# Interview: Fung Hu-hsiang

# The betrayal of democracy is ongoing in Taiwan

Dr. Fung Hu-hsiang is the former dean of the College of Liberal Arts at National Central University; former secretary to the late President, Chiang Ching-kuo; and former adviser to the prime minister. Dr. Fung is also president of the China Forum Monthly magazine. Recently, a new organization called "Tung Mung Hui" was formed independent of, but not separate from, the Kuomingtang (KMT). This new organization is modeled upon Dr. Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary cells, and wants to promote the goals and ideas of Dr. Sun Yatsen. Dr. Fung was one of the initiators of that organization. He was interviewed by Leni Rubinstein during her visit to Taiwan in June.

EIR: Dr. Fung, I would like you to give the readers of EIR your evaluation of the situation in the Republic of China. What are you doing at present?

Dr. Fung: I am a professor, and I specialize in the field of philosophy, so I am very sensitive to the fight for justice and the fight for democratic freedom. That means that I am not only a "pure" scholar but also one of the intellectuals who pay attention to and have concern for the progress of the nation and the liberation of the whole people. Right now I am supposed to be one of the opposition people-in opposition to the ruling elite.

EIR: I was told that you are one of the leaders of the socalled non-mainstream faction of the KMT?

Dr. Fung: I do not like the word "non-mainstream." That word was created for the convenience of the ruling elite. Because we are not in the government, we are called nonmainstream. We should be called reform-stream or the progressive-stream, because we are for democracy and against narrow-minded provincialism. We are for reunification and absolutely against regional independence. President Lee says that he is for reunification. That is just words. Everything he is doing is pointing in the opposite direction. He is in all cases stressing "regionalism" and he is amassing power like an emperor. The ruling party, the so-called mainstream, has betrayed democracy.

EIR: Can you explain what you mean by "regionalism" and the betrayal of democracy?

Dr. Fung: President Lee mixes up two terms, that of localization and that of democratization. According to his interpretation, the two terms belong to the same domain, which is contradictory, because he takes localization as the very first priority for the whole democratization process. If there is a vacancy in a high-ranking governmental office, he prefers to choose a native Taiwanese, which is against the Constitution. That means that President Lee rejects many qualified people.

#### EIR: Why does he do that?

Dr. Fung: This is what he calls localization. He wants all major positions to be controlled, to be handled by those native Taiwanese people who do not oppose him.

EIR: What are your goals? What does the reform movement represent, and what does President Lee represent?

Dr. Fung: I am a member of the KMT. I would like to search for democracy and for the democratization of the whole party. That means the decision process is based on democracy and not one-person dictatorship.

#### EIR: How would you define democracy?

Dr. Fung: I would define democracy as constitutionalism. All acts and proceedings should be done according to the Constitution, which is the fundament for national development. The Constitution must not be changed. In doing so, you betray the goals and ideas of Sun Yat-sen. Secondly, democracy should be based on free speech, free thought, and free press, of course, confined by reasonable legal structures. And thirdly, there must be checks and balances. It must be so, that all elected figures, even the most powerful ones, can be checked by representative institutions. The President violated all these three things.

#### EIR: Can you qualify this?

Dr. Fung: From the very beginning I myself supported President Lee, both when he was chosen as President and when he was chosen as chairman for the party [KMT]. So many people had so many wishes for him. For the first two to three years it was so-so-not very good, not very bad. But ever since last year, when he began to attempt the so-called "con-



stitutional reform," at that point many people became aware that he was trying to destroy the Constitution. Ever since that time, every step and every major decision he has made has been to do that.

**EIR:** Call you explain more about the constitutional reform? Dr. Fung: According to our Constitution, the very highest institution for decision-making is the cabinet, and the prime minister is regarded as the highest person to make decisions. President Lee destroyed this structure and enlarged his own power so that he himself need not be responsible to the Congress. According to the design of our Constitution, the prime minister is responsible to the Congress. This is the reason he is supposed to be the very highest person to make decisions in the administrative process. But any prime minister who has been in opposition to President Lee has been fired. This is the fifth year of President Lee's term and in that period he has changed four prime ministers. How can a prime minister under such kind of pressure do anything? The true boss, the key decision-maker, is President Lee, and he is not responsible to any democratic institution, neither to the Congress nor to the National Assembly. He has become an emperor.

