul: they argued that Mr. Lee -- in his capacity as President of the country -- should remain neutral and above the parties. He didn't



... and the KMT won more seats than they otherwise would have.

Two important problems with the election campaign remained: vote buying by primarily KMT-candidates, and unfair coverage by the three KMT-controlled television stations (on these issues, see also the report on the 1992 Legislative Yuan election campaign). According to a team of DPP news watchers, KMT candidates received 90 percent of the election news coverage by the three major television stations, whereas candidates of DPP, the Chinese New Party and independents together received only 10% of the election news coverage.

Not only were DPP candidates not treated to equal time, their coverage was slanted at best. They were often portrayed in a negative light. On 16 November 1993, the DPP attempted to circumvent the KMT's monopoly of the electronic media by setting up its own television station. It broadcast only one hour a day and could only reach a limited audience in Taipei county. It proved to be short-lived: after three days it was closed down by the KMT.

Violence and vote-buying mar local elections

On 29 January 1994, elections were held to elect 309 local chief executives of towns and villages, and 883 members of county and city councils in Taiwan's 21 counties and smaller cities. Elections for executives of the five major cities were held earlier, together with the county executive elections in November 1993.

As expected the KMT -- which still tightly controls the local political system on the island -- won a majority, and captured 254 out of 309 seats (82 %) of local chief executives of towns and villages. However, the DPP increased the number of chief executives of towns and villages from 6 to 23 seats (some 7.4 %), a gain of nearly fourfold. This gives the DPP a foothold in local politics. DPP also doubled the number of seats in city and county councils from 48 to a total of 92 seats (amounting to 10.4 % of the seats).

The China New Party (CNP), a mainlander-dominated group which split away from the Kuomintang in August 1993, won only eight city and county council seats (2.6 % of the seats), mainly in Taipei county.

Independent candidates won 32 seats (10.4 %) of local chief executives of towns and villages and 180 seats (20.4 %) in city and county councils. The independents were thus able to maintain their influence on the local level.

The local elections of townships and villages are an indication of the strength of political parties at the grass roots level, which may be significant in the coming elections for the governor of Taiwan at the end of 1995.

The elections were marred by numerous reports of violence and vote-buying. In Mai-liao, a village in Yunlin county, violent fighting between two rival factions broke out in front of a polling station on election day. One villager died after being hit by a car. Four were seriously injured.

Elections of City and County Council Speakers

On 1 March 1994, the newly-elected members of county and city councils had the opportunity to "vote" for their respective speakers and vice-speakers. As expected KMT swept all the seats of speakers, and lost only four seats to independents.

However, violence and widespread vote-buying marred these elections, and they were reported to be one of the most corrupt ever to take place in Taiwan. The KMT authorities were criticized for condoning these practices in order to win. According to press reports, some KMT candidates spent more than NT\$100 million (US\$ 4 million) to buy votes.

They offered expensive gifts such as Mercedes-Benz automobiles and up to as much as NT\$5 million (US\$ 200,000) per vote to their colleagues. Their supporters were taken on overseas sightseeing trips to prevent them from being bribed by rival candidates.

Public outrage forced the judicial authorities to begin the process of house cleaning. By the end of March 1994, three council speakers and 55 council members were charged with offering or taking bribes. Prosecutors obtained evidence of vote-buying in 18 out of 21 counties involving more than half of the 883 members.

Another problem plaguing Taiwan's local politics is the rise of election-related violence. In Taichung county, gunmen shot and wounded the brother of the county council speaker prior to the election. The many threats of violence, including death threats against candidates, prompted the KMT authorities to take security measures such as installing metal detectors at the entrances of council halls and the deployment of more than 5,000 police officers around council halls across the island.

One factor contributing to the rise of violence is the fact that many gangsters are entering politics. The Investigation Bureau of the Ministry of Justice reported that 62 councillor-elects were found to have criminal records and had close links with the organized crime. The **Independence Weekly Post** reported that nearly half of the 21 speakers elected came from, or have links with, the underworld.

Justice Minister **Ma Ying-jeou**, who is leading the investigation to election irregularities, told legislators during interpellation in the Legislative Yuan that



"Corruption mice" eating away at foundations of KMT, while "higher" officials leave the job of chasing them to Justice Minister Ma.

he is determined to crack down on gang violence and bring charges against perpetrators of vote-buying. He said he would step down if he failed the task.

