



# TAIWAN COMMUNIQUÉ

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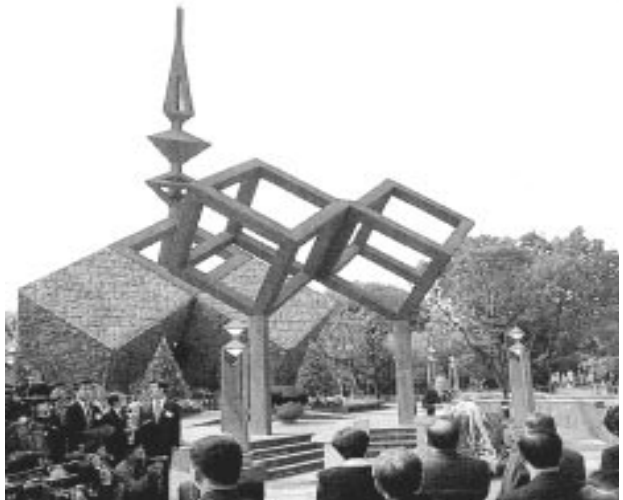
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## Remembering “28 February 1947” *A Memorial to Taiwan’s Holocaust*

On 28 February of this year, a monument was unveiled in Taipei in remembrance of the “February 28 Incident” of 1947, when Chiang Kai-shek sent troops from the mainland to suppress public protests by the native Taiwanese against the corruption and repression of the occupying Kuomintang regime, which took control of the island following the end of World War II. The troops murdered between 18,000 and 28,000 people, many of them scholars, lawyers, doctors, students and local leaders, and imprisoned many more in the “White Terror” campaign which took place in the following decade.

Until a few years ago, the events of 1947 were a taboo subject on the island. The Kuomintang authorities did not want to be reminded of their dark past, and the people did not dare to speak out for fear of retribution by the KMT’s secret police.

However, in 1987 the democratic opposition of the DPP and the courageous Presbyterian Church started to push the Kuomintang authorities to



The new "February 28" Memorial in Taipei

stop covering up the facts, and to come to a full airing of the matter. It wasn't until 1990 that the Kuomintang finally decided — albeit reluctantly — to open the records. In 1992 President Lee asked for reconciliation and decided that a monument would be built in Taipei (other memorials had been built earlier by DPP County Magistrates, the main ones in Chiayi and Pingtung).

Another reason to commemorate February 28th is to remind the Kuomintang authorities that the Lin family murder remains unsolved: on this day in 1980 the mother and twin-daughters of Mr. **Lin Yi-hsiung** were murdered in their home in Taipei in broad daylight. Mr. Lin is a prominent opposition leader, who was imprisoned at the time for his involvement in “Formosa Magazine”, a publication which was pushing for democracy and human rights on the island. Until now the Kuomintang authorities have failed to resolve the murder, although there were clear indications of involvement of the KMT's secret police.

The February 28 Monument which was unveiled in Taipei was designed by Mr. **Cheng Tze-tsai**, a former political prisoner.

## President Lee apologizes

During the ceremonies on February 28, President Lee Teng-hui finally made an apology to the families of the victims of the incident. President Lee in his speech acknowledged “mistakes made by the government” and expressed his “most sincere apology.” He asked for “forgiveness,” so that “we can transform hostility and sadness into harmony and peace.”

He also admonished that “this memorial serves as a warning to keep us vigilant so that we never make the same mistake again.” He promised to continue the process of healing by “opening up historical records, offering compensation to the families of victims, and proclaiming February 28 as a memorial day.” It was a significant step in the direction of reconciliation between the native Taiwanese majority on the island and those who came over from the mainland after World War II.

However, the event was marred by a controversy over the inscription for the monument: families of the victims found the inscription prepared by the Executive Yuan unacceptable because it tried to whitewash the incident and attempted to rationalize the policies of the KMT on the bloody 1947 crackdown. Thus, the plaque was left blank on the day of dedication.

## The Legislative Yuan passes Compensation

On 22 March 1995, the Legislative Yuan in Taipei, after a heated debate, approved a proposal to grant compensation of up to NT\$ six million (US\$ 230,000) to relatives of persons who were killed, injured, or imprisoned in 1947 and subsequent years. The law that was passed also stipulated that February 28 would be declared a “Peace Memorial Day.”

The democratic opposition of the DPP had pressed for a higher compensation amount, and argued that the compensation should be paid from the Kuomintang bulging party coffers and not by the taxpayers.

## The cover-up continues

The DPP also urged the government to identify those responsible for the massacre and to prosecute those who are still alive. According to historical records the then-Governor Chen Yi was a key figure, and many military men involved in the murders later rose to high positions in the Kuomintang hierarchy. Most of these are now in retirement, some in the United States.

According to a report in the **Far Eastern Economic Review** (“*Past Time*”, 23 March 1995), a former body guard of Governor Chen Yi, Mr. Shu Tao, also implicated Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek himself: Mr. Shu recently told a press conference in Taipei that he was present when the then Governor received a telegram from Chiang ordering him to suppress any opposition. According to Shu, the message was chillingly concise: “Kill them all, keep it secret.”