**EIR:** Does your Constitution provide for impeachment? **Dr. Fung:** Yes, but it is very, very difficult. Before it was easier, but now it is very difficult. President Lee made that change himself.

#### EIR: What change?

**Dr. Fung:** According to the old Constitution, if a member of the National Assembly wanted to fire the President, half of the members of the National Assembly had to agree to vote and two-thirds of the National Assembly had to vote in favor in order for the President to be fired. These percentages have been changed to two-thirds and three-quarters, respectively.

In addition, according to the Constitution we have the Examination Yuan. And that is the only institution to check the President. According to the old Constitution, the members of that institution should be elected by the city county and the provincial county. But now, the members of the Examination Yuan are chosen by President Lee. So how can those people, chosen by the President, do something against the President? All these kinds of concrete changes have been made. Our Constitution has become so silly, so strange, so self-contradictory. Many intellectuals hate this kind of destruction of their Constitution.

**EIR:** You said earlier that President Lee wants an independent Taiwan?

**Dr. Fung:** Yes. It is our understanding that President Lee is very sympathetic toward the independence of Taiwan. That can cause a very serious disaster for the future of China and of Taiwan, because mainland China has repeatedly stated

that the only action that would cause it to attack Taiwan militarily would be if Taiwan declared its independence. The reason why President Lee's words that he is for reunification only are empty words is shown by his deeds. He has made so many preconditions for the mutual cooperation between the two sides. Take, for example, the following three conditions: 1) the recognition of Taiwan as a political entity. For mainland China that would imply the existence of two Chinas; 2) that mainland China promises not to attack Taiwan with force. Mainland China has often said that the *only* reason for them to attack Taiwan would be if Taiwan declared its independence; 3) that mainland China let Taiwan have diplomatic room in international affairs.

Those three conditions, which all seem quite reasonable, cannot be accepted by Red China. And, even if mainland China did accept those three conditions, you cannot trust them. Why, then, does President Lee stress these three unnecessary conditions for the exchange between the two sides? The only interpretation is that he does not want to promote exchanges between the two sides. His real intention is to search for the independence of Taiwan. This is not just my imagination. One of the leaders of the opposition party stated publicly that President Lee has told many opposition party members, "Actually, I agree with your search for the independence of Taiwan as a national goal," and that President Lee, when asked about his statements that he is for reunification, has stated, "That is only lip-service."

**EIR:** You said before that President Lee is amassing power. How could he get all this power? Why did people not stop him?

Dr. Fung: Good point. In the beginning people thought that he was a good successor, but you have a saying: "Power corrupts men, more power corrupts more, absolute power corrupts absolutely." President Lee is now chairman of the ruling KMT party, he is in charge of the military, and he is chairman of the National Security Council. He gives money and positions to the people who disagree with him. The corruption is big. A few examples: The new prime minister is among the 15 richest people in the R.O.C. Recently, the new prime minister's wife gave President Lee's granddaughter a "red pocket" containing NT \$10 million [equivalent of \$400,000]. Twenty of the leading people around President Lee control one-quarter of the GNP. Or, take the last elections, where one of the candidates on the island of Penghu told the voters to come and pick up a gift in the form of a camera. Twenty thousand voters accepted the offer, and each picked up a free camera valued at NT \$3,000 [\$120].

Also, the media are completely controlled, and the reporters are aware of it. Recently, there was a questionnaire circulated among reporters. One hundred percent of the reporters polled thought that their news outlet was controlled by "an invisible hand." When asked who steers that invisible hand, 84% answered, "the President's office." **EIR:** Lyndon LaRouche has stated that a crucial aspect of the fight for China's future is the necessity of a cultural transformation in China based upon the most noble Confucian principles. What do you think about that?