The root of the problem stems from the fact that the KMT has always relied on local factional support in order to win local and national elections. The factional leaders deliver the votes usually by vote-buying and in exchange they are rewarded with public works contracts. But leaders of local factions rely on underworld figures to help consolidate their political and economical power base.

In recent years, many of the former underworld figures have moved out from running gambling joints and brothels into more "respectable" business such as construction, real state and service industries. Since political connections can greatly enhance their business interest, they are increasingly running for seats in the local councils.

DPP's housecleaning

The DPP itself did not remain untouched in the election scandal: during and after the 1 March 1994 "vote", there were allegations that a considerable number of DPP council members voted for KMT candidates after receiving bribes and participating in overseas sightseeing tours.

Acting chairman Shih Ming-teh moved swiftly to clamp down on the vote buying: he set up an investigation panel headed by Legislator Chen Ting-nan. On 10 March 1994, the panel proposed expulsion of 22 of members of county and city councils, and the suspension of rights for 23 others, ranging from six months to three years, for violating party discipline.

On 19 March 1994, the DPP central standing committee approved the recommendation of the panel. This was the strongest action the DPP had taken against its own members. Acting Chairman Shih Ming-teh in a press conference made an apology to the public for the wrongdoing of some of its members who were involved in the vote-buying scandal.

Gearing up for the DPP chairmanship elections

On 30 April 1994, the DPP will hold its party congress to elect a new chairman and the 31-member central committee as well as the 11-member policy-making central standing committee.

The election is important for the party: it is gaining in stature and influence, and will need leadership with a vision for the future. In particular the next two years will be crucial, since 1995 will bring new elections for the Legislative Yuan, and presidential elections are foreseen for 1996.

While in the past there were generally only two candidates for the chairmanship -- one from the *Formosa* faction and one supported by the *New Movement* group -- now there are four candidates: 1) former political prisoner Shih Ming-teh, the present acting chairman, 2) Dr. George Chang, the chairman of the World United Formosans for Independence (WUFI), who returned from the US in 1991 and was subsequently imprisoned, 3) legislator Chai Trong-rong, a former college professor who returned from the US in 1989, and 4) legislator Chang Chün-hung, a former political prisoner who is closely associated with the Formosa faction.

Mr. **Shih Ming-teh** considerably strengthened his hand recently by clamping down on DPP members of local county and city councils involved in vote buying (see article above). This move by Mr. Shih increased the credibility of the DPP as a clean party, as opposed to the rampant vote buying which is prevalent within the KMT.



Mr. Shih Ming-teh

Dr. **George Chang** is also considered a strong candidate, since he has wide international experience and stature. As chairman of the World United Formosan for Independence he has built up an excellent network of supporters in Taiwan and overseas, and has good contacts with, and access to, political leaders in the international community.



Dr. George Chang

Professor **Chai Trong-rong**, who was elected to the Legislative Yuan in 1992, is known for his longtime lobbying efforts in the US Congress while he was in the United States, and for organizing the "Public Plebiscite" movement in Taiwan since his return there in 1989.

Mr. **Chang Chün-hung**, the former secretary-general of DPP under chairman Huang Hsin-chieh, is closely associated with the Formosa faction. His

position is weak: the Formosa faction has come under increasing criticism for its "money politics", and its over-eagerness to compromise with the KMT on a range of issues.

Two smaller factions in the DPP, the *Justice Alliance* headed by Legislator Chen Shui-bian and the *Welfare State Alliance* headed by Legislator Hsieh Ch'ang-t'ing, could play an important role in the chairmanship election, since they could tip the balance.

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In memoriam Wang Kang-lu

On 12 October 1993, Dr. Wang Kang-lu, the secretary-general of World United Formosans for Independence (WUFI), was killed in a car accident in Taipei.

For decades Dr. Wang lived in forced exile in the United States. He was one of the key leaders in the democratic movement for a free and independent Taiwan, and was therefore blacklisted by the Taipei authorities. He finally returned to Taiwan in August 1991, only to be arrested and imprisoned on charges of "sedition." He was released in May 1992 after the outdated sedition law was repealed.

