



Published by:

International Committee for Human Rights in Taiwan

Taiwan : 4Fl., 5 Ching-tao East Rd., 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

International edition, January 1996

Published 6 times a year

69

Taiwan elects new Legislative Yuan

Chinese threats and intimidations didn't work

The results of Taiwan's December 2 parliamentary elections show that China's bullying, bluff, and bluster didn't impress the island's voters. The Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) actually increased its share of the popular vote slightly, to some 33 percent, a gain of at least two percent over the 31 percent share it received in the 1992 elections. This translates into 54 seats in the 164-seat parliament, an increase of four.

This shows that China's threats and military intimidation did not sway the island's voters away from the pro-independence party, but on the contrary, solidified its support.

Yes, there is a Taiwan

The main significance of the elections is that Taiwan has achieved a stable democratic political system. Within just a few years, the island has gone through a transformation from a tightly-controlled, KMT-dominated authoritarian system to a free, open and pluralistic society.



**Winning DPP-quartet in Taipei South: Ms. Yeh Chu-lan (front)
Back row (left to right): Shen Fu-hsiung, Huang Tien-fu, and
Yen Chin-fu**

As was noted by veteran New York Times editor and writer A.M. Rosenthal, the elections show that there is a Taiwan, "...which has produced a prosperous, growingly democratic society of its own" ("Yes, there is a Taiwan", *New York Times*, 28 November 1995).

The **Washington Post** also published an article on the significance of the elections ("*Taiwan vote gives China little in bragging rights, Intimidation fails to undermine free election*", 5 December 1995). In the article, correspondent Keith Richburg gave a good analysis of the significance of the elections on cross-straits relations: "*To gauge the true measure of mainland China's reaction ... look not at what was said, but what was not.*"



Mr. Richburg focused on the fact that the government-controlled

Taiwan doorman to Chinese "bear": "*I'm sorry, we are just too busy with our elections to be frightened by you.*"

Chinese media did not report on the elections at all, and stated: "*The reason for the news blackout is simple: fear. In a country still tightly ruled by a rigid Communist Party adamantly opposed to multiparty politics, what happened across the Taiwan Strait was an anathema, a heresy, a virtual crime against the established order — it was a free democratic election.*"

Mainly local concerns

Another overall conclusion of the election results is that the voters were primarily concerned with local issues, and thus less swayed by what was happening across the Taiwan Straits.

This is partially due to the structure of Taiwan's multi-seat legislative districts, and the nature of politics on the island: candidates generally run a very individualistic campaign, and voters primarily look to support candidates who can improve their livelihood by bringing them a reduction of bureaucracy, cleaner environment, etc.

In the present elections, there was also the “new” element of the New Party, which presented itself as a “clean” party, free of the corruption and money politics which is tainting the Kuomintang. Indeed, the New Party candidates attracted support by emphasizing their qualifications as a refreshing alternative to the Kuomintang, and in fact de-emphasized their “pro-unification” stance.

The “local” flavor of the elections and the concentration on “bread-and-butter” issues was highlighted in two excellent articles in the London-based **Economist** (“*An old-fashioned election*”, 9-15 December 1995) and the Hong Kong-based **Far Eastern Economic Review** (“*Politics is Local*”, 14 December 1995). The Review article also chided overseas newspapers, such as **USA Today**, for their hasty assumptions and for incorrectly concluding that the New Party gains “proved that Taipei needed to repair its ties with China.”

The Results: Facts and Figures

Below we first give a statistical overview of the election results. On the following pages you find a more in-depth analysis.

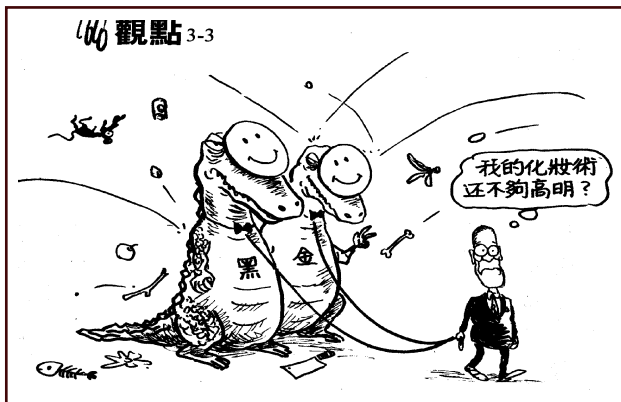
	KMT	DPP	New Party	Other small parties & non-affiliated	TOTAL
No. of Votes	4,349,089	3,132,156	1,222,931	737,960	9,442,136
Perc. of votes	46.06%	33.17%	12.95%	7.82%	100.00%
Number of seats elected:					
Regular Districts	67	41	16	4	128
“Non-regional” seats	15	11	4	0	30
Overseas Taiwanese	3	2	1	0	6
Total:	85	54	21	4	164
% of seats:	51.8%	32.9%	12.8%	2.4%	

One measure of how successful a party was in obtaining seats is the number of seats per percentage of the votes: a small computation learns that the KMT obtained 1.845 seats/percent, the DPP 1.628, the New Party 1.6216, and independents .51 (nominal is 1.64). We see that both the DPP and the New Party are close to nominal, while the Kuomintang is still quite successful in spreading its votes over the right number of candidates.

