



TAIWAN COMMUNIQUE

Published by:

International Committee for Human Rights in Taiwan

Taiwan : 2Fl., 27 Hang-chow South Rd. Sec. 1, TAIPEI, Taiwan

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Canada : P.O. Box 67035, 2300 Yonge Street, TORONTO, Ont. M4P 1E0

U.S.A. : P.O. Box 15182, CHEVY CHASE, MD 20825

International edition, November 1994

Published 6 times a year

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December Election Campaign Heating Up

Democratic opposition running strong

The election campaign for the upcoming elections for governor of Taiwan and the mayor positions of Taipei and Kaohsiung is heating up. While the Kuomintang is still ahead in the gubernatorial race and in the mayoral race in Kaohsiung, the DPP candidate **Chen Shui-bian** is clearly leading in the capital Taipei, while on the overall score — the percentage of the total number of votes — there is a neck and neck race between the ruling Kuomintang and the democratic opposition of the DPP.

The DPP candidate for governor, Mr. **Chen Ting-nan**, is also quickly gaining name recognition around the island, and improving his chances to win. This in spite of the

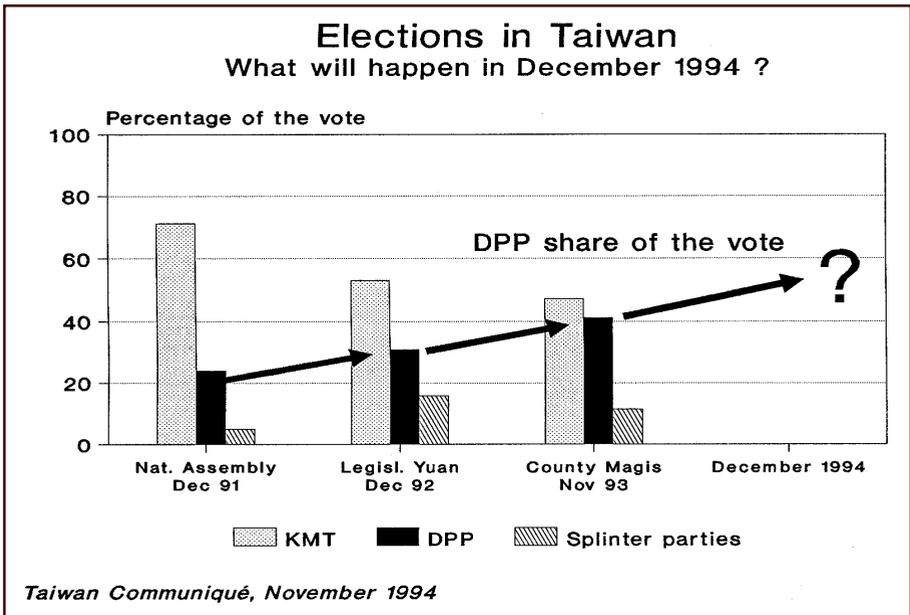


The "three Musketeers" of the DPP, from left to right Messrs. Chen Shui-bian, Chen Ting-nan, and Chang Chun-hsiung

fact that the KMT-controlled television and major newspapers on the island are heavily slanted in favor of the KMT-candidate, incumbent James Soong, who was appointed to his position in 1991.

A stepping stone towards 1996

As the accompanying graph shows, during the past three years the DPP has been quickly gaining on the Kuomintang in elections for the various bodies: while in the National Assembly elections in 1991 the KMT still won with a comfortable 70+ percent and the DPP had only 21 percent, in the elections for mayors and country magistrates in 1993 the DPP had almost doubled its percentage to 41 percent, and the Kuomintang had dropped to 47 percent, leaving a difference of only 6 percent.



If the DPP is able to win a higher overall percentage of votes in the upcoming elections than the Kuomintang, this would be a major breakthrough: it would be the stepping stone for further consolidation of the party's position as the future majority party on the island: in the next few years, elections are coming up for the Legislative Yuan in December 1995, and — for the first time in the history of the island — for the Presidency in March 1996.

In the December voting,, the people in Taiwan will, in addition to the governorship and the two mayoral positions, be able to elect the 79 members of the Provincial Assembly, 52 Taipei City councilors and 44 Kaohsiung City councilors.

TV-debates now allowed

The campaign also marked the first time in history that TV-debates were allowed by the KMT-controlled Central Election Commission: up until now, the ruling Kuomintang attempted to avoid giving the larger public an opportunity to listen to the views of candidates of the democratic opposition, and had banned such debates, leaving the DPP to organize local rallies, which kept the exposure to the public relatively limited.

On 2 October 1994, the first TV-debate was held between the candidates for mayor of Taipei. It pitted DPP candidate Chen Shui-bian against the incumbent KMT candidate Huang Ta-chou, and Mr. Jaw Shau-kang, the candidate from the New Party, a splinter party which split off from the KMT in mid-1993. According to news reports, Mr. Huang gave a poor showing, while Messrs. Chen and Jaw performed well, leaving Mr. Chen in a comfortable front-runner position. In the meantime the KMT candidate for governor, incumbent **James Soong**, still has to agree to a televised debate with his opponents.

Clashes between New Party and DPP-followers

The run-up to the December elections is not without incidents: on 25 September 1994, a rally held by the New Party in the Workers' Park in Kaohsiung erupted into violence when clashes occurred with DPP supporters protesting the pro-unification-with-China line of the New Party.