Mr. Shu was then ordered to pass the telegram on to general **Ke Yuan-fen**, then chief of the Command of State Security, the forerunner of the infamous Taiwan Garrison Command. Mr. Ke is considered one of the people primarily responsible for the atrocities during and after the 1947 Incident. Historians in Taiwan believe the document could be among the personal papers of general Ke, who is living in retirement in Monterey Park in Southern California.

Another person responsible for the tragedy, General **Peng Meng-chi**, is living in retirement in Taiwan. He conducted a reign of terror in the southern city of Kaohsiung, and was often referred to as the “Butcher of Kaohsiung.” Up until now the Kuomintang authorities have failed to charge him for the crimes he committed.

Scholars who want to conduct research about the February 28 incident complain that they do not have direct access to a number of government archives. Although the Executive Yuan's Ad Hoc Committee on 2-28 Incident has so far issued two volumes of findings from the archives, the Department of Defense continues to refuse to make public records in its archives covering the period from 1945 to 1950.

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## China, the US and Taiwan

### *Of Copyrights and Human Rights*

During January and February 1995, the question of copyrights and intellectual property rights was high on the agenda between the US and China. The problem was that rampant Chinese piracy of American computer software, music CDs, videos and movies was costing the American software, music and movie industry billions of dollars annually.

In an attempt to enforce copyrights, the US threatened trade sanctions amounting to some US\$ one billion / year against China, and set a February 26th deadline. In the end, the two sides came to an accord, and China reportedly agreed to clamp down on pirate manufacturers of CDs and to start abiding by international copyright agreements. The accord had a price for the US too: according to news reports China insisted that the US support China's application as a founding member of the World Trade Organization. On 12 March 1995, US Trade Representative Mickey Kantor stated that the US would do so.

The US firmness on the economic front was combined with a new willingness of the Clinton Administration to take China to task on the issue of human rights. In its annual Human Rights report, made public in the beginning of February 1995, the State Department concluded that during the past year there was "*no significant, concrete improvement in China's human rights record.*"

In the beginning of March 1995, at the annual meeting of the 53-member UN Human Rights Commission, the US also backed a European draft resolution, which expressed concern at continuing reports of violations and severe restrictions of fundamental freedoms. Regrettably, the resolution was narrowly defeated by a 21-20 vote, after China strenuously lobbied against it.

**Taiwan Communiqué comment:** While we welcome the renewed attention given by the US to human rights in China, the overall picture of US policy towards China is still fuzzy. The 15-month old policy of the Clinton Administration is termed “Comprehensive Engagement”, but it ends up more like a hodge-podge of uncoordinated events, often in contradiction with each other. Sending Hazel O’Leary to China to sign energy contracts at the time when the US Trade Representative was going through its final round of trade negotiations, and US defense officials cozying up to the Peoples Liberation Army while the State Department was trying to tackle human rights are just a few of them.

## Jiang Zemin’s “Eight Point Plan”

On 30 January 1995, on the eve of lunar New Year, Mr. **Jiang Zemin**, who serves both as China’s President and general secretary of the Communist Party, gave a speech in Peking which was heralded by the Chinese authorities as a “major new initiative.” The speech, titled “Continue to promote the reunification of the motherland” contained eight points, which we briefly summarize below:

1. Adherence to the principle of “one China.” The PRC firmly opposes any words or actions aimed at creating an independent Taiwan...
2. The PRC does not challenge the development of non-governmental economic and cultural ties by Taiwan with other countries (ADB, APEC membership under the name “Chinese Taipei”). However, the PRC opposes Taiwan’s activities in “expanding its living space internationally”...
3. Negotiations with the Taiwan authorities on the reunification of China: “on the premise that there is only one China, we are prepared to talk with the Taiwan authorities about any matter ... as a first step, negotiations should be held and an agreement reached on officially ending the state of hostility ...



Mr. Jiang Zemin to Mr. Lee Teng-hui: "So long as you sit down, we can discuss anything...."

4. We should strive for the peaceful reunification of the motherland since Chinese should not fight fellow Chinese. Our not undertaking to give up the use of force is not directed against our compatriots in Taiwan but against the schemes of foreign forces to interfere with China's reunification ... (sic). i.e. China continues to reserve the right to use force, but this time directs it also at "schemes of foreign forces" (Ed).
5. Efforts should be made to expand economic exchanges and cooperation between the two sides of the Taiwan Straits.... We shall continue .... the policy of encouraging industrialists and businessmen from Taiwan to invest in the mainland ... and speed up the establishment of postal, air, and shipping services and trade ...
6. "The splendid culture of five thousand years ...constitutes an important basis for the peaceful reunification of the motherland ...."
7. We should fully respect the lifestyle, the legitimate rights and interests of the 21 million "compatriots in Taiwan", and their wish to be the masters of their country..
8. Leaders of the Taiwan authorities are welcome to pay visits in the appropriate capacities. However, the affairs of the Chinese people "should be handled by ourselves, something that does not take an international occasion to accomplish."

One of the best comments on Mr. Jiang's speech in the international press was given by Mr. Frank Ching in the **Far Eastern Economic Review** ("*Jiang Zemin goes fishing*", 2 March 1995), who concluded that the overture is a sinister ploy to lure Taiwan into a dialogue.

Mr. Ching states that if Taipei accepts Jiang's premises, the game is over. He concludes: "China is not about to give away anything basic, while what it wants from Taiwan is nothing short of total capitulation."

