



TAIWAN COMMUNIQUÉ

Published by:

International Committee for Human Rights in Taiwan

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

Europe : P.O. Box 91542, 2509 EC THE HAGUE, The Netherlands

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

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

Editors: G. van der Wees and Mei-chin Chen

International edition, July 1994

Published 6 times a year

61

Fire on the Lake

The Thousand Island Lake Tragedy

On 31 March 1994, twenty four Taiwanese tourists were killed, while on a sightseeing tour on a boat on Qiandao (Thousand Island) Lake in Zhejiang Province in Eastern China. The Chinese authorities initially dismissed the tragedy as an “accidental fire”, and attempted to cover up the matter.

However, some 55 relatives of the victims, who arrived at the site of the incident a couple of days later to claim the remains, quickly discovered that there was something amiss: they were not allowed to board the boat and inspect the cabin where bodies were found. Reporters were barred from visiting the site. Two Taiwan television cameramen were harassed when they attempted to film the boat. Their films were seized and destroyed on the spot by security personnel, and Taiwan officials were barred from coming to the site to assist the relatives. There were other tell-tale signs, pointing in the direction of robbery and murder (see below).



The burnt-out boat at Qiandao

When the news reached Taiwan, it quickly erupted into a major crisis in the relations across the Taiwan Straits. It also led a large number of people in Taiwan — who had until now followed the Kuomintang’s “reunification” line — to reassess their position and shift in favor of Taiwan independence. On the following pages we first present a brief overview of the events, and conclude with an assessment of the long-term effect of the incident on Taiwan-China relations.

China's cover-up

When the 55 relatives of the victims arrived at the site of tragedy to claim the remains of the victims, they expected sympathy and cooperation from the Chinese authorities. However, they were met with a callous disregard and flagrant attempts to cover up the facts of the incident.

Initially, the Chinese authorities maintained that the 24 Taiwanese plus two Chinese tour guides and six crew members on the boat had died when the boat caught fire after an accidental explosion. However, the family members were able to find out that the 32 charred bodies were piled up in a locked cabin on the lower deck of a triple-deck boat, in an area which was off-limits to tourists. They also wondered why none of the crew members, who were excellent swimmers, attempted to escape by jumping overboard. They also discovered unexplained bullet holes in the hull of the boat.

The Chinese authorities showed absolutely no sympathy for the relatives of victims, who were astonished to find out that autopsies had been performed on the bodies of the deceased prior to their arrival in China and without their consent.

The Taipei reaction

Public outrage in Taiwan reached a boiling point when the bodies of the victims were cremated against the wishes of the families of the victims, who wanted to bring them back to Taiwan for burial. The families were put under virtual house arrest until they agreed to the demand by the Chinese authorities to cremate the bodies.

The callous treatment of the relatives of victims provoked strong reactions from Taiwan officials. Premier Lien Chan accused China of flagrant violation of human rights and threatened to downgrade bilateral relations. President Lee Teng-hui condemned the communist as "bandits." Travel agents launched a boycott against group tours to the mainland. The tourist industry is a lucrative business for the mainland: in 1993 more than one million Taiwanese travelers visited the mainland, and pumped nearly US\$600 million into China's economy.

Demonstrations were held in Taiwan to protest the KMT authorities' ineptitude in helping the families of the victims and demand the government abandon its policy of reunification with China. In major cities in the United States and Canada, Taiwanese communities organized protests in front of the Chinese embassy to protest China's disregard of human lives.

Who really did it ?

Faced with the outrage in Taipei, the Chinese authorities finally conceded that robbery, murder and arson were committed: on 11 April 1994, they announced that they had arrested three suspects in connection with the crime. All three suspects were in their twenties and one was identified as a former soldier of People's Liberation Army.

A few days later, on 18 April, Chinese Premier Li Peng attempted to close that matter by announcing that the three arrested suspects would be punished for their crime. However, in the meantime Taiwan's intelligence agency — the National Security Bureau — made public their own investigation, and said it had learned that a group of eight to ten renegade PLA soldiers were responsible for the crime.

On 12 June 1994, a Chinese court handed down death sentences to the three suspects after a show trial. The relatives of the victims refused to attend the trial. They believe that the three were either scapegoats or actors performing a skit, and that the real criminals still remain at large. They pointed out that television footage showed the three men smiling broadly while the sentences were read,



and that during the trial they kept peeping at notes when giving apparently very rehearsed answers to the very superficial questioning by the court.

The relatives also stated they remained unconvinced that the three men were able to acquire sophisticated weapons like flamethrowers and explosives without the involvement of the military.

The effect on Taiwan-China relations

The tragedy sparked a debate in the Legislative Yuan over the government's reunification policy. The lawmakers of the opposition Democratic Progressive Party lawmakers demanded the government abandon the anachronistic "one-China" policy and abolish their "unification" guidelines.

DPP legislator Mrs. **Yeh Chu-lan** was most outspoken in her criticism of the government's unification policy. She said that a lesson to be learned from the Thousand Island Lake tragedy is that China does not treat Taiwan as an equal partner. She emphasized that only when Taiwan becomes an internationally recognized independent state, it can enjoy equal footing in negotiating cross-strait disputes with China.