After the New Party leaders went up to the podium to make speeches, they were greeted by a fusillade of eggs. The conflict worsened after the arrival of Chu Kao-cheng, the New Party's candidate for governor of Taiwan. In the late 1980s, Mr. Chu earned himself the nickname "Rambo of the Parliament" for his antics in the Legislative Yuan. Mr. Chu incited the crowd to attack the DPP-supporters, which further escalated the conflict, resulting in some 50 injuries.

A few days later Mr. Chu continued his antics by climbing on top of Prime Minister Lien Chan's limousine, protesting the fact that policemen at Kaohsiung "had failed to protect him" from the DPP-supporters.

China relations on the downslope

Blocking Taiwan at every step

During the past two months, the Chinese authorities have been extremely busy in blocking attempts by the Taipei authorities to gain further international recognition. The “blocking game” shifted constantly: from Washington, where the Chinese protested the upgrading of relations between the United States and Taiwan (see **Report from Washington**, pp.12-15.) to New York, where they blocked yet another attempt to gain entry into the UN (see below), and Hiroshima, where the Asian Games took place, to Bali, where the upcoming APEC meeting will be held.

These blocking maneuvers in turn further soured the relationship between Taipei and Peking. These were in any case on an uneven keel due to the unsolved murder of 24 Taiwanese tourists in China at the end of March 1994 (see “*Fire on the Lake*”, *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 61, pp. 1-4).

UN-bid squashed again

On 21 September 1994, the United Nations Steering Committee — a committee of 28 nations deciding on the agenda for the General Assembly meeting — rejected the request by twelve Latin American and African nations to have the “*question of the exceptional status of the Republic of China on Taiwan.....*” considered during the present session of the General Assembly.

The rejection came as no surprise, since the application had been filed on behalf of the “Republic of China”, the name under which the Kuomintang authorities have maintained their rivalry with the Chinese Communists for the past seven decades. Understandably, the international community does not wish to see two China’s.

The surprising aspect was that there was still a considerable debate in the committee, with several Latin American nations arguing strongly in favor of the proposal. Costa Rican President Figueres, Nicaraguan President Violeta Chamorro joined Salvadoran President Armando Cameron Sol in speaking for the Kuomintang authorities.

The Kuomintang's dead-end ROC street

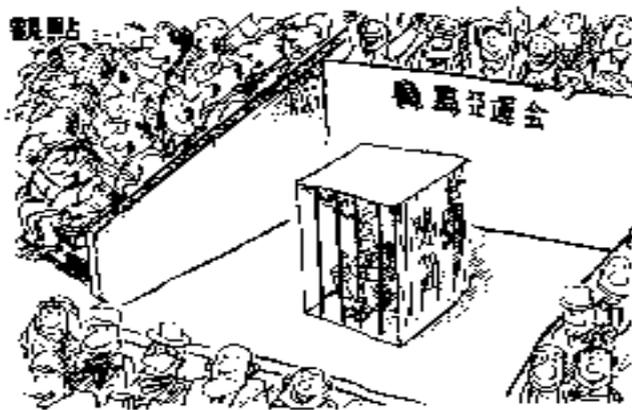
Taiwan Communiqué comment: *The road towards the United Nations will remain a dead-end street for Taiwan as long as the Kuomintang still presents itself as "Republic of China." This name is an anathema to the Chinese leaders who have gone through the civil war on the mainland, and will remain so to their political heirs in Peking for decades to come.*

It needs to be emphasized that there is a new Taiwan, which does not present itself as a rival to China, but wishes to live in peace with all its neighbors, including China. A new era of constructive dialogue and cooperation could be started between China and Taiwan, but for this to happen it is necessary for China to discontinue its claims on Taiwan, and let Taiwan be a full and equal player in the international political and economic arena.

No Hiroshima Games for President Lee...

Another issue which played during the month of September 1994 was the question whether President Lee Teng-hui would go to Hiroshima to attend the 12th Asian Games. Mr. Lee had initially been invited by the Kuwaiti President of the Olympic Council on Asia (OCA), **Sheik Ahmad al-Fahad**, but as soon as this news became known, the Peking authorities put strong pressure on the OCA and Japanese hosts not to allow Mr. Lee to attend.

After much wrangling the OCA relented and on 12 September 1994, the invitation was implicitly withdrawn when the OCA decided that "no political figure will be invited." Still, the Kuomintang authorities scored a point of sorts when vice-Premier **Hsu Li-teh** attended the games in his capacity as Chairman of Taipei's Olympic Committee.



Vice-Premier Hsu Li-teh attending the Asian Games

... but will he go to Bali ?

The question of President Lee's foreign travels is looming ahead again in November 1994, when the APEC forum is holding its annual meeting in Bali in Indonesia. Mr. Lee did not attend APEC's previous meeting in November 1993 in Seattle (see "*APEC in Seattle*" in *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 60, pp. 2-3), when he was formally invited, but "gracefully declined."

The situation may be different for the Bali meeting: President Lee is a personal friend of Indonesia's President Suharto, whom he visited in the beginning of this year. In addition, Mr. Lee has floated several overtures to China, saying in an interview with the **Wall Street Journal** (3 October 1994) that the APEC meeting would be an appropriate forum to meet China's President Jiang Zemin.

