



# TAIWAN COMMUNIQUÉ

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## Betraying Taiwan again ?

### *Taiwan is not part of China*

In 1965 Mr. George H. Kerr published his "*Formosa Betrayed.*" This monumental work by the former US diplomat described the betrayal of the people of Taiwan by the international community in the period just after World War II, when the Allied Powers allowed the repressive and dictatorial Chiang Kai-shek to occupy the island and move his defeated troops and government from China to the island. The Taiwanese people were not consulted in these decisions. Our voice was not heard.

While Mr. Clinton's moves to improve ties with the Communist rulers in Beijing, and Mr. Mandela's decision to establish diplomatic links with China, have understandable arguments in favor of them, we emphasize that they *should not be undertaken at the expense of Taiwan and its future as a free, democratic and independent country.*

We thus strongly disagree with the unnamed American officials who reportedly "...assured China at every opportunity about Washington's commitment to the 1982 communiqué and Taiwan's status as a part of China to be eventually reunited with the mainland" ("*Christopher, in Beijing, sees better relations with China*", **New York Times**, 21 November 1996).

Such statements are a violation of democratic principles, because they are being made without any consultation with, or consent of, the people of



Taiwan. Together with the present tendency in the international community to cuddle up to an undemocratic and repressive regime in Beijing and continue to sideline Taiwan, in spite of its impressive achievements in both the economic and political area, these moves amount to a fourth betrayal of the people of "*Ilha Formosa*", the beautiful island.

## *Do not betray Formosa a fourth time*

Mr. George Kerr was an American diplomat at the US Consulate in Taipei at the time of the "*February 28 Incident*" of 1947, when Chiang Kai-shek's troops occupied the island, and massacred between 18,000 and 28,000 Taiwanese, many of them leading members of the Taiwanese society, such as doctors, lawyers, mayors etc.

In the subsequent years, virtually all other nations in Asia and Africa gradually gained their independence under the auspices of the newly-formed United Nations. The people of Taiwan were subjected to Chiang Kai-shek's martial law, which lasted from 1948 until 1987, the longest martial law in modern history.



The United States and the Western Allies made a mea-

ger attempt to correct the situation at the San Francisco Peace Treaty in 1952, when they declared that "*..the future of Taiwan will be determined in accord with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter.*" Regrettably, this provision of the Treaty has yet to receive a follow-up.

The second betrayal of Taiwan took place in 1971-72 when the West accepted the authorities in Beijing as the representatives of China in the United Nations, but made no provisions for the representation of the people of Taiwan. The 1971-72 decisions in the UN and by the Nixon Administration were made without any democratic representation of the people of Taiwan. Again, the people of Taiwan were not consulted in these decisions about their future. Our voice was not heard.

The third betrayal occurred in 1978, when the Carter Administration derecognized the Kuomintang authorities in Taipei and recognized the Beijing authorities. While recognizing Beijing was a valid step, it should not have been done at the expense of the people in Taiwan. The US should have avoided any reference to the idiosyncratic “One China” concept, a Kissinger-legacy which has now been rendered null-and-void by the development of Taiwan into a blossoming democracy.

## *What the U.S. should do*

We strongly urge the Clinton administration not to let any improvement of relations with China take place at the expense of the 21 million people of Taiwan or their future as a free, democratic and independent country.

It is clear that the international position of Taiwan hangs in limbo. This is partly due to the shortsighted policies of Taiwan’s Kuomintang authorities themselves, who for far too long claimed to be the legitimate rulers of China.

The other reason why Taiwan’s international position hangs in limbo is the “creative ambiguity” of the anachronistic “One China” policy and the Three Communiqués of 1971, 1978 and 1982, which were arrived at without any representation or consent of the Taiwanese people. Our voice was not heard.

It is clear that the “One China” policy is now outdated, because Taiwan has developed into a free and democratic country. It fulfills all the requirements of a nation-state: a defined territory, a population and a government which exercises effective control. Taiwan is de-facto independent nation, and deserves to be recognized as such.

Mr. Clinton needs to hold the American principles of freedom, democracy, and self-determination high. He needs to express clearly that

- 1) it is the right of the people of Taiwan to **determine their own future**, in accordance with the principles of self-determination and independence, as laid down in the Charter of the United Nations, and thus free from coercion by China;
- 2) the US supports Taiwan’s right to be a **full member of the international community** in general and the United Nations in particular;
- 3) it is in China’s own interest to **work towards peaceful coexistence**, and accept Taiwan as a friendly neighbor, instead of perpetuating an old anachronistic Civil

War in which the Taiwanese people had no part; and

- 4) the United States will support and help defend Taiwan in case of any further Chinese aggression.