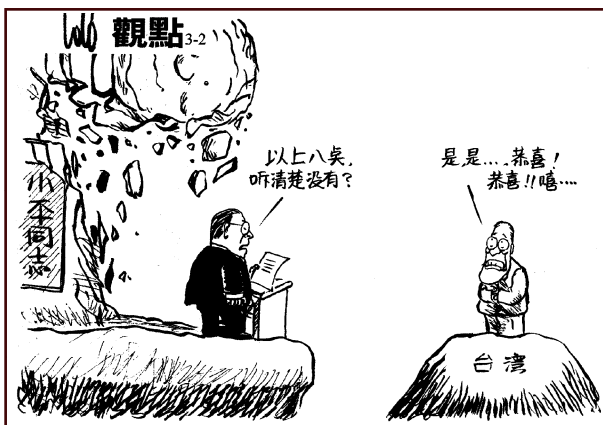
The Taipei authorities themselves reacted in a muddled fashion: on 30 January 1995, an official of Taipei's Mainland Affairs Council stated that "There is nothing new in Jiang's words. They lack constructiveness and do nothing for the development of relations between the two sides."

This line was reiterated on 6 February by a spokesman of the Kuomintang party, who said: "Their way of speaking has changed ... it is less rigid than before, but that does not necessarily mean they have changed their way of thinking: they are trying to hide their old intentions." However, on the same day, president Lee Teng-hui stated that the offer was important and should be considered carefully.

Mr. Jiang's words indeed proved to be a slick facade: on 24 February 1995, Taiwan's Chief of General Staff Liu Ho-chien disclosed that just at the time of Jiang Zemin's speech, China secretly moved two missile contingents and M-class missile bases from Kiangsi Province to Fukien Province, across the Strait from Taiwan. The range of the missiles is 1000 miles, bringing Taiwan within easy range.

### *Taiwan Communiqué*

**comment:** *Mr. Jiang's Eight-point proposal is old wine in a leaky bottle: it reiterates the old and unworkable "one country, two systems" proposal and adds some reasonably-sounding signals. However, the essence of the matter has not changed, and Mr. Jiang fails to recognize the reality that the Taiwanese people have developed their own identity, and do not consider themselves*



**Mr. Jiang (under the crumbling China rock):**  
*"Did I make my eight points clear?"*  
**President Lee:** *"Yes...yes....congratulations ..."*

*Chinese, just as Americans do not consider themselves British subjects anymore.*

*The reality is that Taiwan and China are lightyears apart in terms of economic development (Taiwan has a per capita GDP of approximately US\$ 12,000, while China is lingering below US\$ 400), social development, and culture. Against the background of these tremendous differences and in view of the achievements of the Taiwanese people in terms of the political and human rights, trying to force Taiwan into the "embrace of the motherland" is neither right, rational nor reasonable.*

*Mr. Jiang's assurances that "Chinese not fight fellow Chinese" sound very hollow, certainly after the bloody crackdown of Tienanmen in 1989. His promise that China will respect the lifestyle, the legitimate rights and interests of the 21 million "compatriots in Taiwan", is totally incredible in view of the lack of human rights in China itself, the Chinese repression in Tibet, and the repeated attempts by China to stifle freedom of the press, speech and political expression in Hong Kong.*

*The new reality is that Taiwan is already a de-facto independent country, and that China's railings against Taiwan independence only prevent the development of a peaceful solution to the problem across the Taiwan Straits.*

*If China seriously wants to move towards accommodation with Taiwan it needs to recognize Taiwan as a friendly neighbor, which deserves a full place under the international sun. China's attempts to block Taiwan membership in the United Nations and other international bodies need to be stopped.*

## ***China after Deng: Break-up, Chaos, or Bureaucracy ?***

During the past few months, a number of American studies and articles in the international press focused on what could happen in China after the death of Deng Xiaoping. The press articles were spurred by reports that Mr. Deng's health was deteriorating. In a particularly candid interview with the **New York Times** (13 January 1995) Mr. Deng's daughter, Deng Rong, stated that Mr. Deng's health was "declining day by day" and that he was unable to stand or walk.

The study that received most attention was a Pentagon-commissioned study titled "***China in the Near Term.***" It was performed during the summer of 1994, but was not made public until the end of January 1995. The study concluded that there is "...a 50/50 chance that the current transition period will lead to a Soviet-style break-up of China."

The Pentagon study states that such a break-up may not occur immediately, but that tensions caused by regional and factional fighting may remain below the surface for some time, and not come to a boiling point until anywhere from one to several years later. In such a scenario, a successor who initially seems to have the upper hand, such as Mr. Jiang Zemin, will eventually give way to other power contenders.

Other analysts, such as David Shambaugh of the London School of Oriental and African Studies ("*Beyond China's deathwatch, a future to worry about*", **International Herald Tribune**, 21-22 January 1995) agree that in contrast to the succession struggle after the death of Mao in 1976, "...the succession to Mr. Deng is likely to be smooth in the near term. The situation six months or a year later is less predictable."