A Gallup poll conducted in mid-April 1994 showed a significant rise in the support for independence, with 27% saying they strongly favor the idea. Opposition against independence decreased significantly, dropping below 50% for the first time ever. The remaining 27.4% had no comment on the question (...yet).

Taiwan Communiqué comment: *The Qindao Incident showed the people of Taiwan the harsh reality that Chinese authorities have little respect for human rights or concern for the well-being of individual people, and also that the Taipei authorities have little leverage vis-à-vis China.*

Thus the impact of the tragedy is very similar to that of the Tienanmen Square massacre of June 1989 on the people of Hong Kong: it is deeply affecting the perception of the Taiwanese people of mainland China, and is thus strengthening the general sentiment for Taiwan independence.

China, MFN, and human rights

Mr. Clinton buckles to big business

On 26 May 1994, the Clinton administration announced that it would extend China's Most Favored Nation (MFN) trading status, and would de-link this issue from human rights.

The decision was preceded by a heated debate between advocates and critics of a human rights linkage: the first group — mainly made up of human rights groups, Democratic proponents in the US Congress, and Mr. Warren Christopher and his under-secretary for Asian and Pacific Affairs, Mr. Winston Lord — argued that it was an essential tool in keeping pressure on the Chinese leadership to move towards better protection of human rights in China and Tibet.

Critics of the linkage policy were found among big business eager to sell their products to China and former Nixon, Reagan and Bush officials. They argued in favor of dropping the linkage and extension of MFN status without any conditions.

During the debate Mr. Clinton was unable to keep his own policymakers in line, and officials like Commerce Secretary Ron Brown and National Economic Council head Robert E. Rubin openly advocated ending the linkage. Thus the US policy establishment sent a muddled signal to the Communist Chinese leadership. The only thing Peking had to do was to sit tight, and wait for Mr. Clinton's linkage policy to disintegrate automatically.

Messrs. Christopher and Lord still attempted to make the best of a bad situation and argued in favor of a partial extension of MFN, whereby goods produced by military and government-controlled factories would not enjoy MFN status. Regrettably, even this approach was not adapted. Mr. Clinton did however put a ban on Chinese munitions and small handguns, which have flooded the US market and are a major cause of the sharply increasing violence in American inner-cities.

Mr. Clinton also attempted to use the MFN-decision to get the Chinese to release a number of political prisoners and to elicit Chinese support for non-proliferation and in putting pressure on North Korea. In none of these areas the Chinese were very forth-

coming: they played a cat-and-mouse game with the dissidents, and mainly hummed and hawed on North Korea. On top of that, at the end of May 1994 China went forward with plans to detonate a hydrogen bomb at its underground test range at Lop Nor.

The MFN-decision has generated considerable tension between Mr. Clinton and Congress, which has strongly favored some sort of sanctions on China. On 14 June 1994, Democratic House members led by Majority Leader Richard A. Gephardt (D-MO), Majority Whip David Bonior (D-MI), and Nancy Pelosi (D-CA) announced



legislation to impose an import ban on goods produced in Chinese military factories and in state-owned plants. Majority leader George Mitchell (D-ME) stated he would introduce similar legislation on the Senate side.

Big business and Mr. Kissinger

One of the sordid aspects which became increasingly clear during the weeks leading up to the May 26th decision, was the fact that a number of big business enterprises had poured millions of dollars into a large-size lobbying campaign in favor of extension of MFN status for China. Companies such as Boeing, AT&T and Chrysler stood to gain large orders for their products. In doing so, the companies did display little concern for the principles of human rights and democracy. As stated by political commentator E.J. Dionne Jr. (*"How the China battle was Lost and What the Casualties will be," International Herald Tribune*, 2 June 1994):

"...if we are counting on American business to be the conveyor belt of human rights to China, we may have a long wait. Every signal the business community sent to the Chinese government was that money and trade mattered a lot more than the rights of political dissidents rotting in jail."

The companies hired a number of former Nixon, Reagan and Bush officials to make their case. One of those was Mr. Kissinger, who — as reported in the **Far Eastern Economic Review** (*"Cash and Connections"*, FEER, June 2, 1994) — is primarily interested in lucrative consulting jobs for American companies doing business in China. Others who were involved in the campaign, like Messrs. Eagleburger and Haig, also have personal stakes and business interests in China.

Mr. Kissinger's attempt to portray the decision as a "policy back on course" is fallacious: extending MFN only strengthened a repressive regime, which is quickly becoming stronger and more aggressive, and could — in time — turn into another Iran (see the excellent article by James Mann on this topic in the **New Republic**, 6 June 1994, titled *"Shah Deng"*).