Mr. Lee's ideas about meeting the Chinese leaders received mixed reactions on the island: while some argued that Taiwan should grasp any opportunity to raise its international profile, others argued that President Lee doesn't have a mandate to discuss anything with the Chinese leadership, since he has not been democratically elected. They state that formal contacts with China can only take place after the presidential elections have been held in March 1996, and a democratic consensus about the future direction of the island has been achieved.

Can China Invade Taiwan ?

"August 1995", the book predicting an invasion

During the past two months, a Chinese-language book titled "*August 1995, China's violent invasion of Taiwan*" has caught headlines in Taiwan. The book was written under a pseudonym, reportedly by a second-generation mainlander on Taiwan. It describes a hypothetical scenario in which the Chinese authorities on the mainland, concerned about the movement towards independence in Taiwan, plan an invasion at some time prior to the Presidential elections on the island, scheduled for March 1996.

Publication of the book coincided with large-scale maneuvers along the coast of China opposite Taiwan by the Chinese People's Liberation Army in September 1994. To their credit, the Taiwan authorities responded by holding similar exercises in the Southeast of Taiwan, near the coastal town of Taitung.

Furthermore, in the middle of October 1994, the Japanese newspaper **Sankei Shimbun** reported that a secret internal document of the Chinese Communist Party's Central Military Commission dated 10 July 1994, showed that the Communist leadership was planning an invasion of Taiwan "*....before 1996*".

The report also stated that China could use any pretext as justification for an invasion, including "breakdown of social order, an attempt by a foreign power to take over Taiwan, a declaration of independence, or even if Taiwan were to succeed in gaining membership to the United Nations.

While some in Taiwan and overseas give credence to the main theme of the book and the Japanese report, most observers consider it *part of an intimidation campaign by the Communist authorities and their supporters, designed to scare the people of Taiwan into agreeing to "unify" with China*. In fact, one expert told the Sankei Shimbun that the document was probably a form of disinformation purposely leaked by Beijing to foreign intelligence sources in order to pressure Taipei into reshaping its policies more to the mainland's liking.

The expert noted that the document was very long and went into great detail, while the meeting of the Central Military Commission from which it reportedly resulted lasted only for one day. He stated that the Commission's meetings usually didn't produce so much paperwork. He also found it not credible that the Commission would make such an important policy decision while its chairman, Mr. Jiang Zemin, and the commanders of the Shenyang and Chengdu military districts were not in attendance.

The Chinese military threat

Military analysts in the United States generally agree that China does not have the capability to launch a large-scale invasion of Taiwan. The PRC may have a numerical superiority in total numbers, but the quality of the equipment is low, the maintenance is weak, and the moral of the PLA is at an all-time low: from high officers to rank-and-file they are more interested in figuring out how to make more money.

An example of the decrepit state of the equipment is the fact that out of the some 100 submarines in the Chinese Navy, only some 20 are operational. The rest of them are rusting away, and — according to Western satellite pictures — have not moved from their positions in years.

China has a significant air force and has a number of ballistic missiles. In fact, in the beginning of October 1994, China continued its testing of nuclear weapons by detonating a nuclear device estimated at 40 to 150 kilotons of TNT as part of its programme to develop a new generation of ballistic missiles. The test followed an earlier test in June 1994 of between 20 and 60 tons TNT. Japan, Australia and the United States lodged strong protests against the continuation of the tests.

The London-based **International Institute for Strategic Studies** concluded in a recent report that the recent series of tests show that China is developing a whole new series of nuclear weapons, perhaps a system that could carry multiple warheads. The report also stated that China was developing two new ballistic missiles, one with a range of 8,000 kilometers, that could be ground or submarine-launched, and the other with a range of 12,000 kilometers.



Kuomintang (surrounded) strategy session: "How shall we force China to reunify with us?"

Still, the Chinese air force would not be able to overpower the smaller, but well-trained, Taiwanese air force, which has more advanced aircraft, and is acquiring new American F-16's and French Mirage fighters.

All in all, military analysts conclude, in a military confrontation, Taiwan would have the advantage of fighting from a home base, and would have adequate strength and resources to defend itself. If however, China would upgrade a certain part of its military force and could project this force more quickly and extensively, there would be a need to implement an equivalent upgrade on the Taiwan side. Some observers find this already necessary in the area of submarines — where Taiwan has only two modern submarines (Seadragons from the Netherlands) and four aging American ones (against the some 20 operational ones on the Chinese side) — and in the area of anti-aircraft and anti-missile defenses.

Psychological warfare

Still, there is no room for complacency: China could — and will — use the military threat as a means to attempt to force Taiwan to “reunify” with the mainland. In fact, this also became clear from another military document from China, titled “*Can China’s Armed Forces win the next war ?*” This 76-page document was described in a recent article by well-known Asia analyst **Ross H. Munro** in the Summer 1994 edition of **Orbis** magazine.

According to Mr. Munro, the document was written by high levels of the Chinese military establishment, probably in the Navy. The book describes how China could do a lot of saber rattling, but that in “...*solving the problem of Taiwan’s return to the motherland, the use of force would be a really unwise decision*” (emphasis added). Mr. Munro concludes that the military men writing the book were gently telling their political masters that they can’t guarantee that an invasion of Taiwan would succeed.