Taiwan Communiqué joins Taiwanese at home and abroad in mourning a good friend, who dedicated his life to his country. We also urge the Taipei authorities to conduct a full and impartial investigation into the death of Mr. Wang. A cover-up will only deepen the suspicions and damage the image of the Taipei authorities even further.

Below we first report on the suspicions surrounding Mr. Wang's death, and the refusal of the authorities to investigate the matter. We then print a moving statement by Alvin Wang, Mr. Wang's son. Thirdly, we report on the attempts by democratic opposition members in Taiwan to re-open investigation into a very similar case in 1981, the death of Professor Chen Wen-cheng.

Was It Political Murder ?

The police report says the accident happened when the taxi that was driving him home after he delivered a speech at the Chinese Cultural University at Yangmingshan, was hit by a drunken 32-year-old mason worker driving a BMW.

However, WUFI leaders in Taiwan stated in a press conference on 22 October 1993, that there is significant evidence -- including testimony by an eyewitness -- indicating that Mr. Wang's accident may have been planned: according to the eyewitness, the BMW was waiting at the road side on the mountain highway and moved in at full speed when Mr. Wang's taxi approached.

There are strong suspicions that the driver of the BMW, who was only slightly injured, was a hired gun, and that the National Security Bureau was behind the murder. WUFI stated that it has evidence that the driver had contacted an informant of the National Security Bureau two hours before the fatal accident. Furthermore, the BMW was not impounded by police, but towed away from the crash site. However, it did not reach the garage it was destined for until 4 hours later. Police later admitted that radio and other communication gear was removed from the car during that time.

WUFI also obtained evidence that the driver hit and killed another person in a drunken driving car accident last year, but was given only a suspended sentence at the time.

Further indications that there is something amiss in the case, is that the driver was not taken into custody after being questioned by police, and the fact that the District Prosecutor refused to initiate an investigation into the accident.



Dr. Wang Kang-lu

My father

by Alvin Wang

For three decades, my father worked to free the Taiwanese people. because of his advocacy of Taiwan independence, my father suffered many injustices at the hands of the Kuomintang. He was blacklisted, prevented from returning to his native land, and even to attend his mother's funeral when she passed away. When he finally did return to Taiwan in 1991, he was jailed for seven months. Amnesty International adopted him as a political prisoner. After his release, he remained in Taiwan and continued to work for Taiwan independence.

Although he suffered these great injustices, my father never complained and never lost faith in his vision of a democratic "Republic of Taiwan." He worked tirelessly and fearlessly for the cause, never asking for anything in return, except for the honor of serving the people and the land which he so dearly loved.

He loved all things in nature and valued all life, whether it was the life of an insect or a fellow human being. His compassion was so great that he could love those who others would call the enemy. My father was a brave man. He was never afraid to stand up for what he believed in and he did not fear the KMT. His courage was only one of his many attributes which made him a great person. His courage, selflessness, and everlasting faith were not his only attributes. He had the support of many friends and relatives.

My father advocated independence through nonviolent means. He knew, just as Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and Mohandas Gandhi knew, that nonviolent social and political change were the key to success. He was so moved by their teachings that he co-authored a book on the subject. From this deep sense of humanity came his emphasis on truth and purity. In the fight for human rights, my father believed that respect for human life should not be violated. He led by example, not by force, with a combination of patience, modesty, and unending devotion that few possess.

Even though he was all these things and more, above all he was my father. Although his full-time job and work with the independence movement kept him busy, he always made time for his family. When I was younger, he used to take me to see the New York Mets twice each summer. For ten years, he took me to my violin lessons every Saturday morning.

After he returned to Taiwan, he was only a phone call away. Although he spent each day in meetings, giving speeches, or just doing paperwork, he would put everything on hold while he talked with us. He often called as soon as he returned home (usually at 2:00 a.m.), tired and exhausted from the day's work. Last June, he made time to come back to the US for a month so that he could attend my high school graduation and send me off to college.

But being a good father means more than making time for one's family. My father knew that, and he was everything a good father should be. He was patient and soft-spoken, yet steadfast and eager. When I was young, he never ordered me to do something, just because he said so. Instead, he always explained his logic and why I should do as he asked. I learned by following his example. He taught me the values and beliefs that he held so dearly by showing me why he believed what he did, but he always let me make my own choice.

In the past two years, I have learned more from my father than I ever have before. But I am still young and have a great deal more to learn from him. Now, I will learn from the ideals and the lessons that he left for us to follow.