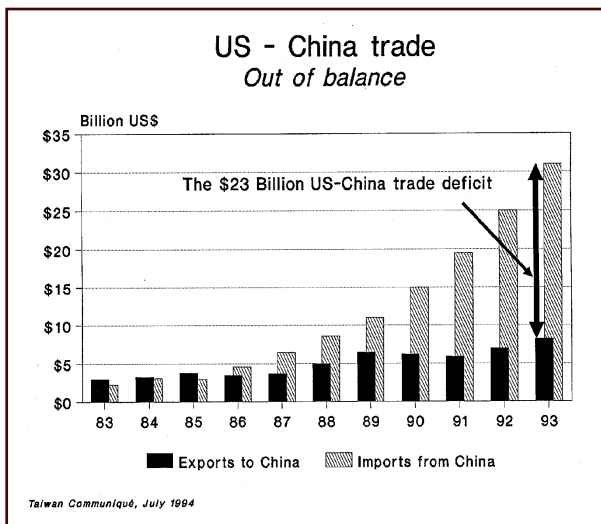
The strategy of this coalition succeeded in the short term: it forced Mr. Clinton to backtrack from his campaign pledges to be strong on human rights in China. However, in the long term it will be self-defeating: China is for the time being highly unstable because of the increasing discrepancies between rich and poor, which will create uncertainties for any foreign investments, large or small.

Unbalanced Trade

One of the arguments in favor of MFN status for China was that it benefits trade between the two countries. Even a brief examination shows that it is a one-sided proposition: as the accompanying graph clearly indicates, China is exporting much more to the US than the US to China.

The idea is of course that the US would like to reduce this gap with exports of — highly priced — airplanes, telephone systems, and car factories to China. The problem with this proposition is that China can manipulate each of these major deals for its own political purposes, while on the other side, the US cannot do very much about the import of products like clothing, shoes, computer parts, produced in the sweatshops along the Chinese coast.

And therein lies also the other weakness of the present MFN-decision: the victims on the American side are the small companies who will see their markets flooded with cheap Chinese goods. To its credit, the **Washington Post** carried an excellent article on this issue by its reporter Peter Behr (“China’s other trade war,” 30 May 1994). It told the story of an American businessman whose diskette manufacturing company was forced to close due to the surge of cheap Chinese products. Many more such American jobs will be lost due to this factor than are gained due to extension of MFN. It is estimated that the present trade gap represents a loss of some 250,000 American jobs.



Another fact is that China is much more dependent upon the United States in its foreign trade than vice-versa: about 35% of China’s exports go to the United States, while only 2% of US exports go to China. The US could thus have dealt with this issue from a position of strength, but instead allowed itself to be pushed into the corner.

***Taiwan Communiqué comment:** the US decision is a sorry sight for those who value democratic principles and human rights. The American flip-flop clearly diminishes US credibility as a defender of these principles. It has now become easy for foreign dictators (at least the big ones) to flaunt principles of human rights and democracy; the US is not going to stand up for these values anyway ! European governments have not done much better: it seems that “Silence is golden” has become the motto of people like Mr. Kohl and Mitterand.*

Although one can certainly not expect the Chinese totalitarian leadership to change overnight, they must come to the realization that repression in China and Tibet equals loss of international face for Peking. Continuous pressure is needed in this direction. Until May 26th, Mr. Clinton still had some leverage on them to push them in the direction of improving their despicable record on human rights and democratic reforms.

The victims on the Chinese — and Tibetan — side are the people who have dared to come out on the side of democracy and human rights. The Chinese government will feel free to suppress them at will, and feel unrestrained by international opinion.

Shih Ming-teh elected DPP Chairman

On 1 May 1994, the main opposition **Democratic Progressive Party**, convened in a special party congress, elected a new chairman, Mr. *Shih Ming-teh*.

Mr. Shih, age 53, the DPP acting chairman of DPP is often referred to as Taiwan's Mandela, because he has served more than 25 years in prison as a political prisoner. His election as chairman of the DPP marked a triumphant return from political prisoner to the leader of the major opposition party.

Mr. Shih won 206 of the 360 ballots cast by the delegates. His election was assured after two of his opponents, Messrs. George Chang and Trong-Chai dropped out after the first round because they did not garner enough votes to be elected into the 31-member central executive committee. His only opponent, Mrs. **Yu-Chen Yueh-ying**, 68, former county magistrate of Kaohsiung was drafted by the Formosa faction to compete against Mr. Shih only a day before the election after she was elected to the 11-member Central Standing Committee, the policy-making core of the party.

It was a surprise when both Messrs. **Trong Chai**, leader of the Association for Plebiscite in Taiwan, and Dr. **George Chang**, chairman of the U.S.-based World United Formosan for Independence, did not succeed to be elected to the Central Executive Committee.

Mr. Shih outlined some of the major task facing the party in a press conference. He pointed out that DPP needs to expand its power base, to initiate public policy debates, and to continue to clean up corruption in its own house if it hopes to become a ruling party. The DPP's image has been deeply tarnished by vote-buying scandals involving local politicians in previous elections. In March, Mr. Shih's decision to expel 22 party members and suspended the rights of 23 members for their alleged involvement in vote-buying has antagonized the Formosa faction.

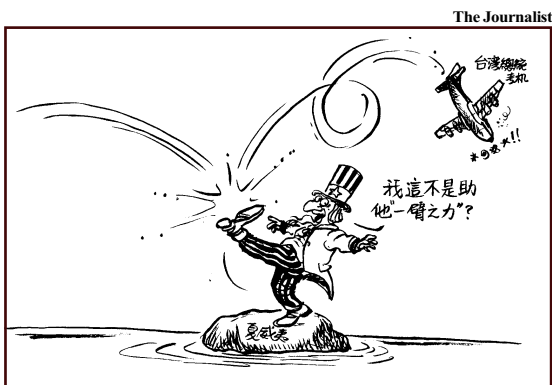
Mr. Shih faces the challenge of mending fences with the Formosa faction to strengthen party unity in preparation for the year-end elections. At the end of this year, elections for the Provincial Assembly will take place. For the first time, popular elections for the mayors of Taipei and Kaohsiung and the governor of Taiwan will also take place.