KMT loses popular majority, but maintains a thin Parliamentary edge

Still, the big loser was the ruling Kuomintang, which saw its popular support drop from 53 percent in the 1992 elections to 46 percent now. It was the first time in its history that the KMT has dropped below 50 percent in national parliamentary elections. However, through clever maneuvering in the multi-seats districts, the ruling party was able to hang on to a razor-thin majority in the Legislative Yuan: it now holds 85 seats, down 11 from the 96 seats it obtained in 1992. Only once earlier, in local elections in 1993, the KMT also received less than half the vote.

The KMT lost mainly in the metropolitan areas such as Taipei city, Taichung City and Kaohsiung City, where the New Party was making inroads into KMT strongholds, such as the military villages, which were traditionally considered "iron votes" for the KMT. The KMT still maintains a strong base in the rural area such as Hsinchu, Miaoli, Yunlin, Nan-tou and the outlying



President Lee Teng-hui: "didn't I disguise my "money-politics" and "gangster-connection" dragons well enough?"

islands of Kinmen, Matsu and Penghu. However, as was explained in a recent article in *The Economist* (see below) this is mainly due to the extensive patronage system set up by the KMT over the past decades.

The gain of the New Party at the expense of the KMT is primarily a rebellion of the voters against the KMT's "money politics", the buying of votes, and its close association with big business.

However, this election also saw a shift of pro-unification diehards from within the Kuomintang to outside the party. Without these elements inside its ranks, the ruling Kuomintang will thus be able to move much faster in the direction of the DPP. During the past few years the "Taiwanization" of the traditionally mainlander-dominated KMT has moved them much closer to positions traditionally taken by the DPP.

The DPP wins, but is hampered by factionalism

The Democratic Progressive Party increased its share of the popular vote, and its number of seats in the Legislative Yuan, in comparison with the 1992 Legislative Yuan elections. These results show that the party has a solid popular base.

The DPP is primarily made up of native Taiwanese, who constitute 85 percent of the island's population, and thus still has major growth potential on the island.

Still, the DPP's share of the vote decreased in comparison to the 1993 County Magistrate elections and the 1994 Governor and Mayors elections. Also, the DPP's performance fell short of the predictions by the DPP leadership, which estimated that the party could win up to 60 seats. The party also lost several prominent incumbents, including two former chairmen, Messrs. Chiang Peng-chien and Yao Chia-wen.

The reasons for the disappointing results are threefold: 1) due to factionalism within the party, the DPP nominated too many candidates in some areas and the votes were spread too thin. 2) The difficulty in Taiwan's multi-seat districts to spread the votes evenly, and the tendency of the DPP-voters to shift the vote to a candidate who is perceived to be weaker. A prime example was Mr. Chiang Peng-chien in Taipei-North: he was perceived to be a strong candidate, and many voters thus shifted their vote to the weaker DPP-candidates, resulting in Mr. Chiang's loss. 3) in some quarters, the DPP was also faulted for not doing enough to attract new supporters such as the middle class, women and young voters.

In **Taipei City**, the DPP received the largest number of votes and seats: it won eight seats, while the New Party won six, and the Kuomintang only four.

In **Taipei South** district, the “spread votes” strategy initiated by Legislator Shen Fu-hsiung worked successfully in getting all four candidates elected: Dr. Shen himself, Ms. Yeh Chu-lan, Messrs. Huang Tien-fu and Yen Chin-fu. Voters were asked to cast their vote for the four candidates according to the season in which they were born: those born in Winter, vote for Mr. Yin Chin-fu, those born in the Spring vote for Dr. Shen Fu-hsiung, etc.

In **Taipei County**, the DPP did poorly due to the fact that they fielded too many candidates: only four of the 10 DPP candidates were elected. The DPP captured only four seats out of the 17 seats contested. The New Party took three, KMT took eight and two independent candidates were elected. The DPP lost two incumbents, Mr. Huang Huang-hsiung and Ms. Chen Wan-chen, while Messrs. Lu Hsiu-yi and Chou Po-lun won reelection. Mr. Su Chen-chang, the former county magistrate of Pingtung and a charismatic speaker, was also elected, as was Mr. Li Ying-yuan, one of the three WUFI candidates.

In **Taichung City**, DPP won only one of the four seats contested. Mr. Tsai Ming-hsien, a lawyer and a member of the National Assembly was elected. Mr. Liu Wen-chin, an incumbent, did not win reelection. Mr. Hsu Shi-Kai, a prominent member of the World United Formosans for Independence (WUFI), who returned to Taiwan from three decades of exile in Japan two years ago, was not elected. Dr. Hsu, a scholar, ran a very fair and polite campaign, and thus perhaps did not get enough name-recognition in Taiwan's rough and tumble elections.

In **Tainan City**, the DPP had enough votes for three out of the six seats contested. However, due to an uneven spread in the votes, only Mr. Shih Ming-teh, the chairman of DPP, was elected on the DPP-ticket. The other DPP-candidate, Dr. George Chang, the chairman of WUFI, who returned from three decades of exile in the United States, lost by a slim margin.

A third candidate in Tainan was Mr. Hsu Tien-tsai, who was considered one of the party's outstanding legislator. However, in a severe miscalculation, the DPP did not nominate him. He then temporarily withdrew from the party, ran as an independent, and won as the top vote getter. Mr. Hsu has indicated he wants to rejoin the DPP.