In his article, Mr. Shambaugh identifies a number of power contenders, who are likely to attempt to wrestle power away from the present President and Communist party general secretary Jiang Zemin. He concludes: “China is in many ways a tinderbox that needs only a match, and deaths of senior leaders have provided such ignition in the past. If China erupts after Mr. Deng dies, and authoritarian retrenchment and the spilling of blood to maintain the part in power are a far more likely scenario than the blossoming of Chinese democracy.”

Another prominent analyst, Mr. Philip Bowring gives a slightly less negative appraisal, but only very slightly so (“*In China After Deng, It appears the successor may be bureaucracy*”, **International Herald Tribune**, 22 March 1995). Mr. Bowring describes the contending forces and concludes: “...the complexity of the cross-currents makes a repeat of the post-Mao scenario unlikely. Some heads will roll and some purges will occur, as they always do when the guard changes. But the future looks more like Moscow after the passing of Nikita Khrushchev — a dreary but unalarming thought.”

**Taiwan Communiqué comment:** *Whichever way China goes, it is an unattractive prospect for Taiwan to “unify” with. Some American academics and observers in the press have been arguing that under the present sensitive circumstances one should not “provoke” China by pushing for President Lee Teng-hui’s visit to Cornell University or for Taiwan’s membership in the UN (see “Republicans may hurt Taiwan by trying to do it favors”, **Business Week**, 27 February 1995).*

*We argue that the views of the Chinese leadership (and of some American academics) are still mired in the old Chinese Civil War conflict with the Kuomintang. However, a new reality has evolved, in which — in the course of the past four decades — the people of Taiwan have achieved a new entity “Taiwan”, with its own territory, people, and government. This new Taiwan deserves to be fully accepted in the international community.*

*It is essential for the Kuomintang authorities to move away from their old “Republic of China” syndrome, and to take decisive steps towards this new reality. They will find that once they do that, Taiwan will be met with increasing international recognition. In due time, China will learn to live with this reality, and will actually find that coming to an accommodation with Taiwan is in its own benefit.*

*We are convinced that downplaying the new Taiwan reality for fear of provoking China would be severely detrimental to stability in East Asia, since it would actually encourage China to continue its extra-territorial claims in the same way*

*as UK Prime Minister Chamberlain 1938 “Munich Accord” encouraged Hitler to continue claiming neighboring countries, such as Czechoslovakia, the Netherlands and Belgium (which were invaded not long after “Munich”).*

*For the Taiwanese people, the matter is highly sensitive too: our future as a free, democratic and independent nation is at stake.*

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## **China’s Military Threat Increasing** *Buying Submarines from Russia*

In the beginning of February 1995, the **Wall Street Journal** reported that China was purchasing four Kilo-class diesel-powered submarines from Russia, and that the first vessel was already on its way to China aboard a Chinese freighter. The ship arrived in a Chinese port on 27 February 1995.

Jane’s Defence Weekly



**The first Russian Kilo-submarine on its way to China**

The move significantly raises the tension level in the East Asia region, because it enables China to project its power at greater distances from its shores than was possible until now. The new submarines in particular could be used by China in case of a blockade of Taiwan, and in a conflict with neighboring South East Asian Nations around the Spratley Islands (see below).

In the beginning of March 1995, the Hong Kong-based **South China Morning Post** reported that China had agreed to buy six more submarines from Russia, and had held discussions with the Russians to buy another 12 Russian submarines later this decade,

bringing the total purchase to 22 submarines, a major force under any circumstances. This report was confirmed in a testimony before the Senate Armed Services Committee by US Chief of Naval Operations, Admiral Jeremy Boorda.

## *The Spratley Move in the South China Sea*

Another significant event during the first three months of 1995 was the occupation by Chinese forces of Mischief Shoal, a horseshoe-shaped reef in the Spratley Islands which is closest to the Philippine's Palawan island, and is generally considered to be part of the Philippine's territory in the island group. A report on this was published in the **Washington Post** ("*China takes over Philippine-claimed area of disputed island group*", February 11, 1995).

Chinese forces constructed several buildings atop the reef, and claimed they were "shelters for fishermen." However, the Philippine government published pictures of several Chinese navy supply vessels and a submarine-support ship around the reef.

President Fidel Ramos stated that the Chinese actions were inconsistent with international law, and with the 1992 Manila Declaration on the Spratley's, which was endorsed by China and other South East Asian nations claiming parts of the island group.

The Chinese move was also strongly condemned in the US Congress, where Congressman Benjamin Gilman (R-NY), the chairman of the House Foreign Relations Committee, introduced a Resolution declaring that peace and stability in the South China Sea is a matter of strategic national security interest to the United States, its friends and allies.

In his remarks introducing the Resolution to the House, Mr. Gilman mentioned that in 1992 the PRC's Congress had passed a statute asserting its claim to all of the South China Sea and declaring it to be PRC territorial waters. The full text of Mr. Gilman's resolution is as follows:

**Expressing the sense of the House of Representatives that the United States should support peace and stability in the South China Sea.**

**Whereas the South China Sea is a critically important waterway through which 25 percent of the world's ocean freight and 70 percent of Japan's energy supplies transit;**

Whereas the South China Sea serves as a crucial sea lane for United States Navy ships moving between the Pacific and Indian Oceans, particularly in time of emergency;

Whereas there are a number of competing claims to territory in the South China Sea;