“Vacation diplomacy” gets down to business

After the success of his “vacation diplomacy” of early 1994 (see *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 60, p. 3) Taiwan president Lee Teng-hui in May 1994 continued his personal involvement in actively fostering relations with various nations around the world. He started off for a round-the-world trip to Nicaragua, Costa Rica, South Africa, and Swaziland.

Rough landing in Honolulu

However, on the way to Latin America, there was an incident, when the State Department decided not to allow President Lee to stay for an overnight stop on US soil, as had been requested by the Taiwan authorities, but approved a refueling stop in Ho-



U.S. to President Lee: "May I help you along?"

nolulu. In a sign of protest, Mr. Lee stayed on the plane, and was casually dressed when AIT-Director Natale Bellochi came to meet with him.

The event evoked several reactions from the US Senate: on 4 May 1994, senator **Paul Simon** wrote Secretary of State Warren Christopher, expressing his dismay that Mr. Lee was not allowed to stay overnight and was not accorded protocolary courtesies. Two other senators, **Frank Murkowski** (R-Alaska) and **Hank Brown** (D-Colorado), said in a statement on 18 May 1994, that it was very important for the US to improve its relations with Taiwan, and invited Mr. Lee to visit the United States. They noted that the value of Taiwan's imports from the United States were US\$ 16.2 billion last year, more than twice that of China's imports.

Visit to Latin America and South Africa

President Lee then flew on to Central America, where he met with President **Violeta Chamorro** of Nicaragua, and on 8 May 1994 attended the inauguration of the new president of Costa Rica, **Jose Figueres**. Both expressed support for Taiwan's membership in the United Nations, and promised to help initiate new initiatives in the upcoming Session of the UN General Assembly.

Mr. Lee then continued his journey to South Africa, where on 10 May, he attended the inauguration ceremonies of the newly-elected President, **Nelson Mandela**. Relations with South Africa are important for Taiwan, because it is the only major country still maintaining diplomatic ties with the island.

The National Assembly does it again

Constitutional Reform, one step forward, one backward

On 2 May 1994, the 314-member National Assembly convened for a three-month long session to approve a constitutional reform package proposed by the KMT authorities. While some reform programs are lauded as ground-breaking, two controversial proposals are generating heated debates and confrontation between KMT and DPP deputies. Below we discuss some key proposals in this reform package.

Finally, direct presidential elections

A major reform, which has popular support and is expected to be approved by the KMT-controlled National Assembly, is the decision to have the President of the country elected by direct popular vote. Until now the President was (s)elected by the National Assembly, a tightly controlled process in which an opposition candidate had not the slightest chance.

This change is a major step forward in Taiwan's democratic reform and represents a victory for party reformers headed by President Lee. The conservative faction of the KMT headed by former premier Hau Pei-tsun is strongly opposed to direct presidential election on the



DPP Assembly-members protest "overseas Chinese" vote

ground that it would pave the way for Taiwan independence, which it opposes, because it would remove the KMT's claim to legitimacy over all of China.

It is expected that the first fully open Presidential elections will take place in early 1996, and that they will be timed to coincide with the next elections for the Legislative Yuan. These will thus be moved three or four months later than they would normally be held (December 1995).

Voting rights for overseas Chinese ?

The most controversial provision of the reform package is a Kuomintang proposal to give overseas Chinese rights to vote in presidential elections. It is expected that this issue will generate heated debate inside and outside the National Assembly.

The opposition DPP and scholars are strongly opposed to this proposal. They point out that overseas Chinese often have dual nationality. They also do not fulfill the national duties of paying taxes and serving in the military, and thus should not have the right to vote in presidential elections. A further reason is that the overseas Chinese generally have financial ties with the Kuomintang or are dependent upon the KMT for e.g. approval of import or export licenses.

To drive home their point, DPP deputies held a demonstration by displaying protest banners while President Lee was delivering a speech during the opening ceremony of the National Assembly on 2 May 1994. One banner read: “Giving overseas Chinese the rights to vote is like luring a wolf into one’s house.”

Is the National Assembly still needed ?

Passing the provision of direct presidential elections poses a dilemma for the National Assembly: until now “election of the president” was one of its major functions, which gave it some right of existence. Passage of this proposal takes this away, and leaves it only with the responsibility for amending the Constitution. In the coming one or two years, this still is a major task, but once a new Constitution is in place, there would be little justification for the body.

Many legal scholars in Taiwan and the democratic opposition of the DPP have therefore suggested that the Assembly be abolished. However, to the Kuomintang — and particularly the old guard — it is still a symbol of the old “Republic of China” and they want to maintain it at all cost.

The Kuomintang mainstream of President Lee Teng-hui is caught in between, and is muddling through, maintaining the National Assembly, but giving it a few added — and mainly symbolic responsibilities, and a formal Speaker and Vice-Speaker. Still, legal scholars cautioned that this would turn the parliament into a two-headed monster and intensify power struggle between the Legislative Yuan and the National Assembly.