One of the most hotly contested races took place in **Chia-yi**, in Central Taiwan, where the DPP's Chai Trong-rong and KMT's Vincent Siew, chairman of the Mainland Affairs Council, and a three-term cabinet member, ran a neck and neck race. Both drew large crowds in the thousands to their rallies. In the end Mr. Chai lost by a very small margin, to no small degree due to the Kuomintang's largesse with new projects in the area.

On the DPP's **overseas seats**, two well-know Taiwanese activists were elected: Professor Parris Chang of Pennsylvania State University, who heads the DPP's Washington DC office, and Professor Albert Lin of Toronto, Canada. For Professor Chang it was a relatively routine re-election, but for Professor Lin the election means a major change: he has lived in Canada for 35 years, and was blacklisted and banned by the Kuomintang authorities from returning to Taiwan for 33 of those years.

During his years in Canada, Prof. Lin had been instrumental in organizing Taiwanese community activities and helping to start up church groups. With what he learned of the Canadian values of social justice and human rights, he tried to help Taiwan to move from a repressive regime to a full democracy today. As a member of the Taiwan's Legislative Yuan, he will focus on national security and foreign affair issues.

What is the New Party ?

The elections also finalized the split in the ruling party between the pro status-quo followers of President Lee Teng-hui, and the pro-unification New Party, a right-wing group which split off from the KMT two years ago.

The New Party obtained some 13 percent of the vote, winning 21 seats in the Legislative Yuan at the expense of the Kuomintang. The New Party mainly consists of second-generation descendants of the Chinese mainlanders, who came over with Chiang Kai-shek in the late 1940s.

The results showed that the New Party has carved away the core of KMT's power base the military villages and the middle class. Although President Lee campaigned ceaselessly all over the island for KMT candidates, he could not help stem the slippage. The KMT loss was thus the New Party's gain.

Were the elections fair ?

While the campaign was the most open and free-for-all Taiwan had seen in its history, there were still significant shortcomings:

1. The three pro-government **television stations are still strongly biased** toward ruling party candidates. However, the influence of the "Big Three" is diminishing: cable television with over 70 channels is taking over as the major provider of news

and entertainment in Taiwan. TVBS, a Hong-Kong based satellite cable television, has replaced the three government-controlled television stations as the most popular network in Taiwan. During the election campaign, candidates from the three major parties appeared daily on the talk shows to debate different issues and answered called-in questions from viewers.

2. The Kuomintang still engaged in a major amount of **“money-politics”** while vote-buying was also still rampant, particularly in the country-side: according to the London-based **The Economist**, the KMT kept its majority “...thanks to its financial clout” (*“An old fashioned election”*, The Economist, 9-15 December 1995).

The Economist described how in the countryside the crucial irrigation societies are all Kuomintang-controlled “...so rice farmers vote against the party at their peril. In the cities, the Kuomintang handed out pork.” The magazine gave the example of the Chiayi race, which pitted the DPP’s Chai Trong-rong against the KMT’s Vincent Siew. “After promising a new college, a science park and a sports field, Mr. Siew came romping in” reported the Economist.

The New Legislative Yuan: shifting alliances

What will the new make-up of the Legislative Yuan mean: if anything, it will make life even more exciting in this already very lively body.

Although KMT still maintains a slim majority of three seats, in practice, it has lost the majority, because many KMT legislators are more keen on running their business empires, and never attend any legislative sessions. Thus, it will be necessary for the Kuomintang to work more closely with the democratic opposition in order to get legislation through.

If they wish, the DPP and New Party can join forces if they want to cooperate on issues on which they are generally aligned, such as the environment, and block KMT initiatives, such as the Fourth Nuclear power plant near Taipei.

On the other hand, because of their new-found **“Taiwan-consciousness”**, the Kuomintang will be more focused on local issues and may align more frequently with the DPP. Together they can easily outvote the minority New Party.

Some analysts in Taiwan point out that the triangular balance is good for Taiwan’s political evolution. They believe it will force the KMT to reform itself, and take strong

action against money- and gangster-politics in order to recoup lost ground in the next elections. They say that — if they expect to continue to gain new ground in future elections — the DPP and the New Party have to move toward a more centrist position.

Others are not so optimistic. They fear the Legislative Yuan could become a free-for-all, as the three parties jockey for power, and party discipline decreases. *To be continued.*

Presidential Elections coming up

Taiwan's presidential elections are scheduled for 23 March 1996. It will be the first time in the history that the people on the island will be able to cast a direct vote for their president. Until recently, the president was selected by the ruling Kuomintang in a closely-controlled vote in the National Assembly. The election is thus the culmination of Taiwan's transition from fifty years of one-party KMT dictatorship to a full-fledged democracy.

As we reported in the previous issue of *Taiwan Communiqué* (no. 68, pp. 15-17) the DPP's candidate is Professor **Peng Ming-min**, a former political science professor at Taiwan National University, who won the DPP's primary in September 1995.



Prof. Peng (right) and Mr. Hsieh (left).