Whereas the 1992 Manila Declaration adhered to by the Association of South East Asian Nations, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, and the People's Republic of China calls for all claimants to territory in the South China Sea to resolve questions of boundaries through peaceful negotiations;

Whereas the legislature of the People's Republic of China has declared the entire South China Sea to be Chinese territorial waters;

Whereas the armed forces of the People's Republic of China have asserted China's claim to the South China Sea through the kidnaping of citizens of the Republic of the Philippines and the construction of military bases on territory claimed by the Philippines; and

Whereas the acts of aggression committed by the armed forces of the People's Republic of China against citizens of the Philippines are contrary to both international law and to peace and stability in East Asia;

*Now, therefore, be it Resolved, That the House of Representatives—*

- (1) declares the right of free passage through the South China Sea to be in the national security interests of the United States, its friends, and allies;
- (2) declares that any attempt by a nondemocratic power to assert, through the use of force of intimidation, its claims to territory in the South China Sea to be a matter of grave concern to the United States;
- (3) calls upon the Government of the People's Republic of China to adhere faithfully to its commitment under the Manila Declaration of 1992; and
- (4) calls upon the President of the United States to review the defense needs of democratic countries with claims to territory in the South China Sea.

## *The Israeli Aircraft Technology Sale*

At the end of December 1994 the **Los Angeles Times** published a report by Mr. Jim Mann that Israel was assisting China in the development of a new fighter aircraft, based on Lavi-technology (see *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 64, pp. 16-17). At the time China denied that the cooperation was taking place at all, while Israel denied that American technology was involved.

In mid-March 1995, the US-publication **Aviation Week & Space Technology** gave further details on the Chinese aircraft development and the Israeli involvement (“*New Chinese Fighter Nears Prototyping*”, March 13, 1995). The article stated that the Chinese F-10 next-generation fighter resembles a cross between the US F-16 fighter and the Israeli Lavi. According to the report, a prototype will fly within the next one or two years, while the aircraft will be fully operational in the beginning of the next century.

The article also gave details on the assistance given by Israel to the Chinese, which consisted of an advanced radar package and avionics which would enable the Chinese fighter to engage in “over-the-horizon” air combat. For the propulsion system, the Chinese are looking to the Russians, which sold China some 50 Sukhoi Su-27 fighters three years ago. The engine for the Chinese F-10 would be based on the Su-27’s durable Saturn/Lyulka AL-31F turbofan engine.

***Taiwan Communiqué comment:*** *we urge the Israeli authorities to stop the transfer of the radar and avionics technology to China immediately. This sale to China provides assistance to a repressive regime which has openly stated it will use violence against its much smaller neighbors.*

*Being a small country in between a number of hostile larger neighbors in the Middle East, Israel should be sensitive to the view that Taiwan and other small neighbors of China consider this assistance a threat to their safety and security and a destabilizing factor in the East Asia region. Just like Israel does not wish any country outside the Middle East to enhance the military capability of countries such as Syria, in the same way, Taiwan and other East Asian countries do not like to see Israel enhance the military capability of China.*

## *The US Response: A New Security Strategy*

The increasing capability of China to project its military power at greater distances from its shores was one of the major reasons for the United States to halt the withdrawal of US troops from East Asia, and to decide to maintain the overall troop level in the region at approximately 100,000.

The new policy was announced by the US Department of Defense on 27 February 1995 in a strategy paper titled “*United States Security Strategy for the East Asia-Pacific Region.*”

On China, the report noted that Peking’s military build-up had generated uncertainty about its plans, and urged greater transparency in China’s defense programs, strategy, and doctrine.

A few days after publication of the report, the commander of the US forces in the Pacific, Admiral Richard C. Macke, expressed his concern about China’s new aggressiveness in an interview with the **International Herald Tribune** (“*US Admiral warns of China’s Big New Navy*”, 8 March 1995).

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## **The KMT retreats on Media Censorship**

### *Radio Host on Hunger Strike in Washington*

After the December 1994 elections, the KMT authorities began a series of raids on opposition radio stations by seizing their broadcasting equipment in order to cripple their operations (see “*Press Freedom Again Endangered in Taiwan*”, in **Taiwan Communiqué** no. 64).

The matter became an international affair at the end of January 1995, when Mr. **Hsu Jung-chi**, the popular talk-show host of the “*Voice of Taiwan*” station in Taipei, staged a five-day hunger strike in front of the Taiwan Economical and Cultural Representative Office (TECRO) in Washington D.C.

Mr. Hsu went on hunger strike to protest the crackdown by police and the censorship by the Government Information Office, and hoped to focus international attention on the issue of media control by the KMT authorities. Mr. Hsu and four of his colleagues braved sub-zero temperatures by sleeping at night in a van parked by the street in front of the Kuomintang's Office in DC at Wisconsin Avenue.

The Taiwanese community in the Greater Washington D.C. area lent its support to the hunger strikers by organizing a demonstration in front of the TECRO office on 28 January 1995. About a hundred Taiwanese-Americans, including university students and some sympathetic American friends took part in the two-hour demonstration.

## *A Hearing in Congress*

The KMT crackdown on Taiwan's pirate stations also caught the attention of the U.S. Congress. On 2 February 1995, Congressman **Peter Deutch** (D-Florida) held a hearing in the US Capitol to investigate the KMT monopoly over Taiwan's electronic media. Other Congressional participants included representatives Matt Salmon (R-Arizona) and Sherrod Brown (D-OH).