Please remember my father, not for his violent death, but for the ideals and beliefs that he worked so hard to further. It saddens me that my father did not live to see the Republic of Taiwan that he so long envisioned. If we follow his example, believe his ideals, and understand his vision, then together, we can ensure that his lifelong dream will come true.

Professor Chen Wen-cheng's 1981 murder case to be reopened ?

In the early morning hours of 3 July 1981, the body of professor Chen Wen-cheng was found on the grounds of National Taiwan University. Professor Chen, a brilliant young statistics professor at Carnegie Mellon University in Pittsburgh, was visiting relatives in Taiwan at the time, but had been detained for questioning by the Taiwan Garrison Command.

In spite of strong pressure from the United States and from international human rights groups, the Taipei authorities never resolved the murder, and continue to stonewall the case, saying that it was "either suicide or an accident." An American pathologist who was able to examine dr. Chen's body found a number of unexplained wounds.

On 22 February 1994, opposition legislator Chai Trong-rong organized a hearing in Taipei to call for reopening the investigation into professor Chen's death. Professor Chen's wife, Chen Su-cheng, testified at the hearing. Following the hearing, police officers who handled the investigation in 1981 said they would "re-examine the death as an alleged homicide."

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Navy Procurement Whistleblower Murdered

Navy Captain Yin Ching-feng disappeared on the morning of 9 December 1993. He was later found dead at sea near Suao in I-lan county in northeastern Taiwan. An autopsy revealed that the cause of death was not drowning. He was murdered.

Mr. Yin was the head of a navy arms procurement office. The judicial investigation of the murder has so far concluded that Yin was murdered because he tried

to blow the whistle on illicit operations involving the purchase of battleships and related weapons. And he was murdered before he could turn over the evidence to higher authorities.

Mr. **Ko Shih-ping**, the I-Lan prosecutor investigating the case indicated that Mr. Yin had collected evidence of corruption by taping his conversation with several suspects, including active-duty navy commanders, retired navy officers and arms dealers. Mr. Yin also complained on the tape that he was the target of a smear campaign, engineered by an arms dealer who had tried to discredit him.

The navy has not been cooperative in assisting the judicial authorities' investigation of Captain Yin's murder. The prosecutors complained that Navy officials are stonewalling the case, and are refusing to provide relevant information. Thus, three months after the murder, the investigation was in a deadlock.

Still, the investigators unearthed mounting evidence of corruption and the leaking of military secrets by military officers. This confirmed the long-held suspicion that the military's arms procurement system is seriously flawed because it escapes the scrutiny of the Legislative branch. One of the arrested arms dealers, Mr. Cheng Cheng-kuang, admitted to bribing 30 military officers, including a former vice commander-in-chief of the Navy, in order to obtain information regarding bottom prices and specifications of weapons in order to win the bid. The money offered ranging from NT\$50,000 to NT\$1.5 million.

As of the beginning of March, four arms brokers and 10 naval officers were arrested in connection with the murder, or taking of bribes or leaking of military secrets. Nearly all the arrested were retired senior Navy officers, who -- after leaving the Navy -- started to work as middlemen for foreign weapons suppliers, such as *Thomson-CSF* of France.

The most surprising revelation was made by the Minister of Defense **Sun Cheng** in a testimony before the Legislative Yuan on 27 December 1993, that he had no say in the procurement of military's weapon systems. Military commanders keep their process of arms purchase completely in the dark. They do not have to comply with any rules and regulations or submit their budget to the Minister of Defense for approval. The Ministry of Audit has no access to their account books. The military expenditure completely escapes the scrutiny of the Legislative Yuan.

The investigation also has exposed another problem with the military. The military does not have a strict ethics law to limit influence-peddling by its former officers. Many retired officers returned immediately as lobbyist for foreign arms manufacturers.

In order to correct the situation, opposition legislators, in particular Mr. **Hsieh Ch'ang-t'ing**, are now pushing proposals to enact an ethics code for civil servants and to make the military's arms procurement procedures more transparent.

Report from Washington

Support for UN membership growing

In our September 1993 issue we gave the most recent overview of the movement for Taiwan membership in the United Nations. On 22 September 1993, the resolution -- introduced by seven Latin American nations -- to establish an ad hoc committee to make a comprehensive analysis of the possibilities of Taiwan membership was blocked by China. Still, the movement in support of UN membership continues to grow, both inside Taiwan and abroad.