His running mate is Mr. **Hsieh Chang-t'ing**, a

prominent lawyer, who became well-known in Taiwan in 1980, when he served on the defense team for the "Kaohsiung Eight." This trial of eight major opposition leaders, who were arrested after a December 1979 Kaohsiung human rights day demonstration, became a turning point in Taiwan's history. Mr. Hsieh subsequently served two terms in the Taipei City Council, and in 1989 won a seat in the Legislative Yuan. In 1992 he was reelected for another term.

Professor Peng is a long-time political activist, who played a pioneering role in the island's democracy movement: in 1964 he was arrested and imprisoned for publishing a manifesto titled "*A Declaration of Formosan Self-Salvation*", a document in which he and his co-workers called on the Kuomintang authorities to abandon their goal of "recovering" China, and urged the establishment of a democratic system under constitutional rule on the island.

He was sentenced to eight years imprisonment, which — after strong international pressure — was later converted to house arrest. In 1970 he made a dramatic escape from the island, and received political asylum in Sweden. He subsequently moved to the United States, where he became active in the overseas Taiwanese democratic movement. An account of his story can be found in his book *A Taste of Freedom, Memoirs of a Formosan Independence Leader*, published by Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972.

After 20 years in exile, he was able to return to Taiwan in November 1992, and continue his quest for a free, democratic, and independent Taiwan nation. Dr. Peng has been a lifelong human rights activist, and served as president of the Formosan Association for Public Affairs (FAPA) in Washington DC. He holds a Doctor of Law degree from the University of Paris, and L.L.M. from McGill University in Canada, and a B.A. degree from National Taiwan University.

President Lee moves to "Taiwanize" Kuomintang

In the upcoming elections President **Lee Teng-hui** is the Kuomintang's candidate. According to observers, he is expected to win, but the race could be close, because a number of dissenting Kuomintang members have declared their own candidacy, and are expected to cut into the KMT's traditional support (see article below).

A major reason for the dissent within the Kuomintang is the fact that many of the old mainlanders — and their offspring — who used to tightly control the ruling party, are gradually sidelined by President Lee, who is native Taiwanese. Mr. Lee is thus "Taiwanizing" the Kuomintang, which is increasingly becoming a more Taiwan-oriented party, and losing its mainland-Chinese roots.

However, the Kuomintang has until now not been able to discard the "unification-with-China" legacy left by the mainlanders who came over to the island with Chiang Kai-shek in the 1940s. It is possible that after the presidential elections, the new president can — with a new popular mandate — finally cast off these shackles and fully complete the "Taiwanization" of the political system on the island.

Old Kuomintang hardliners join up with New Party

As we reported earlier, the New Party — which broke away from the KMT in 1993 — was established mainly by second-generation mainlanders, who saw their influence in the “Taiwanized KMT” of President Lee dwindle. The mainlanders constitute 15 percent of the island’s population, and are mainly concentrated in major cities such as Taipei, and in a large number of “military villages” throughout the island.

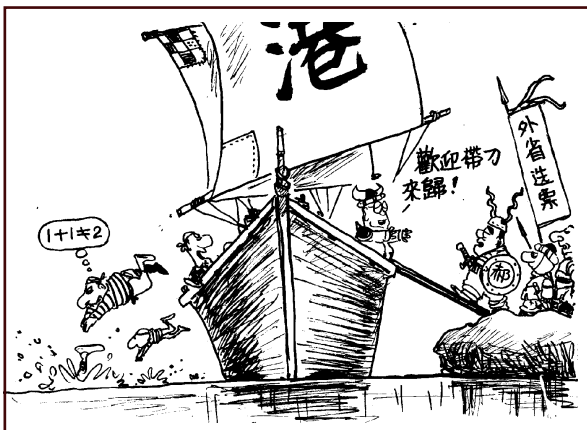
Until now, the New Party was able to present itself as proponents of “clean politics”, free of the “money politics” of the ruling Kuomintang. However, it will be increasingly difficult for the New Party to maintain its image, because more and more old-time hardliners are abandoning the Kuomintang and crossing over to the New Party.

A prime example are former general and ex-Prime Minister **Hau Pei-tsun** and Mr. **Lin Yang-kang**, who are both vice-chairmen of the Kuomintang. This unlikely odd-

couple are now respectively vice-presidential and presidential candidate running against President Lee. The two have received the support of the New Party.

Mr. Lin Yang-kang declared his candidacy in August (see *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 67, p. 18), and intended to run as an independent. However, in mid-November he teamed up with the former Prime Minister and hardliner Hau Pei-tsun. The two subsequently received the endorsement of the New Party, whose own candidate, Mr. Wang Chien-hsuan, bowed out of the race on 9 December 1995. On 12 December 1995, a disciplinary committee of the Kuomintang decided to expel Mr. Lin and general Hau, formalizing their break from the Kuomintang Party. However, the two have stated that they do not accept the expulsion, and will remain in the KMT.

To add to the confusion in the pro-unification camp, Mr. Chen Li-an, the son of a former KMT prime minister, also declared his candidacy, and is running a dark-horse race.



Candidate Lin Yang-kang to warlord Hau Pei-tsun: "Welcome aboard."

“Enter-the-UN” campaign continues

UN 50th anniversary has something missing

At the end of October 1995, the United Nations celebrated the 50th anniversary of its founding. The festivities of the world body in New York were attended by scores of heads of state and heads of government.