Overall, though, there was significant frustration among the Assembly members, who resorted to a variety of antics to still get some attention. Thus, in mid-May, the Assembly was in the news several times when fistfights and slapping erupted between KMT and DPP members, further reducing the credibility of the Assembly.

Reports from Washington and Ottawa

Congress pushes for Taiwan and Tibetan rights

by Coen Blaauw of the Formosan Association for Public Affairs.

On 30 April 1994, President Clinton signed the State Department Authorization Act, also known as the Foreign Relations Authorization Act. The Congressional Resolution on which the act was based, H.R. 2333, contained a number of provisions through which Congress expressed its support for the people of Taiwan and Tibet. The main ones were as follows:

- Extend relations with the Tibetan government in exile and establishment of programs designed to benefit Tibetans inside Tibet;
- That the United States support Taiwan membership in international organizations. This provision was introduced by a broad range of congressional members, who are supportive of Taiwan's membership in the UN (see below);
- Encouragement of official visits, including Cabinet-level exchanges, with the authorities in Taiwan;
- That the Taiwan Relations Act of 1979 takes precedence over the subsequent communiqué's. This language was proposed by Senator Frank Murkowski (R-Alaska), and designed to remove the limit on military sales to Taiwan imposed by the "Shanghai-II" Communiqué signed by Mr. Ronald Reagan in August 1982. The 1979 Taiwan Relations Act states that the United States will provide Taiwan with "sufficient self-defense capability."
- That the State Department allow Taiwanese-Americans to have "Taiwan" recorded as place of birth in their US passports. This language was inserted in the Bill by the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Senator **Claiborne Pell** (D-RI), who criticized the fact that, for some incomprehensible reason, the US presently still forces Taiwanese-Americans to use "*China*" as place of birth.

On May 16 however, Michael McCurry — State Department Spokesman — issued a highly peculiar statement, saying that the Administration did not consider itself bound by these provisions, as they "... could be construed so as to interfere with the discharge of the President's constitutional responsibilities as conferred in Article II of the Constitution."

In a letter dated May 26 to Secretary of State Warren Christopher, Reps. **Howard Berman** (D-CA) and **Benjamin Gilman** (R-NY) expressed their outrage about this refusal of the State Department to implement the provisions of the Act, especially the Passport Amendment. “We encourage the Department to immediately begin allowing U.S. citizens born in Taiwan to have ‘Taiwan’ recorded as their place of birth in U.S. passports.”

***Taiwan Communiqué comment:** It seems that — with the MFN discussion still raging at that point — the State Department was being a bit overly sensitive about anything that might affect US — China relations. The State Department’s distancing itself from the provisions of H.R 2333 reduces the Department’s credibility. It would have been better to refrain from comment until the MFN discussion had run its course.*

We suggest that each of the issues should be considered on their own merit, and that the US be sensitive to the legitimate concerns of the minority groups, such as the Tibetans and the Taiwanese.

Support for UN-membership growing

Senate Committee passes resolution

On 25 May 1994, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee with unanimous consent passed Senator **Paul Simon**’s (D-IL) S.RES.148 expressing the sense of the Senate that the United Nations “...should be encouraged to permit representatives of Taiwan to participate fully in its activities...” The Resolution concludes that the President, acting through the U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations, should encourage the United Nations to permit representatives of Taiwan to participate fully in the activities of the United Nations and its specialized agencies.

Passage of the Resolution in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee is a very significant step for UN membership for the people of Taiwan. Before being moved out of the Committee the Resolution had garnered 40 co-sponsors.

The timing of moving the Resolution out of Committee is also significant. It is a sign that in Congress support for human rights and democracy in East Asia — and for Taiwan in particular — is as strong as ever.

House Resolution is on the way

On the House side of Congress a UN-resolution is also underway. It is House Resolution 166, introduced by New Jersey Congressman **Robert Torricelli** in October 1993. It states “....That it is the sense of the Congress that the 21 million people of Taiwan deserve to be represented in the United Nations.”

The resolution currently enjoys support from both the Democratic and the Republican leadership in the House. On 21 April 1994, Republican Whip **Newt Gingrich** (R-GA) expressed his support for UN-membership of Taiwan as follows: *“Taiwan has never been represented in the United Nations as a country. This gross lack of international recognition has left 21 million Taiwanese voices unheard in world affairs. The fact remains that 21 million residents of free and democratic Taiwan are not represented in the UN clearly goes against the UN principle of universal representation.”*

It is expected that in July 1994 a hearing will be held in the House Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs, before it moves to the full committee and the house floor in the Fall of 1994.

Canadian Parliament hears Taiwanese views

On 2 June 1994, a special joint committee on foreign policy of the Canadian parliament heard a testimony from the Taiwan Canadian Association on relations with Taiwan. The committee, made up of fifteen members and seven senators of the Canadian Parliament, are conducting a review of Canada's foreign policy.