Mr. Munro also concludes from the book that the PRC would not launch an invasion of Taiwan as long as US opposition to such an invasion remains firm and clear. It also becomes abundantly clear from the book *that China’s policy elite considers bluff, bluster, and deception to be important weapons in the PRC’s diplomatic and military arsenals.*

So far about Mr. Ross Munro’s excellent book review. Other sources indicate that — in addition to threatening-an-invasion and bluff, bluster and deception — China has several other “weapons” which it is using already:

1. Infiltration by its agents on the island, who could generate widespread chaos, which in turn could be used as a pretext for the mainland to launch an attack,
2. large-scale smuggling of small hand-weapons and of drugs and narcotics into the island, with the same purpose as under 1), creating chaos and using this as a pretext for an attack,
3. businessmen from Taiwan, who invested in China, could be used to pressure the Taipei authorities to agree with Peking. Many of these people have set up successful businesses in the coastal areas of the Chinese mainland, and at the same time have good links to the Kuomintang party in Taiwan. The KMT has traditionally been very susceptible to bribery and other forms of pressure from business (see “*Backlash against Money*” in **TIME Magazine**, 23 August 1993, and the article titled “*The Money Machine*” in the **Far Eastern Economic Review**, 11 August 1994).

Press Freedom under Pressure

While the Kuomintang authorities have tried to portray themselves as moving in the direction of more openness in the press, there are several recent signs that they are still attempting to control the media, sometimes in subtle ways, not always obvious to the outside world, but sometimes also rather blatantly. Below we present some recent cases.

Kuomintang cracks down on radio stations

The clearest example of a blatant crackdown on the electronic media took place on 31 August 1994, when police and Government Information Office (GIO) personnel raided two opposition radio stations. One was the “**Voice of Taiwan**” station set up by Mr. Hsu Jung-chi, whose station was also raided in April and on 30 July 1994, leading to large-scale demonstrations by taxi-drivers (see *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 62, pp. 14-15). However, it went back on the air within hours on the raid.

The other station was the “**Radio Sweet Potato**” station in Hsinchu, where some 30 taxi drivers and supporters faced off against an estimated 1,000 police outside city hall. “Sweet potato”, the shape of the island Taiwan, is a term the Taiwanese use to refer to themselves.



GIO chief to his bosses at the Executive Yuan: "Look, I caught one of those nasty (radio) wasps."

On 13 September, Mr. Hsu of the “Voice of Taiwan” was arrested on charges of instigating taxi drivers to join protests in February and in April. On 26 September, when he stood trial in court, hundreds of policemen surrounded the court house and guarded streets leading to the court house to prevent Hsu’s supporters from entering the court house.

Important role in upcoming elections

The pirate radio stations are playing an increasingly important role in disseminating information on political events, while the official stations are mainly pro-ruling Kuomintang and minimize reporting on the democratic opposition of the DPP. The authorities have officially opened up a number of radio frequencies, but the procedure for obtaining licenses is long and cumbersome, prompting the opposition to set up stations without a formal license.

During the past year, dozens of pirate stations have sprung up on the island, with 14 presently operating in the Taipei area alone. Aside from popular call-in programs, these stations have offered a diversity of informative and educational programs plus commentaries that are critical of government policies. The majority of the listeners are taxi drivers, working class people and senior citizens who speak Taiwanese or Hakka, and do not understand the Mandarin broadcast of the official radio stations.

Since the raids on the pirate stations have not succeeded in silencing them, the KMT's department of cultural affairs is now considering setting up pirate radio stations of their own in order to counterbalance the pro-DPP stations.

“Underground TV” spreading its wings

In addition to “underground radio” there has also been a mushrooming of cable stations in Taiwan. According to present estimates, some 150 stations are operating across the island. It is expected that they will also play a major role in the December elections. About two million people are subscribers of cable stations.

Because the three official television stations are tightly controlled by the ruling Kuomintang, and are still strongly slanted toward KMT candidates, the cable stations owners have vowed to offer an objective and fair coverage of the December elections. Many stations have offered to host debates between candidates. The official stations have until recently not been willing to show debates in order to avoid giving the opposition an opportunity to reach the broader public.

Independent Evening Post Taken Over

Another threat to press freedom in Taiwan was the take-over during this summer of the two sister-publications, **Independence Evening Post** and **Independence Morning Post**, by Mr. Chen Cheng-chung, a rich businessman, who is closely associated with the Kuomintang. In fact Mr. Chen has been a KMT-member of the Taipei City Council since 1991. It was reported at the time that Mr. Chen's campaign was involved in large-scale vote-buying.

Mr. Chen was able to purchase the Independence Newspaper Group because the previous owners, the President Enterprises group had been losing money on the newspapers, particularly the Morning Post edition, which was set up in the late 1980s.

The Independence Evening Post was established in 1947 by **Mr. Wu San-lien**, a courageous independent publisher, who maintained a neutral position for his paper over the four decades of martial law on Taiwan. The paper was the island's only independent newspaper during this period.

When news of the take-over became publicly known in mid-August 1994, the writers and editors of the two papers took to the streets to voice protests against the deal, and against the expected attempts by the new owner to change the political direction of the newspaper into that of a mouthpiece for the ruling Kuomintang.

Report from Washington

Hearing on Taiwan Policy Review

by Kristie Wang, Center for Taiwan International Relations

On 27 September 1994, the East Asian and Pacific Affairs Subcommittee of the Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate held a hearing to discuss the recent Taiwan policy review by the State Department (see *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 62, pp. 4-7). The primary witnesses at the hearing were Assistant Secretary of State **Winston Lord** and former US ambassador to China **Mr. James Lilley**.