An overview of the developments by **Mr. Coen Blaauw of the Washington-based Formosan Association for Public Affairs (FAPA)**:

On 5 October 1993, Senator **Paul Simon** (D-IL) introduced a Senate resolution (# 148) stating that the United States, through the US Permanent Representative to the UN, should encourage the United Nations to permit representatives of Taiwan to participate fully in the activities of the United Nations and its specialized agencies.

Just over a week later, US Congressman **Bill Tauzin** (D-LA) issued a statement in support of UN membership for Taiwan, urging the UN to allow Taiwan "to enter ... as a new member, under the name Taiwan and as an independent country." Mr. Tauzin criticized China's claims to sovereignty over Taiwan: "...since the communists in Beijing came to power in 1949 on the Chinese mainland, they have never -- not for a single day -- exercised any control over Taiwan. Taiwan is an independent country and deserves its own seat in the United Nations."

On 23 February 1994, US Congressman **William Jefferson** (D-LA) issued a statement in the US House of Representatives in support of Taiwan membership of the United Nations. Congressman Jefferson termed "One Taiwan, One China" a reality that needs to be acknowledged by the international community, and that the people of Taiwan deserve that their country be admitted to the United Nations as a new member.

US Congressman favors UN membership

The strongest statement yet came on 21 March 1994, when in a speech to the US House of Representatives, Congressman **Sherrod Brown** (D-OH) strongly argued for Taiwan membership in the UN. Mr. Brown's speech:

Mr. Speaker, it makes little sense to continue to exclude Taiwan from the United Nations. Whatever logic and whatever political rationale that formerly existed for treating Taiwan as a subset of China or as a government in exile has long since faded.

In the post-cold-war era, we must take a realistic view of the world. We must realize that the UN membership includes 184 nations, and excludes only a handful of very small countries and one large one, Taiwan. Taiwan has 21 million people, a population greater than the great majority of UN members. Yet we deny Taiwan membership.

Taiwan has taken a number of steps in recent years towards democracy and political reform. Indeed, in many respects we should celebrate the success story in Taiwan -- particularly when we consider the difficulty in convincing the Peoples' Republic of China of the importance of behaving as a responsible member of the world community. We simply do not have that problem with Taiwan.

There has been no martial law for seven years, and the most recent elections were the most free in modern Taiwanese history. Yet we do not reward progress. Instead, we deny them their own seat. Taiwan is America's sixth largest trading partner; it is the 14th largest trading nation in the world. Its foreign currency holdings are the largest in the world. Taiwan has the 20th largest gross domestic product in the world. Taiwan has already been admitted to GATT and APEC. Taiwan is truly one of the strongest of the little tigers of Asia. Its economic future appears very bright.

Mr. Speaker, it simply does not make sense to exclude Taiwan from the United Nations -- especially if our foreign policy is going to be increasingly interlinked with economic policy. The United Nations, for all its faults, remains the preeminent multilateral international organization. Excluding Taiwan certainly conveys the wrong message to the world community.

I believe we should no longer deny an important global economic force representation in the most important of world forums. We treat Taiwan as an international pariah for outdated reasons. The geopolitical and ideological basis for our policy towards Taiwan no longer serves any useful purpose.

The reality is that Taiwan is a strong player in the world community. That fact is indisputable. Taiwan is an increasingly significant member of the Pacific Rim community. The 21 million residents of free and independent Taiwan must be allowed their own seat in the United Nations.

Second Generation Report

I am Taiwanese and / or American

by Rolla Chuang

I was born in Lafayette, Indiana in 1969. In many respects I am a truly American product of the heartland called the Midwest. Or am I? My mother was working as a research assistant to help support my father, who was a Ph.D. student in fluid mechanics at Purdue University. However, my first language was Hoklo, the language spoken by the majority of the people in Taiwan.

But growing up in Cincinnati, Ohio, we were all-American. We played football, took karate, learned to swim, rode our bikes with the neighborhood kids, and went to school. We also had dance rehearsals for the international folk festival, sold egg rolls at the Hamilton County Fair, met on Sunday morning to learn about chemistry and car engines. But we also learned Taiwan history with other Taiwanese American kids. *"Do you feel that with the 'dai-wan gin-a' (Taiwanese kids) there is something more there? Some cultural tie?"* my parents would ask us. Not really, I thought at that time. Later I found, I did not have a broad enough perspective to see yet.