To remind them of the fact that the United Nations, which were established on the principle of universality, have until now left the democratic people of Taiwan out in the cold, some 1,000 Taiwanese from Taiwan, the United States, Canada, and Europe on 24 October 1995 marched in a colorful procession through the streets of Manhattan.

Businessmen, monks, housewives, professors, students, children all came to New York and joined in a festive rally to urge the international community to accept Taiwan as a full and equal member of the international family of nations, and let Taiwan join the UN. As a symbol of their affinity to Taiwan and its soil, many of them wore straw farmer's hats.



The major theme of the rally was expressed in the following messages:

- * **To the International Community:** *Recognize Taiwan's independent sovereignty and support Taiwan's entry into the United Nations. Insist that China resolves its differences with Taiwan in a peaceful manner.*
- * **To the United States:** *Reaffirm the United States' commitment to peace in the Taiwan Strait in accordance with the terms of the 1979 Taiwan Relations Act. Lead the international community in recognizing Taiwan as a free and independent country.*

- * **To China:** *End all nuclear testing and military hostility towards its neighboring countries, especially Taiwan. Recognize Taiwan independence and respect Taiwan's sovereignty, so that Taiwan can co-exist, cooperate, and prosper in an atmosphere of peace, equality, and mutual respect.*

After listening to speeches and music in front of the United Nations building at the Dag Hammarskjold Plaza, the crowd filed in a half-mile-long procession through Manhattan, escorted by New York police.

At Times Square, the crowd listened to more speeches, music, drums and watched several skids by Taiwanese students, depicting China's repressive system. Among the speakers was professor Chen Lung-chu, a prominent Taiwanese-American Law scholar teaching at New York University.

The crowd subsequently wound its way down to the Westside of Manhattan, and stopped in front of the Chinese Consulate.

In the afternoon, a large part of the group went to Lincoln Center, where President Clinton was meeting with Chinese President Jiang Zemin. There they urged the Clinton Administration not to let its policy of "engaging" China be at the expense of the 21 million people of Taiwan or their future as a free, democratic, and independent member of the world community.

Why Taiwan says "no" to China

Chinese threats and intimidations continue

In the previous two issues, we reported on the Chinese missile crisis of July / August 1995 (*Taiwan Communiqué* no. 67 pp. 1-7 and no. 68, pp. 9-12). We presented a number of articles and commentaries which concluded that the exercises constituted a major threat to safety and security in the East Asia region.

Since mid-September, the Chinese authorities have conducted further military maneuvers, with the clear intention to threaten and intimidate the people of Taiwan, and influence the legislative elections. On 26 November, just one week before the 2nd

December Taiwan elections, another exercise was held in the coastal area of Fukien Province, opposite Taiwan. Chinese television showed amphibious landings in an area renamed “Nanjing War Zone” for the occasion.

In a separate but related development, the **International Herald Tribune** reported that at an early-December ASEAN summit meeting in Bangkok, China was objecting to provisions in a new Southeast Asia Nuclear Treaty, which would ban nuclear weapons from the region (“*Chinese threat could undercut Southeast Asia Nuclear Treaty*”, IHT, 9-10 December 1995).

The Treaty is considered an important step to help build mutual trust between Asian and Pacific States. China reportedly does not want the Treaty to cover the Spratley Islands and other disputed areas in the South China Sea, which belong to other nations, but to which China in 1995 laid claims. China’s move severely undercuts the Treaty.



Jiang Zemin to big bomb: "We nominate you to participate in Taiwan's elections."

In mid-December 1995, it also became known in Washington that during an early-November visit to China by **Joseph Nye Jr.**, the departing DOD Assistant Secretary for International Security Affairs, Chinese military officials sounded Mr. Nye out on what the US response would be to a military crisis in the Taiwan Straits.

Mr. Nye pointed out that the United States is committed to “...peaceful resolutions and the avoidance of the use of force.” When the question came up what the US would do, he responded “nobody knows”, and then proceeded to give the example of the Korean War, where the US in 1950 first stated that Korea was “outside the defense perimeter”, and subsequently stepped in to defend South Korea when China joined the North Korean invasion of the South.

Taiwan Communiqué comment: *Mr. Nye’s comment represent a clear and subtle signal to the Chinese — who have a strong sense of history — to keep their hands off Taiwan.*

However, overall the United States has sent mixed signals, which have encouraged the hardliners in Beijing to continue to believe they can continue their confrontational actions against Taiwan without significant repercussions from the American side. In particular the kowtowing to Beijing by Commerce Secretary Ron Brown and by former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger are giving the Chinese the impression that they can continue to bully their neighbors, and do as they please in regard to human rights violations (see below).

*In this context, we also call attention to the excellent article by Mr. Rosenthal in the **New York Times** (“The blockades of Taiwan”, 1 December 1995, published as “Western Submission to China’s blockade puts Taiwan in danger”, **International Herald Tribune**, 2-3 December 1995). Mr. Rosenthal strongly criticized the United States and Western Europe governments for slighting this new and open Taiwan, and for their studious silence in response to China’s threats against the island. We propose a statue for Mr. Rosenthal in Taiwan.*

Chinese insecurity and power struggles

In the middle of December, the **New York Times**, **Washington Post**, and the Paris-based **International Herald Tribune** published several articles and editorials, in which they focused on the developments in and around China (“*China Circles the Wagons*”, **New York Times**, 15 December 1995, “*China and democracy*”, **Washington Post**, 11 December 1995, and “*Stop Appeasing China*”, **International Herald Tribune**, 19 December 1995).