During the presentation, the Parliamentary Secretary for Foreign Affairs, MP **Jesse Flis** and Senator **James Kelleher** commended the Taiwanese Canadians for their work for democracy and independence in Taiwan, and particularly the Taiwanese Mr. **Columbus Y. Leo**, who was a prisoner of conscience in Taiwan in November 1989 through December 1990. The Taiwanese Canadians urged Canada to take the following positions on Canadian-Taiwan relations:

1. That the future of Taiwan should be resolved peacefully and in accordance with the democratically expressed will of the people of Taiwan;
2. That Canada be ready to recognize Taiwan's formal nationhood and support Taiwan's entry into the United Nations as early as possible;

3. Support Taiwan's entry into other international organizations such as GATT on its own merit as a valued member of the international community.

The Taiwanese then gave the reasons why a new Taiwan policy is needed, and why Canada should move away from the present "no position" policy. The delegation described the evolution of Taiwan from a repressive, authoritarian state under the Nationalist Chinese Kuomintang in the 1970s and 1980s, to a much more open and democratic political system with a vibrant opposition movement.

The delegation emphasized that there is a strong consensus in Taiwan NOT to re-unify with China, and that people of all political stripes on the island clearly reject the notion of Taiwan becoming part of the PRC. "With direct election of ... the president in Taiwan, and the strong tide towards 'Taiwanization', we see Taiwan's formal independence as inevitable in the next few years."

The delegation noted that Taiwan's independence is not a form of separation like Quebec (as is often stated by China — Ed.), but a formal recognition of an already de-facto independent political entity as a de jure independent state. "Canada has a One-China policy in recognizing the PRC as the only China. We support this policy. However, there is also one Taiwan and the democratically expressed will of the people of Taiwan should be recognized. Canada's 'no-position' on Taiwan was formulated more than 23 years ago. However, circumstances have changed so much in Taiwan since then, that a new Taiwan policy is in order."

Second-Generation report

A Blast into the Past

By Elise Dang

What was it like twenty years ago, when our parents had just arrived from Taiwan into the United States, and were starting their fight for democracy and human rights in Taiwan? Let us imagine that we could sit in a back-to-the-future machine; see what happens !

“Everyone into the time capsule. Synchronize your watches. Set module at 007PU. I’m transmitting you guys back to February 28, 1947 to warn the Taiwanese citizens that they are in grave danger!” “BOOM! BAM!” “Doc!! The interfluxer is going nuts! We’re going 2,083 MPH!! AAHHHHH!! Our times aren’t matching! We’re going to be separated!” Oh nuts! We have no choice but to go through with it! Dan, Ann! Set your modules at OH123NO911 and meet back in 1994. The retroquarkstermoleculizer will beam you back in 24 hours. Good Luck!!”

Ann lands in Williamsburg, Pennsylvania - 1972

“Yiiiiikes! MAAA!” OOMPH. I landed in a dry, grassy field praying I didn’t land in the middle of a grazing field. I sat up, looked around. About 80 feet away was a baseball game. I sighed in relief and headed toward the game. Flapping in the warm wind was a large white banner that read, “Little League World Series.” “Go! Go! TAIWAN!” A crowd of people holding “Go Taiwan!” signs yelled encouragingly at the Taiwanese team.

Being a Taiwanese American, I felt right at home with the energetic Taiwanese crowd and joined in with their cheering. I said to the woman next to me: “this Little League World Series game is a big deal isn’t it?” “Yes, it’s a lot of fun. They’ve been held since 1968. The Taiwanese team is in the finals!” My husband is in that group of men back there. They are mostly WUFI members. Why don’t you go over and say ‘Hello’?”

WUFI.... WUFI... Where have I heard that name before? Oh yeah, the World United Formosans for Independence... I remember now. My dad told me that they were a group of Taiwanese graduate students that formed in the 1960s to advocate self-determination for the people of Taiwan. I looked back at the WUFI group. Strangely, their heads were turned away from the game looking down the hill. They shifted uneasily. I heard distant shouts of men coming closer.

A menacing group marched forward, yelling, “Long live Republic of China! Long live KMT!” Several of them ripped off their shirts, obviously, hallucinating that they looked like Rambo. Some of them carried suspicious buckets of rocks and hard objects in their hands. My stomach knotted up in fear at the possible intent they had. The WUFI group moved 30 ft away from our side to lure the advancing ominous crowd away from the woman and children. The two groups were soon face to face. There were some sharp exchanges of words.

Then the pro-KMT crowd started to throw some vicious shoves and soon both groups were in a melee of punches and kicks. There were about 100 men in the pro-KMT gang with weapons and only 30 of us in all with fan signs. Suddenly, I felt a sharp object hit my arm. The pro-KMT group started to throw rocks into the crowd. Mothers ran away with their children trying to use their own bodies as shields to protect their young. The Pennsylvania police securing the game did not call off the tormentors; they stood there watched. In less than five minutes, which seemed like eternity, the pro-KMT gang hopped on their bus and left; it was over. Whow, not much fun, our parents really had a tough time. I guess I better get back to 1994."