There were many guests we had at our house, though. I tried not to stare at the man with only one arm (Prof. Peng Ming-min, a prominent Taiwanese exile -- Ed.). *"This man is exiled from Taiwan. He wrote a book the government didn't like."* Poor guy. He doesn't have a home. I hope other people will help him out too.

"This man was imprisoned in Taiwan for ten years for starting a newsletter when he was twenty years old." I bowed my head in respectful awe. And on and on the people came through our doors, exiled, imprisoned, persecuted by the KMT for being Taiwanese. It was not allowed to be Taiwanese, not even for us here in America: our teachers and peers continually "corrected" our mistake whenever we told them we were Taiwanese. "Oh!" they exclaimed knowingly, *"you are Chinese."*

Then there was the harassment: a friend's father had his car windows broken and his tires slashed while parked at Ohio State University Campus. Taiwanese graduate students of the University of Cincinnati were getting anonymous threatening phone calls. Packages from friends in Taiwan had been opened. Relatives from Taiwan told us that our letters to them had been opened.

Then there were the deaths: **Henry Liu**, a Chinese American writer in California murdered in cold blood in his home (in October 1984 -- Ed.). Professor **Chen Wen-cheng**, a professor of Statistics at Carnegie Mellon University, is found at the base of National Taiwan University library, dead, after long hours of questioning by the KMT's secret police. "He committed suicide," the Taipei government said, "because he felt guilty of his sins." What sins? His friends, wife, and colleagues at CMU want to know.

When I was nine years old, my father told me the story of **Lin Yi-hsiung**. He had three daughters, one age 9 and twins age 6. In the middle of the day, they were knifed in their house in Taipei, while the house was under police surveillance (for Mr. Lin was being interrogated in prison following the "Kaohsiung Incident" of December 1979 -- Ed). Mr. Lin's mother and the twins died. The nine-year-old was stabbed six times, but she lived. I was nine years old then too !

We demonstrated in Cincinnati, carrying signs and marching through campus, inserting leaflets under windshields and handing them out to passersby about harassment by Kuomintang campus spies. We went to Pittsburgh to attend Professor Chen's memorial service where many attendees wore paper masks because they were afraid. Of what? One man sang a tearful "*Hong-hun-eh-koh-hyong*", or "*My homeland is calling me*" to an audience that broke down in tears. It was quite disconcerting for me as an 11-year old girl to be surrounded by an auditorium full of sobbing adults. This was the first time I saw my mother and father cry. My parents couldn't go to Taiwan. They were blacklisted since before I was born.

We distributed petitions. I took them to school to have my teachers sign them. Amnesty International has adopted this political prisoner ! And we sent letters to the president. When Jimmy Carter opened up the White House lines to the public we spent the whole day re-dialing 1-800-xxx-1600 and receiving the busy signal in the hopes of telling him about the right of the people of Taiwan to be independent. We also sent letters to congressmen, and to the editor of the **Cincinnati Post** about human rights violations in Taiwan. Look: Dad's letter got published.

Wait a minute. I am American. Remember the All-American girl from the heartland? My future is here. All this Taiwan stuff is for other people to worry about. Leave it to the others to think about our tie to Taiwan But

What I really want to say, is that as Taiwanese-Americans we are in a unique position: we can live our lives as Americans. That is the dream of our parents, when they came here with nothing but their intelligence and wit.

But because of our heritage we do have a tie to Taiwan, its land, culture, people, ... *and future*. We can help call attention here and abroad for a range of issues that touch Taiwan: human rights, political freedom, environment, and its representation in the United Nations. We live in a free country, we can help our cousins, nieces, nephews, aunts and uncles live in a country that is a full member of the international community too. As Taiwanese Americans let us work together to help bring about justice in our homeland Taiwan.

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Environmental / Wildlife Report

Alternatives to Fourth Nuclear Plant proposed

Does Taiwan need a fourth nuclear power plant ? For the past decade, this question has pitted the democratic opposition of the DPP and environmental groups against Taiwan authorities. The opposition groups argue that building such a plant only 36 km from a major metropolitan area such as Taipei is highly irresponsible, particularly in view of the fact that the area is known for earthquakes and is often battered by typhoons. They have urged the government to search for alternatives to expansion of the number of nuclear power plants.