The main conclusion was that the actions of the Chinese leaders — such as the threats and intimidations against Taiwan, the imposition of Beijing’s choice for the reincarnated Panchen Lama, the sentencing of Wei Jingsheng — all betray a deep sense of insecurity on the part of the Chinese leaders and an impending power struggle (see also article by **Arthur Waldron** on “*Deterring China*” in **Commentary Magazine**, October 1995).

The **New York Times** also reported that the influence of military commanders is increasing, and that some of them are pressing for confrontation with the United States and military action against Taiwan.

The newspaper reported that the conventional wisdom in Western capitals that Chinese President Jiang Zemin has consolidated his power atop the Communist Party is severely flawed. It quoted veteran China-watcher **Michael Oksenberg** as saying that the Chinese leaders are “...*presiding over rapidly eroding institutions. They can*

bluff and bluster, but the party has ceased to be an instrument of revolutionary rule....it is now only propped up by people who have the guns."

What will the United States do ?

While Clinton Administration officials are continuing to defend their "constructive engagement" policy, the recent events have increased the pressure in Washington for a more clear and forceful stance against China. In particular, influential voices have suggested that the United States re-establish the linkage between trade and human rights.

On 18 December 1995, the **New York Times** stated in an editorial ("*China's Challenge to Washington*", published as "*Stop Appeasing China*" in the **International Herald Tribune** on 19 December 1995) that the present policy of delinking trade and human rights — in the hope that China booming economy would ultimately advance political freedom — is not working out. The editorial stated that the past 19 months "*...have been marked by a serious deterioration in China's responsiveness on human rights and other issues.*"

The Times emphasizes that this deterioration is not only due to the fact that the new generation of leaders is maneuvering to succeed Deng Xiaoping, but also because President Jiang Zemin and Prime Minister Li Peng "*...seem committed advocates of repression.*"

The Times suggests that the United States be "less indulgent" in order to encourage more responsible behavior by China. It suggests a sharper response to Wei Jingsheng's sentencing and a drive to condemn China before the United Nations Human Rights Commission in March 1996. It also urges the US to oppose non-humanitarian World Bank Loans to China, and consideration of human rights issues in judging China application to join the World Trade Organization.

Finally, the New York Times makes the case for "*...the .obvious step of restoring a link between trade and human rights. In this critically important diplomatic game, the US may no longer be able to deny itself the leverage that link could bring.*"

The Wei Jingsheng case: no human rights

The sentencing of Chinese pro-democracy activist Wei Jingsheng on 13 December 1995 to fourteen years imprisonment provides yet another glaring reason to the Taiwanese for not wanting to "unify" with China.

Mr. Wei is one of the few courageous people in China who dared to speak up for democracy and human rights. He became well-known in the late 1970s, when he proposed that a fifth item -- democracy -- be added to Deng Xiaoping's "*Four Modernizations*". He was charged with treason and imprisoned for fifteen years.

After his release in September 1993, he spoke out again, and is now paying for it with his freedom: he was jailed again in April 1994, and kept incarcerated without charges until now. In 1995 he was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize.

His sentencing sent shock waves through Hong Kong, where increasing numbers of people distrust the intentions of Beijing after the 1997 take-over by China, and are preparing to leave the colony ("*Hong Kong Seems Ripe for Exodus, Wei Trial further weakens trust in Beijing's rule*", **International Herald Tribune**, 19 December 1995).

In the United States the severe sentence for Mr. Wei was seen as yet another example that the "constructive engagement" policy of Mr. Clinton was ineffective. In an excellent article in the **Washington Post**, columnist Jim Hoagland criticized the "episodic and inconsistent attention" given by the White House and State Department to the case of Wei and



Mr. Wei Jingsheng

other Chinese campaigners for democracy ("*How we Failed Wei Jingsheng*", 17 December 1995, published as "*Mixed messages from America encourage Chinese Rights abuses*" in the **International Herald Tribune**, 17 December 1995).

Mr. Hoagland argues that the Clinton Administration first gave rhetorical support, and then showed that there would be no significant consequences if Beijing continued its persecution of dissidents. Mr. Hoagland in particular criticized Commerce Secretary Ron Brown's policy of "avidly pursuing business contracts" at the expense of human rights principles. He concluded: "In China, the Administration has constructed a failed policy around its embarrassment, and arguably made things worse for a courageous man who will one day have statues erected for him across free China."

Taiwan's Choice: freedom and democracy ... free from China

In view of the developments sketched briefly in the preceding sections, it is clear that the people on Taiwan do not have any desire whatsoever to “unify” with China.

1. First and foremost: in the course of the island’s history, we Taiwanese people have built up ***our own distinct Taiwanese culture, social and economic structure***, and — slightly belatedly — a democratic political system.
2. The ***linkage with China is an artificial one***, caused by the fact that after World War II, the defeated armies and government of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek occupied the island, and subjected its people to 40 years of Martial Law.
3. As for China: it is a ***highly repressive nation with not the slightest respect for human rights and the principles of democracy***.
4. While China’s economy may be booming, it is a chaotic growth with ***little consideration for social stability or environmental concerns***. It may be growing quickly, but its economy is still backwards: Taiwan’s per capita GNP is approximately US\$ 12,800 (1995), while China’s is around US\$ 500 — or 1/25 of that of Taiwan. Hardly a reason to rejoice at the prospect of “unification.”