## *Manila and beyond*

At the end of November 1996, President Clinton attended the APEC meeting in Manila and met Mr. Jiang Zemin there. The occasion set off a number of commentaries in prominent American and international publications on the desired direction for US policy towards East Asia in general, and China in particular. Below we present a number of highlights:

In a lucid analysis published in the New York Times, MIT emeritus-professor Lucian W. Pye (*"What China Wants," New York Times*, 26 November 1996 — published as *"Official Chinese Xenophobia and Manipulation"* in the **International Herald Tribune** of 27 November 1996) examined the present Chinese "hollow form of nationalism ... that is little more than xenophobia and racist passion."

Professor Pye also criticized those in the United States who — whenever the Chinese declare that "the relationship is in trouble" raise their voice "...in self-criticism — indeed providing more sophisticated rationalizations for the behavior of the Chinese than they themselves could produce."

**Taiwan Communiqué comment:** *although professor Pye does not name any specific persons, it is rather obvious that he refers to the likes of Henry Kissinger, Chas Freeman, and Senator Dianne Feinstein of California, who at the slightest signal from Beijing start kowtowing and piping Chinese tunes.*

As he did in earlier articles, professor Pye argues against "quiet diplomacy." He says that to the Chinese this strategy only suggests weakness, and states that there is no way this strategy really works with Beijing.

Professor Pye argues in favor of "a set of coherent and firm policies towards China that will define and integrate our security issues with our economic and cultural priorities (this includes human rights)." He concludes: "An America that can articulate a clear vision for the future of East Asia will encourage the Chinese to abandon their power plays and to become a constructive world power."

A second commentary was by **Washington Post** columnist Richard Cohen, published in the **International Herald Tribune** on 27 November 1996 (“*It’s a police state, so don’t invite its president to visit*”). In the article, Mr. Cohen argues strongly against inviting Mr. Jiang Zemin for a state visit to the United States, saying that China is a ruthless police state.

Mr. Cohen describes the “pediatric holocaust” in Chinese orphanages, where the mortality rate ranges from 59.2 percent to 72.5 percent, much higher than the 40 percent of the Rumanian orphanages after the Iron Curtain came down. Mr. Cohen also refers to coerced abortion in China, the capricious use of capital punishment, the persistence of the Gulag prison system, and concludes that a mere political relationship is all that is required — not a state visit in which the US would gain little and lose much — including, most importantly, respect.

The third commentary also came from the **Washington Post**, an editorial titled “*Selling Cheap in China*” (Washington Post, 26 November 1996). In the piece, the paper criticized that optimism of the Clinton Administration after the meeting of Mr. Clinton with Mr. Jiang Zemin in Manila.

The Washington Post stated that “...if anything, Beijing has become more oppressive of its own people. It has made clearer that it will not respect the democratic will of Hong Kong when it takes over that British colony next July. Its trade surplus with the US has increased ....its policies on missile and nuclear-technology proliferation remain a matter of justifiable worry, and its intolerance of democratic Taiwan persists.”

The editorial concludes: “The Clinton administration decided it wanted a dialogue, and it now seems grateful to China for agreeing to engage in one. But dialogue should be a means to a diplomatic end, not an end in itself.”

A similar message emanated from a **New York Times** editorial titled “*Time for a broader Asian agenda*” a few days earlier (23 November 1996). It stated that the Clinton Administration has yet to devise a policy that adequately balances American economic and security interests in the region. The editorial emphasized that the US could help assure stability in the region by encouraging China, Russia and Japan to assert themselves economically rather than militarily.

However, the article stated, China’s rising military power is reshaping relations among Asian nations, and particularly Japan was anxiously studying Chinese intentions. It said

that Washington "...has not found effective ways to moderate Chinese behavior or hold Beijing to agreements it has worked out with the US or other countries."

Finally, on 1 December 1996, in a **Washington Post** article, Mr. Jim Hoagland strongly criticized the Clinton administration for inviting "bloodstained Chinese leaders (who) will be feted at the White House" while China "...continued to persecute dissidents, lie about its arms exports, pressure America not to support Taiwan and fight aggressively to keep its trade surplus with the United States constantly expanding."