In 1986, in the wake of the Chernobyl accident, the environmentalists successfully lobbied the Legislative Yuan to freeze the budget for the fourth nuclear power plant. In June 1993, the budget was revived in a controversial vote in the Legislative Yuan (see *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 59). The Taiwan authorities are soon to resume the construction of the fourth nuclear power plant.

Meanwhile, the environmentalists are stepping up their protest. A coalition of more than 50 civil groups will participate in an anti-nuclear mass demonstration on 29 May 1994 in Taipei. Also, several DPP legislators are sponsoring legislation in favor of alternatives, which draw on a proposal written by Mr. **James Lee**, a Taiwanese environmentalist based in Washington, DC. Mr. Lee's proposal recommends several alternatives to nuclear energy. Below is a summary:

Mr. Lee points out that safety of nuclear power is a major concern in Taiwan, because the three existing nuclear power plants, which supply 34.5 percent of Taiwan's energy, have reported many emergency shutdowns and accidents. Measurable doses of radiation were released in these accidents. The number of unplanned shutdowns is 30 to 40 times higher in Taiwan than in Japan.

Another problem is nuclear waste disposal. **Taiwan Power Company** (Taipower) stores more than a hundred thousand drums of low-level radioactive waste in Nan-yu, a small island off the eastern coast of Taiwan despite opposition from the local Ya-mei tribal population. In 1993 the Ya-mei tribal people staged several demonstrations in Taipei to protest this policy of "environmental discrimination".

Since the Chernobyl accident of 1986 showed that nuclear technology is not foolproof, global dependence on nuclear energy has been declining. "Some 79 reactors with a total generating capacity of 19,000 megawatts have already been retired after an average service life of less than 17 years," Mr. Lee points out. Many utility companies in the West are shutting down aging nuclear power plants or stop the construction of new nuclear power plants because of the increasing cost and technical problems. They are looking for alternatives. On the contrary, Taipower still insists on building the fourth nuclear power plant and has misled the public in advertising campaign that nuclear power is cheap, reliable and safe.

Mr. Lee points out that the construction of the fourth nuclear power plant is not the only way to solve the current problem of power shortage and to meet the increasing energy demand in the future. Mr. Lee offers the following alternatives:

1. Increase the efficiency of production of energy on the producer's side

According to Mr. Lee's calculation, Taipower can increase the supply of energy by improving the efficiency of production and transmission of electricity. If it could cut waste, streamline management and increase the optimal utilization of capacity by only 10%, the increase in the supply of energy will be enough to meet the increasing demand of energy in the short term such as 5 to 8 years.

2. Conservation measures

Educate and provide incentives for consumers including households, business and industries to replace older and energy-consuming appliances and equipment with new and energy efficient ones. Encourage the construction of energy efficient buildings, planting more trees to provide shade and have cleaner air. Stop subsidizing industries and government enterprises with cheap energy. Users of energy should pay the full costs.

If these measures are adopted, the reduction in energy use will be enough to offset the need to build the fourth nuclear power plant.

3. For the long-term solution, develop alternative sources of energy

Solar energy is especially appropriate for Taiwan. In the southern part of Taiwan, the sun shines throughout the whole year. It can also develop **wind energy** along the coastal area and offshore islands. Solar and wind energy does not rely upon supply of raw material such as uranium, petroleum, or coal.

Using **biomass** as a source of energy is also feasible in Taiwan. Biomass power plants utilize trees and farm products. Planting trees and grass as a source for biomass energy will have economical benefit for farmers, and it can prevent erosion of topsoils.

Mr. Lee also recommends that Taiwan assess the possibilities of making use of **fuel cell technology** for its future energy needs. Fuel cell technology was developed in the NASA and European space programs for electricity supply on board manned spacecraft. Fuel cells are increasingly being looked at as an ideal source of energy, because it is a very environmentally-friendly technology: based on a chemical reaction between hydrogen and oxygen, it produces electricity and water, and therefore generates hardly any pollution.

In the United States fuel cell technology is starting to be applied in both car propulsion and electricity supply: in Santa Clara, CA a consortium of utility companies and energy research groups are building a US\$ 46 million demonstration plant, that will generate two megawatt.