**Mr. Hsu Jong-chi**

Witnesses included Mr. Hsu Jung-chi, the owner and anchor of the Voice of Taiwan, DPP legislator Chang Chun-hung, Mr. Michael Fonte, an American journalist who lived and worked in Taiwan in the late 1960s and Mr. Wes Pippert, who is on the faculty of the University of Missouri. Representatives from the Taiwan government, although invited, did not attend the hearing.

DPP legislator Chang Chun-hung testified that the three major television stations are controlled by the Government. Taiwan Television (TTV) is controlled by the Taiwan provincial government, China Television (CTV) is a propaganda arm of the KMT-party itself, while the Chinese Television Service (CTS) is run by the Department of Defense. He also pointed out that during the December elections, the opposition DPP candidates received virtually no coverage on the three KMT-controlled television stations.

Mr. Hsu Jung-chi pointed out that the **Broadcast and Television Law** is unconstitutional and must be abolished, and a neutral organization (similar to the FCC in the

United States) should be established to allocate air-wave frequencies to independent stations in a fair and impartial manner.

American journalist Mike Fonte said that *“until the time that independent television and radio stations operate in Taiwan, real democracy will not flourish because governmental accountability will be lacking and real debate during election cycles will not be possible.”*

## *The Fourth Television Station*

On 9 March 1995, the **Formosan Association for Public Affairs** (FAPA) in Washington D.C. held a congressional luncheon in the Congress to continue the campaign to open up Taiwan’s electronic media. Congressmen Deutsch (D-FL), Sherrod Brown (D-OH) and Robert Torricelli (D-NJ) spoke at the luncheon.

The Kuomintang authorities, under criticism at home and abroad for their monopoly on the three existing stations, last year finally decided to take a small step in the right direction by opening up a fourth television station. According to reports from Taiwan, the license for the fourth station will be issued at the end of April. A group of DPP legislators and their supporters have pooled their resources together and applied for the license. However, their competitor is Mr. Chen Tien-mao, a KMT member and speaker of Kaohsiung City Council, who is the head of a multi-million dollars business group.

DPP Legislators Chang Chun-hung, Chai Trong-rong, former DPP Legislator Tien Tsai-ting and Mrs. Yu Chen Yueh-yin,

the former county magistrate of Kaohsiung County, attended the FAPA luncheon and urged US Congressional leaders to impress upon the KMT authorities that fairness and a level playing field require that the democratic opposition on the island have full access to the electronic media. They emphasized that at a minimum, the license for the fourth television station be given to the democratic opposition.



**Protesting for Taiwanese press freedom in Washington**



# Report from Washington

## *Lee Teng-hui's Travels: Cornell or Bust ?*

Mr. Lee Teng-hui's travels abroad have attracted an extraordinary amount of international attention, not in the least because the Chinese authorities in Peking opposed his travel at every turn, whether he named them "vacation diplomacy" or "golf diplomacy." The last episode took place in May 1994, when the US State Department only granted Mr. Lee permission for a refueling stop at Hawaii, when he was on his way to central America.

During the past few weeks, a tightly orchestrated campaign got underway in the US Congress to prepare for the next episode: granting Mr. Lee permission to visit the United States to attend a reunion at his alma mater, Cornell University in Ithaca, NY in June 1995. Cornell has invited Mr. Lee to attend and deliver the Olin lecture, a major campus event.

In two Concurrent Resolutions introduced in the Senate and the House on 6 March 1995, the Congressional proponents urged the Clinton Administration to grant Mr. Lee permission for a "private" visit to US soil to attend the Cornell event and an economic conference in Anchorage, Alaska.

***Taiwan Communiqué comment:*** *The move is creating a diplomatic headache for the Clinton Administration because of the opposition from China. However, this is precisely why the US should move ahead, and grant Mr. Lee permission to visit Cornell: to show China that with regard to Taiwan it cannot dictate its views on others in the international community.*

*Still, Mr. Lee has not been democratically elected — as was incorrectly stated by some members of the US Congress and one newspaper editorial (**Wall Street Journal**, 15 March 1995). He was **appointed** by the National Assembly in a closed process in March 1990. The National Assembly at the time still largely consisted of old mainlanders, elected in China in 1947. Only approximately 7.5% of the almost 800 members of the Assembly had been elected by the people of Taiwan.*

*But Mr. Lee is certainly democratically-minded, and deserves credit for guiding the previously repressive Kuomintang on the road towards democracy. He will have an opportunity to show if he can be truly democratically elected in the first direct popular elections of the President in March 1996. His visit to Cornell might even play a role in influencing that election.*

## ***“Taiwan-into-the-UN” Resolutions Galore***

During the past few weeks, there has been a proliferation of “Taiwan-into-the-UN” resolutions in the US-Congress: in our previous issue we already reported on one text, which was proposed by Representative Gerald Solomon (R-NY). We argued that Mr. Solomon’s effort was ill-advised, because it contained a number of critical weaknesses (see *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 64, p. 31). However, shortly afterwards, Mr. Paul Simon (D-IL) introduced a similar resolution in the Senate.