Mr. Hoagland suggests that "Mickey Mouse emerges as the statesman of the week, with Bill Clinton a distant second" because the Walt Disney Company has decided not to cave in to China, and will proceed with a film about the Dalai Lama despite Beijing's warning of retaliation ("*Mousketeer Diplomacy*," Washington Post, 1 December 1996).

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## Tempest in an East Asian teapot

### *Senkaku versus Tiaoyutai*

During the Summer and early Fall of 1996 a small tempest raged in East Asia after Chinese extremists over-reacted to the establishment of a lighthouse on the Senkaku islands by a Japanese rightwing group.

On September 26th a flotilla of boats from Hong Kong and Taiwan converged on the islands to tear down the lighthouse. After finding their way blocked by the Japanese navy, one of the Chinese from Hong Kong, Chen Yu-hsiang, hurled himself into the water and drowned while attempting to swim to the largest of the islands.



Chinese backstabbing on Tiaoyutai

On October 7th, several Chinese extremists from Hong Kong and Taiwan climbed onto the biggest of the eight islands and planted both the Kuomintang's and the PRC flags side-by-side. A few minutes later the flags were torn down by Japanese coastal police.

The group from Taiwan belongs to the right-wing extremist New Party (NP), which supports unification of Taiwan and China, and has cooperated with pro-PRC groups in these actions. However, the majority of Taiwanese do not support such rash action. A recent poll conducted by the DPP shows people are against any kind of cooperation with the PRC. 62 percent of respondents said the Tiaoyutai belong to "Taiwan" alone and not "China" or "China and Taiwan." Also 72 percent said they were against the confrontational methods employed by the New Party protesters.



### No basis for Chinese claims to Tiaoyutai

**Taiwan Communiqué comment:** *The claims by the Chinese that the island group is part of China is groundless: a mere glance at the map shows that the islands are some 350 km from China's coast, while the distance to Taiwan is only 180 km. Historically the Chinese claims are also without foundation: Chinese ships traditionally clung close to the Chinese coast, and never ventured out that far.*

*The matter thus needs to be resolved between Taiwan and Japan only. Prime consideration should be given to the rights and interests of the fishermen who fish in the area.*

*An interesting piece of information for the future negotiations will be that in 1944, Japan's own government decided to include the islands as part of its Taiwan colony. In 1941 the Okinawa and Taiwan colonial administrations, both under Japanese jurisdiction at the time, went to court with rival claims to the islands. In 1944 the High Court in Tokyo decided in Taiwan's favor.*

## ***James Lilley: dangers of Chinese nationalism***

The episode prompted a number of excellent commentaries in the press, most notably by Mr. James R. Lilley, former US ambassador to China. In an article on the Op-Ed page of the **New York Times** (“*Nationalism bites back*”, NYTimes, 24 October 1996) Mr. Lilley argued that in inciting the patriotic fervor of the masses, China's leaders try to divert attention from the inequities caused by rapid growth.

But, he states, it will be hard for the Chinese authorities to dismount this nationalist tiger: once unleashed, it causes serious backlash. He points out that there are plenty of lessons from Chinese history: the Boxer rebellion helped bring down the Manchu Dynasty, while the Red Guards destroyed much of China's leadership.

Mr. Lilley urges the Chinese to end their diatribes against Taiwan and against the contacts of other nations with Taiwan, and concludes:

“...strident nationalism will only set (China) back. For the Chinese, cooperation — with neighbors, distant powers and their brothers on Taiwan — should be the wave of the future. But first they must recognize the dangers of a Central Kingdom mentality.”

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## **China: “destructive engagement?”**

On the next few pages we highlight some recent developments, which need to be taken into account in the overall discussion of the relations between the West and China. In total, they show that at this time the Chinese leaders are still not interested in human rights, democracy and in abiding by a basic set of internationally-accepted principles. China is more engaged in "destructive engagement" than constructive engagement.



## *Chinese spy scandal in the US*

On 10 November 1996, the London Times reported that the Clinton Administration was the subject of a massive Chinese spy operation, in which Chinese operatives were able to gather top-secret information on American trade and economic policy.

In the four-year operation, Chinese agents were able to take advantage of lax security procedures and a pattern of corruption in the Clinton administration to get routine access for their friends and associates to the highest level of the administration, including the Oval Office.

In return, China was able to lobby for the retention of most favored nation status, worth billions of dollars a year to Beijing, and have advanced knowledge of the American negotiating positions in trade and economic talks as well as access to trade deals subsidized by the US government.