Senators speak out

The hearing was also important because of a number of significant statements by several of the senators present. Below we present several quotes:

Senator Charles Robb (D-Virginia): Taiwan is a good friend and trusted ally of the United States, and we should “*push the diplomatic envelope*” if necessary to acknowledge this. Unfortunately, US policy towards Taiwan still comes up “woefully short” of recognizing our friends on the island.

Senator Frank Murkowski (R-Alaska): There has been much frustration association with our policy towards Taiwan. We welcome the adjustments which were made, but we expected bolder, more substantive steps. And why did it take so long? In many areas, the Administration has kept the status quo The situation in the world has changed dramatically, Taiwan has changed dramatically, yet US policy has changed little.... The US should lead in “creative diplomacy.”

Senator Paul Simon (D-Illinois) also criticized the US policy towards Taiwan and China: “China is a closed, repressive, and clearly non-democratic society, while Taiwan has free and democratic elections, and still we are turning a cold shoulder to Taiwan. We have to agree that this does not make sense, it is irrational. We can make the argument for better ties with Taiwan with an array of impressive statistics, but the bottom line is that we have some ideals that we want to stand for.”

Senator Simon also made an important point in the direction of the Taipei authorities: “they need to be more explicit about their sovereignty: *they need to make it clear that they govern only the island Taiwan, and drop all pretenses to governing the mainland. Taiwan should tell us that it is an independent government, and the US should recognize it as such.*” Mr. Simon concluded that the American Taiwan policy is moving in the right direction, “but only in small inches, we should be taking bigger steps.”

Senator Larry Pressler (R-South Dakota) primarily focused on the recent military exercises held by China along the coast opposite Taiwan.

Senator Claiborne Pell (D-Rhode Island) welcomed the Administration’s Taiwan policy review, but felt that in view of Taiwan’s political modernization, which he termed one of the most significant developments for Asia, the US policy review had not gone as far as it should. “In many ways, it was three steps forward and two steps back.”

State Department on the defensive

Mr. Winston Lord defended the Administration's policy, saying it was a "successful balancing act" between Taipei and Beijing. He emphasized that this policy was the result of a consistent line maintained over 22 years by six administrations of both political parties. Senator Murkowski took issue with him on this point, emphasizing that the whole world has changed, and that in particular that Taiwan had gone through a fundamental transformation, but that the US policy on Taiwan had not kept up with these changes and had remained stagnant.

In response to Senator Pressler's question regarding China's military maneuvers in the beginning of September 1994, Mr. Lord stated that these were indeed the most extensive exercises China had conducted in 40 or 50 years. But, he emphasized, "*China does not have the intention or capability*" to invade Taiwan. The maneuvers were thus primarily intended as "psychological warfare", a scare tactic against the people of Taiwan.

When questioned by Senator Murkowski on what the United States would do if the DPP wins power in Taiwan and moves toward Taiwan independence, Mr. Lord responded that Taiwan is continuing to move forward, and that *the US would "take seriously" any threats against Taiwan* (by mainland China).

Senator Murkowski's Resolution is passed

Following up on the hearing, on 5 October 1994, the Senate passed by voice vote a "sense of the Senate" resolution (S.RES. 5034) introduced by Senator Murkowski (R-Alaska), together with several other prominent senators, such as Foreign Relations committee chairman Claiborne Pell (D-Rhode Island), East Asian and Pacific Affairs subcommittee chairman Charles Robb (D-Virginia) and Paul Simon (D-Illinois). The Resolution lists a series of twelve wishes and concerns, which were raised by the various senators during the 27 September hearing. They include:

1. welcome the President of Taiwan and other high-level government officials to the United States,
2. allow unrestricted visits by Taiwan representatives to all US departments and agencies, including the Departments of Defense and State, and Offices in the Old Executive Office Building of the White House,

3. send cabinet-level officials, including those from Departments of Defense and State, to Taiwan on a regular basis,
4. support a proposal for formal observer status for Taiwan in the United Nations, as a first step towards full membership in the UN and its specialized agencies,
5. support full admission of Taiwan in a wide range of international organizations, such as GATT, World Bank, IMF, CITES, UNEP, IMO, International Atomic Energy Agency and UNHCR,
6. change the name of Taiwan's representative office in Washington, DC to "Taipei Representative Office",
7. approve defensive arms sales to Taiwan based solely on Taiwan's self-defense needs, without quantitative or qualitative restrictions,
8. require advice and consent of the United States Senate for the highest level representative of the US in Taiwan,
9. upgrade the status of the existing American Institute in Taiwan,
10. include a report by the Secretary of State to the Senate Foreign relations Committee and the House Foreign Affairs Committee on US economic, cultural, political and security relations with Taiwan on an annual basis,
11. support participation of the President of Taiwan in the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum,
12. raise US concerns about the People's Republic of China threat to forcefully reunify Taiwan and the People's Republic of China.