In order to resolve the situation, it is essential that the international community help make it clear to the Chinese leaders that their present confrontational approach will only deepen the conflict and create instability in East Asia.

The best solution is for ***China to accept Taiwan as a friendly neighbor, end hostilities towards the island, and move towards peaceful coexistence***.

In order to achieve this, ***the international community should abandon its reticence towards Taiwan, and accept a free, democratic, and independent Taiwan as a full and equal partner in their midst***. This would be fully in accordance with the principles on which the United Nations is based. Failing to do this would be giving in to whims of a bully — hardly a shining principle to impart to our children and grandchildren.

Second Generation Report

The following contribution by Ms. Kristie Wang, Program Director of the Center for Taiwan International Relations (CTIR), is adapted from a speech at a Thanksgiving dinner with the Taiwanese community in the Washington, DC area. Although it will be January 1996 when this issue of Taiwan Communiqué comes off the printing press, we feel Kristie's words are timeless.

What Thanksgiving Means to Me

Friends and fellow Taiwanese. I'm very honored to be given this opportunity to speak here today. I'm especially happy to be here because this is the ninth consecutive Thanksgiving that I'm not spending with my family, and it's wonderful to be here with you, my extended family.

To be honest, at first I didn't think I would have a lot to say about what Thanksgiving means to me. But once I thought about it, I realized that the Thanksgiving holiday has special meaning for us recent immigrants to the United States because, like the pilgrims, we also came here to pursue new opportunities in a "New World." And unlike those who have been in the U.S. long enough to take it for granted, we can truly appreciate and give thanks for the freedoms and liberties upon which this country was founded.

My second realization was that part of the reason Thanksgiving has not come to mean much to me is that for the last nine years I would almost hold my breath every Thanksgiving, hoping it'll pass quickly so I won't miss my family. But don't get me wrong, I didn't spend the last nine Thanksgivings sitting alone in my room eating a peanut butter and jelly sandwich.

In fact, Thanksgiving itself means "family" to me. It means the important network that we inherited from our parents and from the high value that our Taiwanese culture places on the institution of "family."

However, since my family is on the west coast and I can't be with them on Thanksgiving, I have inherited something else from my parents that prepares me for times like these — and that is, my Taiwanese culture. It is an invaluable gift I have inherited from my parents to be so far away from them and yet be able to eat something that tastes just like

meals at home, to speak to someone in a language that I had always thought of as our “family language,” and to be in a home that somehow, is so similar to mine. When I talk to a fellow Taiwanese, I know we already begin with many commonalities — shared values, history, and heritage.

Aside from the things we Taiwanese American children have come to expect from our parents — food, shelter, endless rides to piano and dance lessons, and tuition for the most expensive schools we can find — I’m also thankful for my parents’ positive outlook on life, which they have passed on to me. The dominant sound in my house when I was growing up was laughter. We all worked hard at what we did, but we enjoyed life and each other and we laughed.

However, there is a gift that I as a second-generation Taiwanese American inherited, not just from my parents, but from the first-generation community as a whole — and that is the legacy of struggle for freedom. Your generation’s inspirational dedication to our homeland and your selfless commitment to the cause of Taiwan independence is the greatest legacy that you can leave for future generations.

If some of you feel that our second generation is ignorant about your achievements and apathetic about your struggles, then you must understand that this in itself is a gift you have given us. You have helped to bring about such a dramatic transformation of Taiwan that my generation can choose not to be concerned with the political situation there. You did not have this choice.

Conversely, you have also made it possible for many of us who want to be involved with the independence movement to get involved — by virtually eliminating rampant campus spying, the blacklist, political assassinations, and other practices of KMT totalitarianism.

You have made it possible for us to openly advocate Taiwan independence without fear and still return to Taiwan whenever we feel like it. You made this road safe for us to travel on. This legacy that your generation has left for my generation is one of the things I am most grateful for on this Thanksgiving.

Even if some of your children do not fully realize it now, one day they or their children may pick up a book about Taiwan’s independence movement and give thanks as I do today for the role that their predecessors played in bringing it about. One of them may even find that among the heroes in the book is the name of her own mother or grandfather, aunt or uncle.

I know I am already proud to have been a part of this community, even though at times I feel I understand what British suffragist Vera Laughton Mathews meant when she said, "It's the kind of gathering where one feels a need to apologize for never having been to prison."

I have one final thing to be thankful for tonight. In the two and half years that I have been in D.C., I have had the privilege of working with and interacting with many people whose selfless dedication and tireless commitment to our cause will continue to inspire me and serve as a model for me, long after I leave my job. I couldn't even begin to name you all, beginning with those present here tonight, nor to express the impact you have had on me.

And I don't just mean the person whose name is frequently in the newspaper or who holds an elective office. I mean each of you who for 20, 30 years has given your time and energy to putting events together, attending demonstrations, writing protest letters, contributing to Taiwanese organizations, listening to hundreds of political speeches, educating others and about cause, and most of all, proudly identifying yourselves as "Taiwanese." You have done all this while finishing degrees, working full-time, and raising families. In some way, each of you has left an indelible mark on me.