According to the **London Times** article, both the CIA and Congress have started investigations into the matter. The article said that the First Bureau of the Military Intelligence Department coordinated the operation, which involved the Chinese Resources Bank in Hong Kong, and the Hong Kong Chinese Bank, owned by the Indonesian Lippo Group, which became infamous during the latter days of the American presidential campaign.

The key figure in the operation was John Huang, the Commerce Department official, who was given top-secret security clearance by Commerce Secretary Ron Brown without being run through the required background checks by the FBI or the State Department's Office of Security.

## *Arrest and sentencing of democracy activists*

During the past few months several Chinese democracy activists have been arrested and sentenced. On 30 October 1996, one of the most prominent of the Tiananmen leaders, Mr. Wang Dan, was sentenced to 11 years imprisonment after a summary court trial. The sentence was upheld on November 15th after only a 10-minute court session.

Earlier in October another dissident, Mr. Liu Xiabo, was sentenced to three years in a labor camp for writing a petition in September, calling for greater freedoms in China,

and urging President Jiang Zemin to resign. One of the co-authors of the petition, Mr. Wang Xizhe, was able to flee through Hong Kong and come to the United States. On 17 November 1996, the Washington Post published an article by him, titled “They can jail me and Wang Dan, but that won’t stop the democracy movement.”

In September, another former student leader, Mr. Guo Haifeng, was sentenced to seven years imprisonment for “hooliganism.”

Earlier, the Communist authorities in Beijing sentenced the founder of China’s modern democracy movement, Mr. Wei Jingsheng to yet another 14 years imprisonment. Mr. Wei already served a total of 14 1/2 years hard labor for advocating political liberalization during the Democracy Wall era of the 1970s.

## *Renewed repression in Tibet*

In mid-November it became clear that the Chinese Communist authorities had started yet another campaign of repression in Tibet. After a weeklong meeting in Lhasa, the central committee of the Communist party announced that “...the struggle against the Dalai Lama must be fought on all grounds, without sparing customs and traditions.”

The announcement was accompanied by a full-page article in the Tibet Daily, a mouthpiece for the Communist authorities, in which they signaled a dramatic tightening of the religious policy, saying that religion would have to bow to communism. The authorities announced “...administrative measures to resolve the uncontrolled proliferation of religious festivals and shrines.”



**Destruction of Buddhist monasteries in Tibet**

The Communist Party denounced the Dalai Lama and stated that in the struggle against the Dalai Lama, "...the basic question is not one of belief or autonomy, but of unity of the country." It called the Dalai Lama the chief representative of "...foreign forces that promote westernization and the division of China." It said it would crack down on Buddhist temples because "...since 1987, elements creating disturbances and sabotaging stability have been mainly lawbreaking monks and nuns."

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## **Taiwan Independence Party takes off**

On 6 October 1996, the new **Taiwan Independence Party** was formally established in Taipei in a ceremony attended by 233 founding members. As we reported in the previous issue of *Taiwan Communiqué*, the original plan was to establish the party on December 10, but the organizers wanted to make a running start, and decided to move up the date. A larger-scale "birthday party" is to be held on 10 December 1996 in Kaohsiung, where a festive swearing-in ceremony will be held for as many as 10,000 new members.

Prof. Lee Cheng-yuan, a member of the prestigious Academy Sinica, was unanimously elected to be the first chairman of the party. Professor Lee gained national prominence in 1991 when he led the successful campaign to abolish Criminal Code 100 — a left-over sedition statute from the Martial Law period — because he could no longer tolerate social and political injustice. Now, he decided to help lead the TAIP in order to help Taiwan gain international recognition as a free and independent country.

The Party's vice Chairman is Prof. Lin Shan-tien, who teaches law at National Taiwan University. The secretary-general is a prominent lawyer, Mr. Lee Sheng-hsiung, the former chairman of Taiwan Association for Human Rights. The central governing body is a 12-member policy-making committee.

The Party's main theme is formal independence for the island, and recognition as a free and democratic nation-state by the international community. It insists that Taiwan has the right to join international organizations as a sovereign nation-state and establish diplomatic and economic ties with all nations.

The preamble of the Party Charter states that "...the ultimate objective of the TAIP is to establish a new and independent Republic of Taiwan and to safeguard the rights of the citizens of Taiwan to pursue democracy, freedom, security, justice and well-being."

The Party Charter states that the new Constitution of the Republic of Taiwan will be enacted for the people living in the territory of Taiwan and adjacent islands. It will establish and safeguard a democratic political system that protects basic human rights as well as the environment.