Taiwan Communiqué comment: *while we agree with the general tenor of the Resolution, it still has a number of weaknesses, the main one being that in several places it still refers to the outdated "Republic of China on Taiwan" name. Under point 6, it also proposes the name "Taipei Representative Office." As we have argued before, it would be much more simple and logical to use the name "Taiwan" as the official title, so why not use "Taiwan Representative Office" or "Taiwan Institute in America" ?*

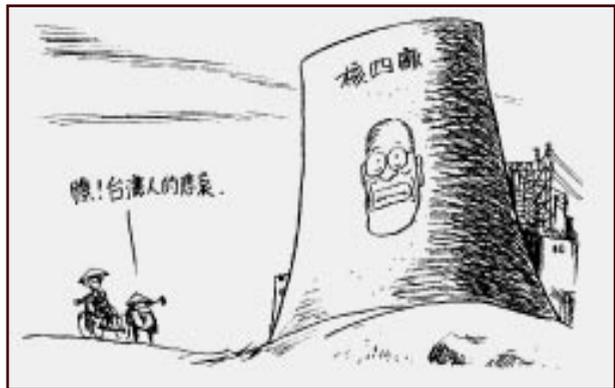
Environmental Report

Fourth Nuclear Power Plant Rammed through Legislative Yuan

On 12 July 1994, the Legislative Yuan in Taiwan passed the budget for the controversial fourth nuclear power plant, after the KMT authorities decided to ram the budget through a vote. The DPP legislators walked out of the legislative chamber in protest. The seven-year budget amounts to NT\$112.5 billion.

On 12 July 1994, some 5,000 anti-nuclear protesters staged a demonstration outside the Legislative Yuan. The peaceful protest turned violent after the budget was approved.

The Fourth nuclear power plant has been a most controversial issue for several years. Construction for the plant was suspended for eight years because of the persistent protests from environmentalists following the 1986 disaster at the Chernobyl nuclear plant in the former Soviet Union.



Passing peasant: Nuclear power is the "sadness of being Taiwanese" (see *Communiqué* no. 62, p. 16).

The KMT authorities have refused to heed the advice of environmental specialists about the dangers of locating a new plant right next to a major metropolitan center. They aired pro-nuclear TV commercials to influence public opinion, even tried to buy the support of the residents of Kung-liao by offering compensation and amenities.

President Lee Teng-hui even personally intervened by instructing the KMT lawmakers to show full support for the party's policy. The passing of the budget did not solve the problem, because opposition to nuclear energy has not diminished. The anti-nuclear protesters have vowed to continue their fight.

In May 1994, 96% of the residents of Kungliao village, the site of the Fourth Nuclear Plant, voted against it in a referendum. On May 29, close to 30,000 people took part in the anti-nuclear demonstration in Taipei. More than 1,000 scholars and university professors signed an anti-nuclear petition.

Recall the Kuomintang legislators

In an interesting sideshow to the Fourth Nuclear Plant debate, four Kuomintang legislators, who had voted in favor of the budget in July, had recall petitions launched against them by their constituents. According to Taiwan's Election and Recall Law, the legislators would have to run for their seats again if the recall were to be approved. Organizers of the recall campaign announced at the end of September 1994 that some 50,000 signatures had been collected against the four, while only some 14,600 were needed.

When on 17 October 1994, the election commission of Taipei County declared that the signature campaign had fulfilled the legal conditions for recall, the Kuomintang authorities suddenly moved into action: on 20 October 1994 — in the absence of both the DPP and the New Party — the KMT-controlled Legislative Yuan “approved” three amendments raising the ceilings necessary for a recall.

Taiwan Communiqué comment: the move by the Kuomintang authorities is such a blatant and incredibly highhanded travesty of “democracy”, that it is difficult to find the right words for it. We urge the Taipei authorities to rescind this decision immediately, and to return to at least a semblance of democratic procedures.

Lin Yi-hsiung's hunger strike and march

On 12 July, Mr. **Lin Yi-hsiung**, a former political prisoner and a former member of the Provincial Assembly, began a fast in front of the Legislative Yuan to call for a public plebiscite as a peaceful means to resolve the issue of the Fourth Nuclear Plant.

He said he would end the fast when 100,000 signatures in support of a plebiscite were collected. Within five days this goal was achieved. He ended the hunger strike on the morning of 17 July 1994. According to the reports from Taiwan, some 116,000 people signed the petition to urge the authorities to hold a plebiscite.

At the end of September 1994, Mr. Lin started a round-the-island anti-nuclear march. Beginning on 21 September, the march would take 38 days to complete. The purpose

of the march is to educate the public about the dangers of nuclear energy and to let the public know that they have the right to decide whether Taiwan needs a fourth nuclear power plant or not. Mr. Lin also hoped to recruit volunteers who will join the plebiscite campaign.

The march began at Lung-shan Temple in Taipei. Nearly 100 people joined, including members of the Taiwan Environment Protection Union, clergymen and university professors. They wore white T-shirts and straw hats. They distribute leaflets along the way and urged the people to support the plebiscite campaign. An opposition radio station monitored the progress of the march and urged listeners to go and join the march.



**Mr. Lin Yi-hsiung on the
march**

Mr. Lin is generally considered the “conscience of Taiwan.” Instead of seeking political office, he has followed Gandhi’s footsteps by using social protest and other peaceful means to advocate social and political change. He is a quiet, soft-spoken man, who was pushed into the lime-light in 1980, when he was imprisoned after the “Kaohsiung Incident” of December 1979, and — while he was in prison — his mother and twin-daughters were murdered in their home in Taipei in broad daylight. The Kuomintang authorities have never solved this political murder.

Does Taiwan need the Fourth Nuclear Plant ?