As a whole, your generation has shown mine by your example that life is about more than just earning a comfortable living or maintaining a stable home life. It's about demanding fairness and justice, and when you don't get it, it's about the active pursuit of the goals you believe in.

It's about learning from those who came before you and leaving something behind for those who will come after. And most of all, you have shown me that we Taiwanese will fight at all costs to preserve our heritage, and we as a people will persevere over any hardship.

One day in the future, long after I've gone back to the West Coast to spend Thanksgiving with my family, if you ever think "what happened to that young woman who spoke at our Thanksgiving dinner one year?" you can be sure that somewhere I am still following your example in contributing to my community, somewhere I am telling third and fourth generations of Taiwanese Americans about the inspirational people of our heritage, and somewhere I am giving sincere, infinite thanks.

Aborigine / Environmental report

Aboriginal activists sentenced to prison term

During the past few months the Kuomintang authorities have imprisoned two prominent aboriginal leaders for their role in leading a 6 June 1991 aboriginal rights demonstration. Reverend **Mayau Kumu** and Mr. **Iciang Parod**, both members of the Amis tribe, were each imprisoned for one year. Reverend Kumu has been in prison since 19 May 1995, while Mr. Parod started his prison term on 7 November 1995.

In the 1991 demonstration, some 600 aborigines came to Taipei to protest the fact that the Kuomintang authorities — still insisting that they ruled all of China — maintained a Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission, and spent millions of dollars trying to influence these groups at home and abroad, while totally neglecting the fate of the Taiwan aborigines.

The two men were originally given suspended sentences, but because they subsequently were involved in the *“Return Our Land”* movement, and helped organize demonstrations in December 1993 and June 1994, the authorities revoked the suspensions. The movement started in 1988, one year after the lifting of Martial Law, in opposition against the policy of the Kuomintang authorities to increasingly allocate aboriginal lands for other purposes, such as national parks, reservoirs, mining, nuclear waste dump sites, military, university or forest bureau purposes.

The movement has been supported by the Presbyterian Church of Taiwan. Reverend Mayau Kumu is a minister in the Church, and Mr. Iciang Parod a member. Mr. Parod is also the director of the DPP’s indigenous affairs committee.

The aborigines emphasize that these policies threaten their way of life and destroy their culture. The movement received international attention on 4 January 1995, when the London-based **Financial Times** published a major article by Laura Tyson, titled *“Taiwan’s Leopard People rally against reservoir.”* The Minority Rights Group, also London-based, published a good overview of the Taiwanese indigenous movement in its publication **Outsider** of April 1995.

We urge our readers to send letters to Taiwan President Lee Teng-hui, urging him to release the two aboriginal leaders. Address: **President Lee Teng-hui, Office of the President, Chungching South Road, Taipei, TAIWAN.**

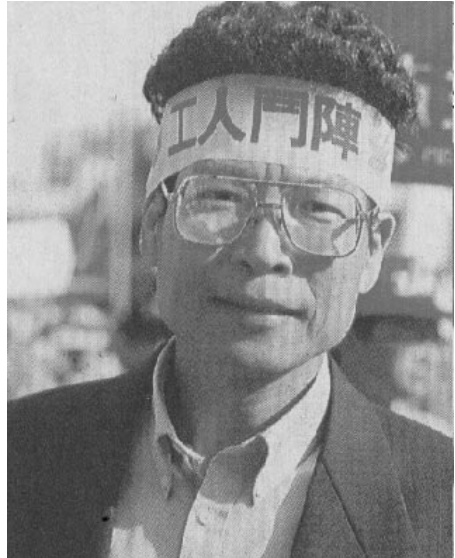
In Memoriam Robert Tsai

On 13 October 1995, Robert Cheng-lung Tsai, chairman of the U.S. chapter of the World United Formosans for Independence (WUFI), passed away at the age of 51 at his home in Houston, Texas.

Mr. Tsai was a leading figure in the Taiwanese-American community and in the overseas independence movement. He served on the central committee of the World United Formosan for Independence for over a decade. In 1994, he was elected to lead the U.S. Chapter of this major pro-independence organization.

Although he was on kidney dialysis and his health was failing in recent years, a strong sense of mission compelled him to continue working and traveling around the country to rally support from the Taiwanese community in the United States for an independent Taiwan. In his final year, he was also very active in promoting research into a written form of the Taiwanese language.

In 1981, he helped to expose the activities of KMT spies on campuses of American universities when he testified in a congressional hearing to investigate the murder of Prof. Chen Wen-chen, who was a victim of campus spying. Prof. Chen, a Taiwanese-American, was visiting his parents in Taipei, when he was called in for questioning by the Taiwan Garrison Command about his activities in Carnegie-Mellon University. On the next day he was found dead on the campus of National Taiwan University.



Dr. Robert Tsai

Mr. Tsai was born in Taichung, Taiwan. After graduating from National Taiwan University with a Bachelor's degree in mechanical engineering, he came to the United States for graduate studies and received a Ph.D. degree from Carnegie-Mellon University. He is survived by his wife, Yeh Ming-shia and two daughters.