The Party is also developing a policy on a broad range of issues, ranging from economic policy to environmental protection, including opposition to the Fourth Nuclear Powerplant project. The Charter emphasizes that the teaching of Taiwan's own history, geography and its culture will be the focus of the educational system on the island (in the present educational system the students hardly learn anything about Taiwan's history and geography but focus on old dynasties of the Chinese Imperial period -- Ed.).



**Taiwan Independence Party leaders protest  
Fourth Nuclear Powerplant**

The language and culture of Taiwan's four ethnic groups -- aborigines, Hoklo Taiwanese, Hakka, and Chinese immigrants who came in the period after 1945 -- will be respected and have equal status. The aborigines will have the right to self-rule in autonomous regions. The legal system will be adapted so that women have equal rights protection under the law. The rights of minorities and the handicapped will also be strengthened.

The TAIIP will also emphasize “clean politics” and work to rid Taiwan’s political system of vote buying and the money politics which characterized the Kuomintang-controlled system.

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## Taiwan’s China troubles

### *US Navy: Chinese practiced Taiwan attack*

China’s hostile intentions towards Taiwan are also clearly apparent from two recent reports. The first was an account on 24 October 1996 by **AP-Dow Jones News Service**, which indicated that Chinese troops had held war games in the Canton Military region in mid-October and had practiced “invading a well-defended island.” During the war games, the “Red Army” attacked and the “Blue Army” defended. The PLA is generally referred to as the Red Army, while blue is generally associated with the Kuomintang’s military forces.

The second report was a study by the **US Office of Naval Intelligence**, which became public in mid-November 1996. It analyzed the Chinese military exercises of February-March 1996, and concluded that they constituted a series of full-dress rehearsals for a possible future all-out invasion of Taiwan. Key parts of the Navy’s study were published by **Defense Weekly** magazine in its November 12th 1996 issue.

The report stated that the operation was code-named Strait 961, and was carried out in three separately announced rounds, involving combined-force operations and missile firings to a target area less than 35 miles from Taiwan. The Navy report concluded that the war games were part of a unified invasion plan, and not a series of distinct exercises — as Beijing tried to suggest.

### *French plans for aircraft carrier sale ?*

The 10 October 1996 issue of the **Far Eastern Economic Review** published an article indicating that France is planning to sell an aircraft carrier to China, in spite of a European Union embargo on arms sales to China.

The ship in question is the Clemenceau, which is scheduled for decommissioning next year. The ship can carry up to 30 combat aircraft.

The issue came up during the September 1996 visit to France of a high-level Chinese military delegation led by admiral Liu Huaqing, China's military chief and father of the Chinese navy.

China has long been shopping for an aircraft carrier, and was earlier considering purchasing S/VTOL carriers from the Ukraine and Spain.

Interestingly, the FEER article reports that the French military is not supportive of the sale. A French defense source was quoted as saying: "To sell China the Clemenceau will send a very bad signal. China, after all is a totalitarian country, and has shown itself to be very aggressive towards a democratic Taiwan."

***Taiwan Communiqué comment:*** *It would indeed be a wrong move for France to even consider the sale of the aircraft carrier to China. It would tell the Chinese authorities that they can repress their own people and threaten other nations around them, such as Tibet and Taiwan, without any effect on its international standing.*

*It would also be detrimental to stability in East Asia and set off a scramble by South Korea, Japan, Taiwan, the Philippines, Indonesia, and even Vietnam to find military ways to counter the extended Chinese influence across the international waterways along the Western Pacific Rim.*

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## **Turbulence for aviation in China**

### ***New York Times: MDD Aircraft deal questioned***

The 30 October 1996 issue of the **New York Times** carried an extensive investigative article, which examined the illegal diversion of McDonnell Douglas machinery by CATIC, China's state-run airplane manufacturing company to a military plant near

Shanghai manufacturing Silkworm missiles. The article reported that the US Commerce Department had referred the issue to the Justice Department for possible prosecution.

The case involved the shipment of some US\$5 million worth of machinery from a plant in Columbus, Ohio which were originally designated to a Beijing plant, where they were supposed to be used in the production of the joint CATIC-McDonnell Douglas project to build the Trunkliner, a 140-160 seat civilian airliner.

McDonnell Douglas agreed to ship the equipment after China pressured the US hard to transfer the tools, otherwise — the Chinese threatened — the whole Trunkliner deal would be canceled. US officials now term the Chinese approach “forced technology transfer.”