In February, the two resolutions prompted cumbersome negotiations in Taipei between the Foreign Ministry and a number of DPP-legislators on a text which would be acceptable to both sides of the political spectrum in Taiwan.

However, while these negotiations on a new text were ongoing, the old text introduced by Senator Paul Simon was put on the table of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. This Resolution (S.Con.Res. 3, “*Relative to Taiwan and the United Nations*”) was passed unanimously on 22 March 1995 — together with a “*Let-President-Lee-visit-the-US*” Resolution.

In the meantime, in the middle of March, Mr. Solomon indicated his willingness to consider a proposal by Mr. Robert Torricelli (D-NJ) to modify the text of his Resolution in the direction acceptable to the democratic opposition on the island.

At the time of publication of this issue of *Taiwan Communiqué* no definitive text had been issued yet, but according to reports in Washington, a new resolution with language acceptable to both sides of the political spectrum in Taiwan will be introduced in April 1995 in the Senate by Foreign Relations chairman Jesse Helms (R-NC) and in the House by International Relations chair Benjamin Gilman (R-NY).

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## **Second Generation report**

### ***“How I Became a Taiwanese-American and why It Matters”***

**By Kristie Wang, Program Director Center for Taiwan International Relations.**  
*Excerpted from speech given at the 1995 ITASA Conference, ARCO Forum of Public Affairs, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, February 4, 1995.*

**I am a Taiwanese American.** Yet I did not wake up one day and become one. It was a process. So, to borrow from the title of a speech Professor Keelung Hong made in 1992, I am going to speak about “How I Became a Taiwanese American and Why It Matters.”

First of all, how did I arrive at this self-identification as a “Taiwanese American?” Well, the “Taiwanese” part was easy because I was born in Taiwan, my parents were born there, and — except for the few who had emigrated — all of my relatives were there. This label also made me feel comfortable because I needed a way to explain my differences from the other people around me in America.

Even after I became fluent in English and had assimilated in many ways into the American culture, I felt different from most of my friends in suburban California. I didn’t speak English with my parents, our family dinners centered around rice, and we took our shoes off when we entered the house. Telling myself and my friends that “I’m Taiwanese” seemed to be an adequate explanation for all of us. Yes, back then, I used to just call myself “Taiwanese.” I didn’t feel very “American,” even though I did well academically, had many friends, and was a cheerleader in high school and college. Ironically, it was only when I took my first trip back to Taiwan in the summer before my senior year of college that I began to understand the “American” part of my identity and began to feel uncomfortable without attaching it to the end of “I’m Taiwanese.”

During the 13 years before I made my first trip back to Taiwan after we immigrated to America, I always felt a strong attachment to Taiwan. I spoke Taiwanese “with no accent,” my parents kept me updated on my relatives and on current events in Taiwan, and I watched videotapes of Taiwanese TV shows. I was proud of saying to people, “I feel more Taiwanese than I do American.” I thought that when I went back to Taiwan, everything would suddenly fall into place and I would feel complete.

So, it was a real surprise to me when I went back and realized that though I spoke the same language, ate the same food, and watched the same TV shows, the 13 years in America had made me different from the Taiwanese people of Taiwan. I dressed differently, had different social ideas, and interacted differently with people. On top of that, my friends and relatives assumed that I had lost the “Taiwanese” part of my identity. It took me at least two weeks to realize that they were talking about me whenever they said “that American.”

It was during these three-plus months I spent in Taiwan that I began to understand the “American” part Of my identity and began to feel the most comfortable identifying

myself as “Taiwanese American.” So, that’s “How I Became a Taiwanese American.” To explain “Why It Matters,” I’d like to share with you part two of this story. Whenever I tell people that I’m a Taiwanese American, I brace myself and prepare to explain or defend my identity. I’m sure that those of you who identify yourselves as “Taiwanese” in one form or another have encountered people who think you are either Thai or that you’re Chinese. Some may even insist that you are “the same thing” as Chinese.

When I was younger, this used to be the quickest way to get me mad. Just start telling me that “Taiwanese” is “the same thing” as “Chinese” and I would feel blood rising to my head, I start getting hot, and my head starts buzzing so I can’t think. It made me so angry because I had always identified strongly with Taiwan and the only things I associated with China were its ongoing attempts to colonize Taiwan and the genocide and linguicide by the losers of its Civil War who had fled to Taiwan in the late 1940s.

Moreover, it seemed so unfair that other people could say they were Korean or Italian or Egyptian and no one would try to tell them that they were something else. It was incredible to me that people who knew nothing about my background and even less about Taiwanese history would try to argue with me about my claim to a Taiwanese identity.

Today I have learned that the best way to counter that frustration is through education — to educate myself and to educate the people around me. Normally, I wouldn’t insist that anyone go out and learn about his or her ancestry. The United States is made up, for the most part, of people whose ancestors came from someplace else. I wouldn’t insist that a third-generation Italian American read about the history of Italy or follow up on current events in Italy. However, I would ask that of you, if you are of Taiwanese descent. One important reason is that if you are of Taiwanese descent and you identify yourself as “Chinese” because you think that the use of “Taiwanese” is “political” and “Chinese” is “neutral,” then you are not only wrong, but you are committing a great disservice.