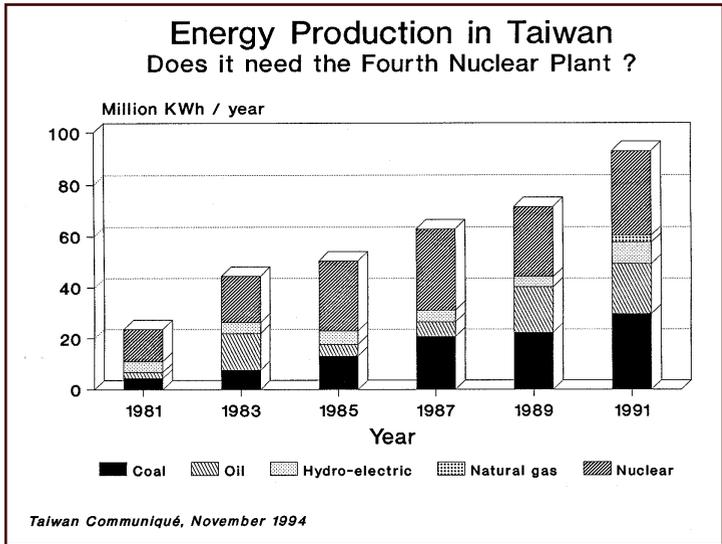
As the accompanying graph shows, Taiwan’s energy production and consumption have grown significantly over the past decade: in real terms, it grew from a level of 23,600 Million KWh / year in 1981 to 92,860 Million KWh / year in 1991, an increase of between seven and 15 percent a year.

Of the total energy production in 1991, nuclear energy constituted some 35 percent. The proposed nuclear power plant would add some 11,400 Million KWh / year to the grid, and thereby represent between 10 and 15 percent of the total power production on the island. The Taiwanese authorities and the public utility, Taipower, consider a power-supply increase of five percent per year necessary in order to maintain the high economic growth rates.

However, in their consideration of future growth they have neglected to consider three important possibilities, which have been elaborated extensively by the democratic opposition of the DPP, and which have been implemented successfully in advanced economies of countries of similar size as Taiwan, such as the Netherlands. As an example, the Netherlands has implemented an energy conservation policy, which — according to the Ministry of Economic Affairs in The Hague — will result in energy savings of up to 20 % in the year 2000.

The alternative policy for Taiwan was first proposed by Mr. James Lee, a Taiwanese environmentalist based in Washington, DC (see *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 60, “*Alternatives to Fourth Nuclear Plant proposed*”, pp. 19-21), and can be summarized as follows:

1. **Increase the efficiency of production in the present system by upgrading the equipment, transmission lines, etc.**



2. **Implement large scale conservation measures.**

At present the Kuomintang authorities have no conservation policy at all, resulting in widespread waste of energy and electricity.

3. **Develop alternative sources of energy**, such as hydro-electric power (a good possibility in the rainy mountainous regions of the island), solar and wind energy in the coastal and southern region of Taiwan, biomass (making use of the extensive agricultural sector), and new environmentally-friendly technologies such as **fuel cells** for both transportation and electricity-generation. With its advanced technical base, it should be easy for Taiwan to join the US and European efforts to develop this new technology.

Second Generation Report

What does being Taiwanese mean to me ?

By Cindy Chen. During the summer of 1994, Cindy was an intern with the Formosan Association for Public Affairs (FAPA) in Washington DC.

From the time I can remember, my parents were always involved in Taiwanese affairs one way or the other. I got carted around to Taiwanese Association of America (TAA) gatherings and Taiwanese American Conferences (TAC) East Coast and West Coast an endless number of times. “Famous” people in Taiwanese politics were always coming over to our house, so that it came to be that my house was like their “home away from home.” So many of them came that their names just seemed like one big jumble and to this day, I only recognize them by face.

My first experience in dealing with the difference between Taiwanese and Chinese came in the first grade. I had just made two new friends who came from Taiwan and said they weren’t Taiwanese but Chinese. I remember asking my Mom why my new friends insisted that they were Chinese That question came from the same confusion I experienced when I discovered that nearly all the TV characters in Taiwan spoke Mandarin, instead of the Taiwanese language I knew. My Mom taught me a lesson I have never forgotten. She taught me to be proud that I was a Taiwanese American, and to never let anyone else tell me differently, no matter which direction the crowd went.

My parents instilled in me pride for being Taiwanese the only way they knew how — by teaching me what really went on in Taiwan, both the good and the bad. So I learned why Mr. Cheng Nan-jung took his own life in 1989 rather than be arrested by the Kuomintang’s police, and why martial law was lifted in 1987 (because the democratic opposition fought hard to achieve that goal), after forty-plus years of oppression of the Taiwanese people by the Kuomintang.

I learned how to express my repugnance at the KMT’s actions at a very young age. In fact, when I was nine, I dreamt that my family and I rescued Taiwan from the KMT and China and made it a free and independent nation ! And when I first marched in the International Cultures parade in New York City, a confrontation between the “China” float and the “Taiwan” float made me fiercely proud to be a Taiwanese American. China refused to march if Taiwan’s float was going to be allowed in the parade, and had formed a blockade. So that day, we went on an alternate route and China didn’t march.