However, in March-April 1995 several key pieces of equipment, including a “stretch press” that is used to manufacture the skin of an aircraft, turns up in a military facility in Nanchang, near Shanghai. One of the pieces of equipment was set up in a newly-constructed building that produces Silkworm cruise missiles.

## ***GAO: violation of export control laws***

On 21 November 1996, the General Accounting Office in Washington DC published a report indicating that the case raises questions about the ability of the Commerce Department to control so-called dual use exports — equipment that can be used for both commercial and military purposes.

The GAO report stated that in 1994 the Commerce Department approved an export license for the sale of the equipment in spite of warnings by the US Department of Defense that the equipment could be diverted for military use.

The GAO report also raises questions about whether MDD failed to inform the Commerce Department fully about the sale of the equipment.

## ***Review: Boeing's China troubles***

At least McDonnell Douglas isn't the only airplane manufacturer in trouble with its China sales: the Hong Kong based **Far Eastern Economic Review** reported in its 14

November 1996 issue that Boeing is also having problems with its China sales.

The Boeing company in Seattle has long been aiming at the Chinese market, thinking it to be the ideal place to sell endless numbers of aircraft. However, like in the MDD case, the Chinese authorities have used Boeing to play their sinister political games, using the company to exert pressure on Washington on issues ranging from Taiwan relations to Most Favored nation status.

Boeing's apologist approach in favor of the Chinese led Democratic Congresswoman Nancy Pelosi to exclaim that "...by such comments, Boeing is disassociating itself from the values that America holds dear."

***Taiwan Communiqué comment:*** *Any Western nation selling technology — or anything else for that matter — to China must realize that it is going to be used by the Chinese authorities in political manipulations. Either local authorities will attempt to gain large personal profits through their corrupt practices, or the national authorities will attempt to use the deals to gain further leverage in gaining access to military technology (as in the case of MDD) or to "punish" any nation which improves its ties with Taiwan.*

*Trade and commerce need to take place on a level playing field, whereby all players play by the same rules. Chinese authorities still seem to feel that only others need to play by China's rules, while they themselves can bend the rules whenever they wish. Many Western governments and companies — in particular McDonnell Douglas, Boeing and Airbus — need to wake up and stop being gullible about these issues.*

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## **Environmental Report**

### ***KMT rams Fourth Nuclear Plant budget through Legislative Yuan***

On 18 October 1996, the Kuomintang authorities in Taipei forced approval of the budget for the Fourth Nuclear Powerplant through the Legislative Yuan, while over ten



thousand anti-nuclear demonstrators surrounded the Legislative Yuan building. The furious demonstrators burned a police vehicle and, in scenes reminiscent of the martial-law days, police turned water cannons on the crowd.

The Fourth Nuclear Powerplant budget had been canceled by a vote in the Legislative Yuan in May 1996, but in violation of standard democratic procedures the Kuomintang authorities still signed a US\$ 1.8 billion contract with the American GE-Company for two reactors for the 2,700-megawatt plant, which has a total budget of US\$ 4.2 billion.



### **Students protesting Fourth Nuclear Powerplant in front of Legislative Yuan**

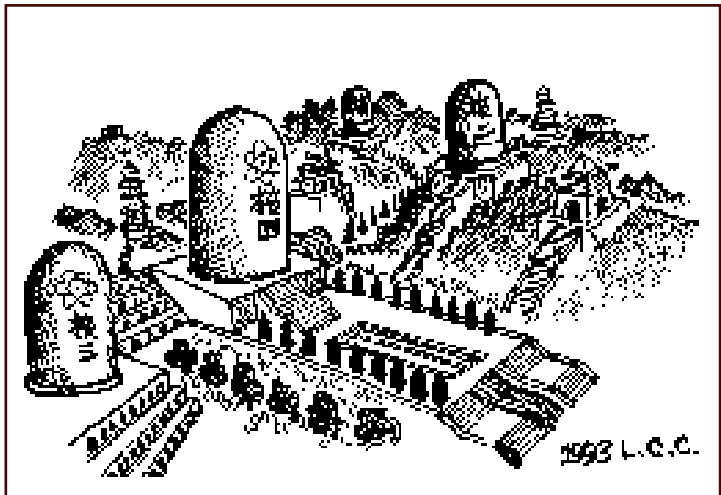
The Kuomintang authorities resorted to backroom maneuvering and invoked a shadowy “national security” provision, by which they could pass the Plant’s budget by only a one-third vote of the Legislative Yuan.