Meanwhile Dan lands at MIT - February 1976

SPLAT! Ouch! I stared up at a cold, concrete arc-like tunnel. My back throbbed with pain. "This time traveling business is getting bad for my health," I thought wearily. "Hey, are you O.K.? Here, I'll help you up." A kind voice came from my side. The stranger stepped forward and offered his hand. I gladly accepted his generosity and got up. The amiable stranger was an Asian man wearing huge bell bottoms and thick black rimmed glasses. "Thanks. My name's Dan. Where am I? What's the date?" I asked feeling like a moron. He looked at me funny, but politely answered, "You're at MIT and it's March 30, 1973. I'm on my way to a Taiwanese Student conference. Goodbye." He turned and briskly went into the building.

"Great! My kind of meeting! This meeting could be really interesting." I thought. I followed him in... I sat down inconspicuously, the room was full of tension. I peeked over at a flyer in my neighbor's hand. The student saw me looking at his flyer and said, "The students the KMT sent here to study were supposed to be from National Taiwan University but they are from some school funded by the Ministry of Defense. We believe their intent for sending students here is to train them for missile development."

Suddenly, someone jumped up and pointed at a man taking pictures. "He's a KMT spy!" Everyone turned their heads toward the man. Understanding the sensitivity of the situation, members of the SACC grabbed the camera from the mousy photographer and ripped out his film. Suddenly, I recalled my parents talking about KMT campus spies who collected the names and harassed many active Taiwanese students, including my dad, and reported back to the KMT in Taiwan thus, resulting in 3000 names being put on a "blacklist". Those who were "blacklisted" were refused reentry visas to return to Taiwan for "political misbehavior".

I sadly realized that these students, so passionate about their people's rights, might not be able to see their friends, parents, and siblings, simply because they exercised their right to free speech, and free thought. I knew that almost 15 years later, most names would be taken off the blacklist, however nothing could ever make up for the lost time between these students and their family. Some of these students they would never see their parents again because it would be too late.... I glanced at my watch. It was time to go..."

Another stop in history — Seattle, March 1980

I landed right in the middle of Fourth Avenue, downtown Seattle. Better get over to the sidewalk. Whow, there are demonstrators on each side. This time machine has a habit of landing me into trouble spots, alright !! At least the temperature is not too bad ... and it drizzles a bit (they say it always does that in Seattle !!).

Anyway, I have to make up my mind to which side of the street I want to go, before I get run over by a car. The two groups seem quite different: on the one side, they are waving Kuomintang flags and do a lot of shouting. Some seem to be University students, others gangsters from Chinatown. I walk over to one of the students. In broken English he tells me that he just came from Taiwan last September. The local KMT office called him last night, and offered him US\$ 25.— to come here today. "So, why not," he said. But, when I asked him what it was all about, he couldn't really tell

I hurried across the street. There was an eerie silence there. Almost all people had paper bags over their head and stood in solemn silence. In the middle, there were three black coffins, one big one and two very small ones. Many people carried signs: "It was murder."

Now I got really curious; "what was this really about ?" I approached one of the few people without a paper bag over his head. He was obviously the spokesman for the group. He told me he was a doctor at the University of Washington. I asked him if he could tell me what it was all about. "Sure" he said, "we are mourning the death of the mother and two little twin-daughters of Assemblymember Lin Yi-hsiung. They were murdered two days ago in their home in Taipei, in the middle of the day, while Mr. Lin was in prison because of the Kaohsiung Incident."

"What's that," I asked. "That happened two-and-a-half months ago," the fast-talking doctor continued, "when the opposition people in Taiwan organized the first major human rights demonstration on the island. The Kuomintang sent in troops and caused

chaos, and then turned around and accused the opposition people of trying to overthrow the government, and arrested almost all important leaders. OK, I gotta go, have to talk to the TV.”

“Thanks,” I called, and wondered what was going to happen to those poor people in prison. I decided to leave again, back to the future.

Conclusion of Dan and Ann’s journey — 1994

Today is 1994. Returning from our blast into the past, we realized that we had experienced first-hand what the first generation — our parents — had endured in their quest for basic human rights. Indeed, it is crucial for us, members of the second generation, not to forget the sacrifices which our parents have made for Taiwan ... and for us. And it is important to remember that although much has been accomplished through our parents’ efforts, many dreams are yet to be realized.

As members of the second generation, we have to continue the struggles which our parents began. In addition to our concerns for Taiwan, we are also faced with various other issues specific to Taiwanese-Americans. It is fortunate that organizations such as ITASA, SOTA, Taiwanese Collegian, and the Taiwanese American Citizens League have been created to help deal with these issues and to provide support for our growing network of second generation Taiwanese Americans. In our next *Communiqué* we will present more information about these groups.

Books & Articles

Li Thian-hok: A Formosan view in 1957

Those who have closely followed Taiwan’s steady progress towards a fully democratic system and independent international status, know that until only a few years ago it was clearly not advisable for a Taiwanese to advocate democratization and independence for their island: the Kuomintang authorities would arrest and imprison anyone who appeared even distantly supportive of these highly sensible ideas. Until the late 1970’s people were even be executed if they had advocated independence too openly and somehow strayed within the reaches of the KMT’s clutches.

It was therefore a pleasant surprise for the *Taiwan Communiqué* recently to discover that as early as 1957-58 a courageous, young Taiwanese student in the United States,

concerned about his homeland, wrote several excellent articles in The **New Republic** and **Foreign Affairs** magazines. Also concerned about his safety, Mr. Jay T. Loo — now living in Philadelphia and close to retiring — had to use a pen-name: Li Tian-hok.