With their constant talk and involvement with Taiwanese politics, my parents instilled in me a love for justice and independence — values we often take for granted when living in the United States. In wanting to speak out against the human rights violations I saw and heard my parents' friends go through, I joined Amnesty International. I wanting to learn how to become actively involved in government and help the Taiwanese people in the future, I joined Junior Statesman of America, an organization that educates teenagers about the democratic process. And in wanting to do something now for Taiwan, I interned this past summer at the Formosan Association for Public Affairs (FAPA).

I always found myself explaining to my friends, the Asian ones in particular, why I am Taiwanese and not Chinese. Thanks to my parents, I am armed with a wealth of information I bombard them with, explaining the differences in language, culture, heritage, and identity. My friends, nowadays, never question my heritage, and warn others not to question it either. In fact, the tables have turned, and instead of my being uncomfortable about being Taiwanese, they're uncomfortable about why they still call themselves Chinese.

At TAC conferences, I still drag my friends around to seminars with titles like *"lobbying for the Future of Taiwan,"* or *"The Importance of the US Congress in Taiwan's Democracy Movement."* They complain that the only reason I like these seminars is because they resemble something close to politics.

Normally, I take such comments in stride, but thinking about it recently made me come to the realization that they were only half-right. I wasn't only interested in these seminars because they dealt with politics; I was interested because in learning about Taiwan's history, its culture, and yes, even its politics, **I was discovering my heritage.** And in exposing my friends to these lessons, I took them one step closer to appreciating their heritages as well. These seminars weren't only a matter of self-education, but more importantly, **a matter of self-identity.**

When I discover some lack of interest in the voice of one of my Taiwanese friends when I urge them to attend seminars and get involved, I worry about the future of us second-generation and third-generation Taiwanese Americans. Many of us, including myself, don't know how to read Chinese or Taiwanese, let alone how to speak it fluently.

When we go back to Taiwan, not only is it difficult to get around the island, but it is even more difficult to communicate with our relatives ! In our effort to blend in in the US and "Americanize" ourselves, we know few Taiwanese customs, traditions, and super-

stitutions. For me it was because my parents never thought I would be interested. For others, tragically, it was because their parents, reminded of the persecution that came with the package of learning their own cultural heritage in the past during martial law, were too scared to teach them. And then, there is already a generation gap here in America that's partly due to our lack, or rather, inability to communicate.

So what can we tell our children when they ask us what being Taiwanese means? What legacy do we, the second-generation, leave behind? Pride in the Taiwanese heritage and identity. Because of this self-identity and the desire to impart that identity on to my children, I have learned to get involved. How can you get involved? Well, there are plenty of things out there for you to do: try interning at the Formosan Association for Public Affairs (FAPA) or the Center for Taiwan International Relations (CTIR).

You can also write an article for the Second-Generation report of Taiwan Communiqué. Get involved in the Taiwan United Nations membership campaign and contact your Congressman/women to let him/her know how you feel. Or get your parents involved, as well. The important thing is to care enough to do something. When Taiwan becomes independent one day, you can be proud that you took part in the struggle, and be proud to be Taiwanese.

In Memoriam Edward Kelly

by Jim Seymour

On 6 October 1994, Father Edward Kelly of the Columban Mission Society died in Dublin's Mater Hospital after a long struggle with leukemia.

Father Kelly was born in 1936 and raised in Ireland, and earned a doctoral degree in Chinese studies from Columbia University. For several decades he was a leading supporter of the cause of social and political democracy in Taiwan. Based in Hong Kong since the early 1970s, he was in constant touch with the democratic movement on the island, both Catholic and secular.

Although his work was always quiet and behind the scenes, his **YouDau** centre on Queens Road East played a crucial role as a link between Taiwan and the outside world. His publication **Yuan** ("Source") made opinion-makers around the world aware of the situation on the island. In the period 1982-1986, he also played a key role in collecting

opposition magazines, which had been banned by the ruling Kuomintang. These were later published on microfiche by the Netherlands-based Inter Documentation Company in Leiden.

Edward Kelly was a man of rare wit and charm. He also had extraordinary talents. There are many others, of course, who have a grasp of people's spiritual needs, their economic requirements, and also political realities. What was unique about Ed Kelly was that, on the one hand, he realized how these are all connected, and on the other hand, he insisted that they are discreet. This "dialectic" (how he would abhor the term !) guided him always. He bore all three aspects in mind, but he never let one get in the way of the other.



Father Ed Kelly

There are those who credit Taiwan's democratization to former President Chiang Ching-kuo. But in reality the credit should go first to the Taiwanese people, who insisted on political reforms, and second to the Edward Kellys of this world, who would not let the international community remain in ignorance of what Taiwan was like under the early, unreconstructed, Chiang Ching-kuo. Faced with these two forces, President Chiang had little choice but to begin mending his ways.

In the last decade of his all-too-short life, Father Kelly turned his attention from Taiwan, where the forces of justice and democracy were winning, to China, where they were not. Now traveling frequently to China's poorest regions, Ed worked both to promote educational exchanges, and also to help the impoverished Chinese create enterprises which would provide them with a dignified livelihood.

Characteristically, he always insisted that the goal should not be to create "rice Christians," but to allow the Chinese to find their own way. If that led to Catholicism, fine; if it did not, the missionary work was nonetheless important.

It is fitting that Edward Kelly was buried in the Columban Cemetery of Dalgan Park in Navan, Ireland, with many of the distinguished early Columban missionaries to China. He will be deeply missed by his colleagues in that order, by his secular friends and colleagues, and by the people he served.