Rhino and Tiger endangered

During the past several months, the Taiwan authorities have come under strong international criticism for their failure to stem the illicit trade of rhino horn and tiger parts to the island. In the following article, **Ms. Kristie Wang, program director for the Center for Taiwan International Relations (CTIR)** in Washington DC, expands on the issue. Ms. Wang testified on the issue of wildlife protection at a hearing in the Legislative Yuan in Taiwan on 7 March 1994.

In four years, it will be 1998. According to the Chinese zodiac, it will be the "year of the tiger." At the current rate of poaching, it may also be the year by which real tigers will disappear from the wild -- largely at the hands of the Chinese and

Taiwanese. Powdered tiger bone, used in traditional medicines, sell for up to US\$ 500 a gram in Taiwan and China. A tiger penis, believed to enhanced sexual vigor, fetches US\$ 1700. In this century, Asia's tigers have dwindled from 100,000 to barely 5,000. Sadly, tigers are not the only ones threatened by extinction.

In just 20 years -- only since 1974 -- the number of rhinoceroses in Africa and Asia has plummeted from 100,000 to fewer than 10,000. The rhino is killed for its horn, also used in traditional medicines in Taiwan and China, which can sell for up to US\$ 30,000 a pound. By the time tigers disappear from the wild, rhinos may also no longer be found -- that is, unless the current rate of poaching is stopped.

CITES (**Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species**), the UN body responsible for protecting endangered animals, has urged Taiwan and China to stop poaching and smuggling tiger and rhino parts. For years, these pleas were largely ignored. Then, in September 1993, CITES warned Taiwan and China to make significant progress to shut down their black markets by the end of March 1994 or face possible trade sanctions.

Gary Hoff, Taiwan Church News



The United States government, led by Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt, further threatened that if Taiwan and China do not meet CITES criteria by the end of March 1994, then the US will automatically impose trade sanctions on wildlife products from these countries. The US threat is backed by the Pelly Amendment, a once obscure section of the US Fishermen's Protective Act, which can potentially become the most powerful piece of environmental legislation in the world.

At the end of March 1994, when CITES convened in Geneva, Switzerland, its Standing Committee determined that there was only modest progress in China and superficial and "cosmetic" efforts by the Kuomintang authorities in Taiwan. In other words, CITES criteria were still unfulfilled. Still, CITES granted Taiwan another eight months before it would consider whether to recommend trade sanctions to its 122 members.

Prior to the arrival of the March deadline, opposition leaders in Taiwan, led by Democratic Progressive party (DPP) legislator **Hsu Tien-tsai**, decided that enough was enough. At a hearing in the Legislative Yuan, he charged that the irresponsibility and inefficiency of

the ruling Kuomintang government had put in jeopardy the international image that the people of Taiwan had worked so hard to build.

Representatives of conservation groups at the hearing stated that the KMT's "3-D strategy" of *denial, denigration, and delay*, had weakened Taiwan's case for membership in international organizations, particularly in the United Nations, as a responsible, contributing member. Once again, they stated, Taiwan found itself in the embarrassing position of competing for the last place with a backward country like China. At the hearing, the Chairman of the Council of Agriculture, Mr. **Sun Min-hsien** admitted to the urgency of the issue and the inadequacy of the CAO's handling of the problem.

Witnesses at the hearing expressed the hope that the DPP's alternative "3-D strategy", namely *desire, dedication and determination*, will help end the trade in rhino and tiger parts, and help bring Taiwan out of its isolation in the international community. They said that this is a good chance for Taiwan to show the world that it is ready and able to be a responsible member of the global community.

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NOTES

A note from the editors

*As announced in our previous issue, **Taiwan Communiqué's** editors moved to DC at the end of 1993. However, getting settled took a bit longer than expected, especially due to the cold weather and snow storms that hit the Northeast of the US. In any case, we are now gradually thawing out, and ready to continue editing **Taiwan Communiqué** from the United States.*

Because of the long period since the appearance of the previous issue some topics - - such as the November 1993 County magistrate elections -- are now somewhat dated. However, we still cover them, but a bit less thorough than we usually would.

One new aspect is that we are now involving a larger group of people in writing, in particular on topics such as social issues, environment, wild-life, and second generation Taiwanese-Americans.

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