Dr. Fung: I would like to identify myself as a Confucian scholar. That is the reason that I think that the individual's right for the development of his capabilities, for self-realization, not only should be respected, but emphasized, because that is the driving force for the search for humanity. Confucian ideas are emphasized very much on the mainland right now. I have visited mainland China six times and have visited all the important places. Once I was invited by the Academy for Social Sciences in Beijing. We can share Confucian beliefs. That is important in our search for common community based on China's culture, which includes not only mainland China, but also Hong Kong and Taiwan. All three areas should be combined to search for the common good and common success through the process of freedom and democracy, just like with the reunification of East and West Germany. I belong to the people that are searching for a peaceful and democratic one China. Therefore, we are searching for a moral basis for the two sides based on good will and mutual understanding.

**EIR:** A deep injustice is being committed against the nation of Bosnia right now. Could your group take actions in the defense of that nation?

**Dr. Fung:** Yes, definitely. That is also according to our goal, our principle. We are fighting against any injustice, anything unethical, and anything inhuman in the whole world. That is the reason why we are searching for a righteous and benevolent goal for humanity.

**EIR:** What do you think about China's relationship with Russia?

**Dr. Fung:** Since Russia is no longer controlled by the Communist Party, I think we should treat them in a very sympathetic way. We should do our best to do anything good for them which is possible.

Secondly, I would like to say—maybe some people are afraid of a very big and strong China; they still have an image of the "yellow peril"—that if China could really fight on the basis of freedom and democracy and Confucian morals, it could become a very constructive power in defense of national and international affairs. In that sense, the fight for a free democratic and Confucian China will benefit not only the affairs of Russia, but Europe, Africa, and many other nations, which is also a Confucian notion.

We are living in a global village not only in an environmental sense but also in the sense of human cooperation aimed at searching for democracy and freedom which should be regarded as the common goal for all human beings.

Taiwan is a small island, but it could be the hope for a future China as long as it itself is not destroyed by dictatorship

or the betrayal of the national founder, Dr. Sun Yat-sen. I hope that people outside Taiwan, through a better understanding, will support our movement so that we can work hand-in-hand for a better China, for a democratic China, and eventually for a reunified, good China. Such a China definitely would be a good thing for the whole world.

# Taiwan must play a world role to survive

## by Leni Rubinstein

The author, a native of Denmark who resides in the United States, visited the Republic of China (Taiwan) in June of this year.

The Republic of China (R.O.C.), with its 20 million inhabitants, is a prosperous and very human place. When Chiang Kai-shek fled with his troops to the island of Taiwan in 1949, there was only a handful of cars, dirt roads, and no industry. As is known, Taiwan today is a relatively rich, industrialized society, and although only one-fifth of the island is habitable, Taiwan is not only food self-sufficient, but also exports food. This exemplary economic development is not due to a miracle, but to a dirigistic economic policy outlined by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, which encourages and protects key industries and the production of food, and to a hard-working population.

The human face of Taiwan is reflected in how children, pregnant women, and old people are treasured. The family is the key social unit which is protected and nourished. Most of the old people are not sent to a nursing home, but are taken care of and live with their closest relatives. Also, sex does not dominate human relationships. A majority of young women think that they have to be virgins when they marry. The development of the mind is highly respected, people read a lot, and the notion of a "philosopher king" is familiar.

A morally and economically strong Taiwan based upon Sun Yat-sen's San Min Chu I (the three principles of the people: sovereignty of the nation-state, sovereignty of the individual, and right to a livelihood) would be an important model for a future China.

Unfortunately, corruption is now spreading and the Constitution is being undermined, a process which Dr. Fung Hu-hsiang describes in the accompanying interview. And because of the controlled press, knowledge and understanding about what is happening in the world outside of Asia and the United States are minimal.

### Heavily influenced by the U.S.

Taiwan is heavily influenced by the United States, through economic and political pressure and through movies,