The **New Republic** article (*“Formosans know what they want”*, by Li Tian-hok, 24 November 1958) reacts against several earlier articles by such notables as professor Fairbank and Lord Lindsay, who painted a rosy picture of land-reform in Taiwan. Mr. Li first focuses on how the Kuomintang authorities manipulated statistics in order to show the “success” of the agrarian reforms. He then points out the flaws in the political system, and states: “The Central Government, which makes all laws and policies and executes them, is under the exclusive control of the Chinese refugees. What we have in Formosa today, therefore is Chinese colonialism, ...

Second, elections in Formosa are invariably rigged. The Nationalist Party is financed directly by the government treasury, which is a great advantage in election campaigns. Chiang’s party controls the press and the radio. It monopolizes the supervision of balloting and counting of the votes (this practice is called a “safety device” in popular vernacular). It can, and has, used the police to harass the campaigning of non-party candidates....



Dr. Jay T. Loo

...Why then, it may be asked, do the nine million Formosans seem to be either indifferent or ambivalent towards the Nationalist regime ? The reason is simple: fear. Ultimately, Nationalist control of the island is based on its highly institutionalized use of terror.

All Formosans, to a larger or lesser degree, have cause to be afraid. They witnessed a large scale massacre in March 1947; they know that there are still thousands of political prisoners on Green Island (a penal colony off the Southeast coast of Formosa) and in the overcrowded penitentiaries, most of them young university students. Practically every Formosan has a friend or relative who has been executed for political offense. The intellectuals who should be the most articulate, are perhaps the most inhibited, because as a group they have been subjected to the severest pressures. ...

To express a desire for independence is, of course, tantamount to treason and punishable as such. This fact explains the difficulties correspondent Denis Warner

(**New Republic**, 3 November 1958) seems to have encountered in ascertaining the wishes of the Formosans, but it does not support his conclusion that they do not know what they want. Were they given a chance to express their true feelings without danger to life or liberty, a great majority of the Formosans would favor independence under a genuinely democratic government of their own. There is no doubt that the idea of independence appeals to all of them, ...

The aspirations for self-determination on the part of the nine million Formosans offers the best chance for — not just a non-Communist — but a democratic, Formosa. The energy and the will to defend the island against Communist aggression and subversion, the desire to build up a free society, are there. But will there be sufficient wisdom in the US and the free world to channel this aspiration to a constructive purpose before it is too late ?”

The article in **Foreign Affairs** magazine (“*The China impasse: a Formosan view*”, April 1958 issue) also makes for exciting reading. We highly recommend it to our readers.

Environmental Report

The Fourth Nuclear Plant

96% vote against and 20,000 demonstrate against

On 22 May 1994, the residents of the township of Kungliao — on the Eastern seaboard of Taiwan, some 36 kilometers from Taipei — had the unusual opportunity to vote. It was unusual, because no voting took place in any other place in Taiwan. The occasion? The mayor of the township wanted to know how the residents felt about the plans of the Kuomintang authorities to build a nuclear power plant in their township.

The results: 96 % of the 5,669 people in the township who voted expressed themselves against the power plant. The vote is significant, because it is the first time people in Taiwan could express themselves openly on this issue in a local referendum. The mayor of Kungliao, Mr. Chao Kuo-tung, stated: “*Although the number of residents in Kungliao accounts for only a small percentage of Taiwan’s 21 million population, the referendum was the most direct expression of the public opinion, and it should be respected.*”

However, the Taipei authorities were quick to emphasize that they had not authorized the vote and that they would proceed with the plans to build the plant. In fact the budget

for the NT 112.5 billion (US\$ 4.5 billion) seven-year project was on the table before the Legislative Yuan in June 1994, where it was expected to run into strong resistance from the Democratic opposition of the DPP.

A second major expression of opposition against the plant came on 29 May 1994, when some 20,000 people demonstrated in Taipei against the plans of the Kuomintang authorities. The gathering was organized by the **Taiwan Environmental Protection Union**, which has over the past few years developed into a major force on the island.

NOTES

A Note from the Editors

*We would like to call the attention of our readers to two address changes: For our Taiwan edition, the responsibility for distribution has been taken up by the **Taiwan Congressional Office**, 2nd Floor, 27 Hang-chow South Road Sec. 1, Taipei, TAIWAN.*

*For the International edition (the combination of our former European and United States editions — which are now both distributed from Washington, DC) the address has moved across the city to: **P.O. Box 15182, Chevy Chase, MD 20825**. This means that all changes of address, subscription renewals and donations to **Taiwan Communiqué** should from now on be directed to the new address.*

*We thank both the **Asia Resource Center** and the **Formosan Association for Human Rights** for their great help during the past years in putting out the United States edition. We look forward to continue our cooperation with them on the many important issues that are still before us — until Taiwan is a land of full freedom, democracy and justice, and has obtained international recognition as an independent country.*

*Last, but not least, we are obliged to **increase our subscription rates**: our present rates have remained the same for the past ten years or so (at least longer than anyone can remember), while the cost of printing and postage has climbed steadily over that period. We hope you will continue to support us with your subscriptions and contributions, so we can continue to work for Taiwan's future.*