The Fourth Nuclear Powerplant is controversial because it is located on Taiwan’s Eastern seaboard, only 24 miles from the major metropolitan area of Taipei. It is also situated near a major vault line, in an area known for its earthquakes.

The project has been repeatedly canceled, reinstated and canceled again since it was first approved in 1980. After this latest KMT move, the opposition parties are planning to launch a fresh round of attacks on the fourth plant's budget.

Despite Taiwan's power crisis, the government has done very little to promote energy conservation. The DPP's **Taiwan International Review** reported in a recent article that most buildings in Taipei lack central air conditioning and instead rely on countless inefficient window units. Hundreds of thousands of leaky refrigerators are chugging away in Taiwan's apartments and restaurants. The TIR' article concluded: "Even mild efforts to change such habits would bring great results."

In addition, the Taiwan authorities have done virtually nothing to promote alternative sources of energy, such as wind energy in the coastal and southern regions of Taiwan, and solar energy: since the peak use of energy takes place during the summer afternoons, when airconditioning units run full blast, solar energy would be a prime source of electricity.



**Plenty of nuclear power monuments in Taiwan**

Community leaders in Kungliao, where Taipower wants to build the nuclear plant, say they would support using the site for a natural gas or clean-coal powerplant. Though a fire-powered facility would not generate as much electricity, it could go on-line in a fraction of the time it will take to build the two new reactors Taipower wants.

Taiwan's existing six reactors have a bad safety record and have an emergency shutdown rate many times that of Japan's facilities. In addition, Taipower has not solved the problem of where to put its nuclear waste. Since the early 1980's all waste has been dumped on tiny Orchid Island off southeast Taiwan, the home of the Yami tribe.

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## Notes

### *South Africa drops "ROC" for PRC*

#### **Maintain "dual recognition" with Taiwan**

On 28 November 1996, President Nelson Mandela announced in a press conference that by the end of 1997 South Africa will establish relations with the PRC and discontinue diplomatic ties with the Kuomintang authorities in Taipei.

It is regrettable that the South African government has succumbed to the pressure from Beijing to cut ties with Taipei, particularly in view of earlier pronouncements by Mr. Mandela — in August 1996 — that he favored the principle of "dual recognition",

However, the upcoming break in relations is primarily due to the Kuomintang's stubborn clinging to its "Republic of China" title and its outdated claim to be part of the so-called "One China."

The best way to solve the dilemma would be for everyone involved to accept a "new Taiwan policy" in which

1. the authorities in Taipei drop the anachronistic "One China" policy and to state clearly that Taiwan is a free, democratic and independent nation that wants to be a full member of the international community,
2. Mr. Mandela and South Africa stick to the "dual recognition" principle and maintain diplomatic ties with both Taiwan and China,

3. the Chinese authorities in Beijing work towards peaceful coexistence and accept Taiwan as a friendly neighbor.

## ***US Academia and the Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation***

At the end off November 1996, both the **Associated Press** and the **Wall Street Journal** reported that several major American universities, including Berkeley, Chicago, Stanford and Columbia are debating whether to compete for some US\$ 3 million in funding for a new center for “Chinese” studies.

The catch is that the funding comes from the “Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation”, an institution closely associated with the Kuomintang authorities in Taiwan. The Foundation is requiring that the new center is to be named “Chiang Ching-kuo Center for Chinese studies.”

The matter is controversial for two reasons: for many years, Mr. Chiang headed the Kuomintang’s dreaded secret police and was responsible for much of the repression of the Taiwanese people by his father's regime. When he succeeded his father in 1975, the repression continued unabatedly until the mid-1980s, when he was forced to relax the grip of the KMT regime when the Taiwanese democratic opposition started to organize itself and pushed for an end to the forty-year-old martial law.

The second reason is that the Foundation has blatantly pushed the political agenda of the Kuomintang and has totally disregarded academic study of Taiwanese history, culture, and social and economic developments.

A **Wall Street Journal** article on the issue (“*US scholars debate offer from Taiwan*”, WSJ, 29 November 1996) also reported that a US\$ 440,000 a year grant to Columbia University was discontinued in retaliation, after Columbia hosted a 1991 conference about Constitutional reform in Taiwan, organized by the democratic opposition on the island.

## *John Huang and other stories*

During the months of October and November 1996, many articles were published in the American and international press about the donations of Chinese-American John Huang and the Indonesian Riady family to the Clinton campaign and the connections and influence they were able to obtain in this manner.