In the introduction to the book *Taiwanese Culture, Taiwanese Society*, which he co-authored with Keelung Hong, Stephen Murray argues that “accepting official definitions and labels ... is as political as using those of oppressed minorities and that to accept (and reproduce) the lexicon of dominators provides them undeserved legitimization.” \*1

What this means is that use of the label “Chinese” to indicate a person of Taiwanese descent is ALSO political — because it legitimizes China’s claim to Taiwan and it is an acceptance of Chinese efforts to wipe out the Taiwanese identity, language, and culture. You have to realize that there *IS* no “neutral” when it comes to making the distinction between Taiwanese and Chinese. If you say you don’t care about the

distinction, then you are choosing to perpetuate a myth through your complacency. In this case, complacency is complicity.

We must realize that if we do not make the distinction between Taiwanese and Chinese, then nobody will do it for us. To take it another step further, if you don't determine your own identity, then it will be imposed upon you, as Taiwan's history has demonstrated time and time again. Our parents and ancestors did not have a choice in determining their identities, and they were beaten, jailed, blacklisted, and killed for trying — because they wanted to ensure that we would have this choice.

Today Taiwanese all over the world have the opportunity for the first time in our tragic history to write our own page. The United States is an important ally in ensuring the safety and security of the people of Taiwan. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights says that "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights." Our friends and family, brothers and sisters in Taiwan are being denied this dignity and these rights. *WE* can do something about it. *THAT* is why it matters.

\*1. **Stephen O. Murray**, *"Introduction, Taiwanese Culture, Taiwanese Society: A Critical Review of the Social Science Research Done on Taiwan."* Stephen O. Murray and Keelung Hong, University Press of America, 1994, p.11.

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## Notes

### *Taiwanese Women Speak Out for Rights*

In spite of Taiwan's economic prosperity and the democratic reforms achieved in recent decades, women are still struggling for equal rights in Taiwan's male-dominated society.

As the leading women's rights group, **Awakening Foundation**, recently pointed out, many laws actually still discriminate against women. Under the Family Code law, a woman has no right to claim any property from her husband and she loses the right for custody of her children in the event of a divorce.

Other laws forbid woman to file for a divorce without her husband's consent unless she can prove his infidelity, or show evidence that she has been physically abused or

provide evidence that he has been charged and sentenced to a prison term of three years or longer.

Women in Taiwan are also discriminated in many work places. In certain occupations, they have to forgo marriage and motherhood, if they want to keep their job. The practice of dismissing female workers after they get married or become pregnant is most common in the banking industry such as credit unions, stock exchange, farmers union, and in the service industry such as sales jobs in department stores, clothing stores, beauty salons, and private companies. Some companies ask that only single females under the age of 25 can apply for jobs.

Women's organization complain that changing the entrenched practice of hiring single females in work place has been hindered by the reluctance of the Kuomintang authorities to enforce the law of equal employment. Lawyers representing the Awakening Foundation



### Women in Taipei demonstrating for Rights

have now proposed the elimination and modification of roughly 100 articles of the legislation. On 8 March 1995, Women's Day, a draft of an amendment of Taiwan's Civil Code of the family, endorsed by 30 women's organizations, was presented to the Legislative Yuan.

During the week leading up to the March 8th event, some 30,000 women in Taiwan conducted a walkout from their workplaces, schools and kitchens. On 2 March 1995,

women toll collectors demonstrated at the freeway toll station in Taishan outside Taipei against the Freeway Bureau's ban on employing married women.

On Wednesday, 8 March 1995, the campaign culminated in a demonstration in front of Taiwan's parliament, the Legislative Yuan. More than 30 women's organizations were represented, and a 50-meter long banner bearing more than 30,000 signatures was presented to Legislative Yuan members.

## *New Evidence in 1979 Political Case*

In a recently published memoirs, a former deputy chief of the Investigation Bureau of the Ministry of Justice (IBMJ) disclosed that the 1979 sedition charges against former county magistrate of Kaohsiung, Mr. Yu Teng-fa, was fabricated by agents of the Investigation Bureau.

Mr. **Yu Teng-fa**, the patriarch of the Yu family, was a prominent leader in the then nascent "dangwai" opposition movement in the late 1970s. He was elected for two terms as the magistrate of Kaohsiung county. In early 1979, he was imprisoned on false "sedition" charges and tried in a show trial which raised eyebrows in the international press: see **Far Eastern Economic Review** ("*A Magistrate goes on trial*", March 23 1979, and "*The Man Who Didn't Inform*", May 4, 1979). Mr. Yu was sentenced to eight years imprisonment, but was later released on medical bail. He was found dead in his house in Kaohsiung in 1991 under suspicious circumstances. The authorities claimed his death was a result of an accident.

Mr. Kao Ming-hui, who was the Bureau's station chief in Kaohsiung City in 1979, wrote in his memoirs that the arrest of Mr. Yu was part of a scheme drawn up by the Political Warfare Department of the Ministry of Defense to imprison prominent opposition leaders on false charges.

Mr. Yu was charged for "harboring a communist agent and making propaganda for the communists." Mr. Kao wrote in his memoirs that the so-called Communist agent was in fact a mentally unstable person, who could not even recognize the flag of the People's Republic of China.

Mr. Yu's family has now asked the authorities to reopen the 1979 case and reexamine the evidence and bring punitive action against the officials involved in the case. They also demand an apology and compensation.