One aspect, which we want to highlight here is that -- while there is a connection to Taiwan -- this link is to the Kuomintang authorities, who consider themselves "Chinese" and not "Taiwanese." The KMT has long been known to engage in influence-buying, a practice it perfected over many years of one-party authoritarian rule over Taiwan.

The episode where Mr. Liu Tai-ying, the business tycoon who manages the Kuomintang's finances reportedly offered US\$ 15 million in donations to the Democratic campaign through former White House aide Mark Middleton in exchange for "access" to the White House does not seem unpalatable. It signifies the corruption of money and power which prevails in the KMT-system.

Still, the matter is giving Taiwan a bad name. This point was made in an excellent letter to the Editor of the Washington Post by Mr. Kok-ui Lim, legal counsel of the Taiwan Democratic Party office in Washington DC:

### *Taiwan: an opposition view*

*The Post's Nov. 12 news story "Taiwan, in courting U.S. officials, reflects yearning for recognition" gave an accurate description of Taiwan's ruling Kuomintang Party (KMT) and its efforts to lobby the U.S. government. It should be remembered that the KMT's efforts on behalf of Taiwan do not necessarily reflect the desires, let alone the input, of the majority of the Taiwanese people. If anything, the article demonstrates how the KMT may have come to impede Taiwan's desire for greater U.S. and international recognition.*

*Herein lies a serious problem for Taiwan. The KMT has failed to recognize that Taiwan's diplomatic isolation is a result of the KMT's mutual animosity with China's Communist government. Even well-intentioned actions by Taiwan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs are*

*incapable of transforming the historical legacy of the KMT's rivalry with the People's Republic of China into anything but a burden for Taiwan and its allies.*

*If the accusations of KMT money diplomacy are true, it painfully reveals the KMT's desperation to accomplish by money what it cannot do politically: obtain legitimacy for its "Chinese" government on Taiwan. After all, few if any people know that the KMT's formal insistence of the name "Republic of China" refers to Taiwan, not to mention that the ruling party gratuitously calls Taiwan "Free China." KMT money cannot substitute for the failed foreign policy that calls the island "Republic of China" when everyone knows Taiwan as Taiwan.*

*Should the accusations of money diplomacy prove false, it will, we hope, encourage the KMT to recognize that Taiwan's survival and success are best accomplished by asserting the island's sovereignty and affirming its separation from China, not by roundabout diplomatic initiatives.*

*After all, no matter how well-intentioned the ruling KMT, its efforts on behalf of Taiwan are undermined by its refusal to acknowledge that Taiwan can neither unify with China nor indefinitely maintain the fictional status quo of the "Republic of China on Taiwan."*

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## **The “Kaohsiung Incident” of 1979**

### ***A turning point in Taiwan’s history***

In the beginning of December 1996, commemorations were held in the southern port-city of Kaohsiung in remembrance of the "Kaohsiung Incident" of 10 December 1979. When it took place, it was hardly noticed internationally, but since then it has been recognized as an important turning point in the island’s recent history.

The now well-known event of the evening of 10 December 1979 started out as the first major Human Rights Day celebration on the island. Until that time the authorities had never allowed any public expression of discontent, but in the summer of 1979 a slight

thaw had set in, during which two opposition magazines were established: **Formosa Magazine**, headed by veteran opposition Legislative Yuan-member Huang Hsin-chieh, and **The Eighties**, headed by up and coming opposition leader K'ang Ning-hsiang.



### **Military police surrounding the demonstrators and throwing teargas**

Formosa Magazine quickly became the rallying point for the budding democratic movement. During the fall of 1979, it became increasingly vocal, and it was only natural that it would use 10 December as an opportunity to express its views on the lack of democracy and human rights on the island. When the day arrived, the atmosphere had become tense because of increasingly violent attacks by right-wing extremists on offices of the magazine and homes of leading staff members.

What happened on that fateful evening is history: the human rights day celebration ended in chaos after police encircled the peaceful crowd and started using teargas, and pro-government instigators incited violence. See the account of the event in our publication *The Kaohsiung Tapes*, which is summarized on the history page of our Internet-site:

**<http://ourworld.compuserve.com/homepages/taiwan/history.htm>**

The importance of the incident is in the fact that it galvanized both the Taiwanese people in Taiwan as well as the overseas Taiwanese community into political action. The movement which grew out of the incident subsequently formed the basis for the present-day democratic opposition of the DPP and its overseas support network of Taiwanese organizations in North America and Europe.