

July 30, 1980

Yet another arrest

On July 21, 1980 at 8:00.am, opposition leader Chang Ch'un-nan () was arrested in Kaohsiung. Mr. Chang is a former member of Taiwan's National Assembly and was the Executive Secretary of the democratic opposition's campaign coalition for the 1978 elections. He is also a member of the Executive Committee of Formosa magazine.



Chang Ch'un-nan (center)
at the Kaohsiung torchlight
parade

Mr. Chang participated in the December 10, 1979 Human Rights Day celebration (see picture), where he addressed the crowd. He went into hiding when Taiwan's secret police organizations started arresting opposition leaders two and a half days after the rally. However, he was not formally declared a fugitive. He came out of hiding recently and moved around openly and freely for some time. It was not until after he had declared that he would run for election in the upcoming national elections that the Investigation Bureau of the Ministry of Justice moved in to arrest him. Mr. Chang was then transferred to the Taipei headquarters of the Taiwan Garrison Command and tentatively charged with sedition.

Taiwan government sources in Taipei have indicated that the martial law authorities would treat Mr. Chang "leniently" and would transfer his case to a civil court—by implication on a lesser charge than sedition. Mr. Chang was released on bail in the evening of July 21 because of an urgent family matter.

One may note that in the above picture Mr. Chang and other opposition members are shown to wear dress suits and sashes with their names imprinted on them. In view of this, the accusation against the **Formosa Magazine** staff that the confrontation between the crowd and the police was a "premeditated result of conspiracy" which was "planned" by the Formosa group, sounds rather implausible: who would start a riot in a dress suit with their name imprinted on a sash across the front and the back?

Was it an Accident?

On June 25, 1980 the wife of opposition leader Chang Chun-hung was hit by a motorcycle while standing on a sidewalk, waiting to cross the street. The circumstances of the accident leave us rather suspicious that it was an un-subtle attempt at intimidation.

Mrs. Chang was apparently returning from a visit to her imprisoned husband, when the secret police guards "protecting" her said that they needed to get some gas for their car. Mrs. Chang was allowed to go to a street market just across the street. As she was waiting on the sidewalk, a motorcycle came onto the sidewalk and knocked her over. She suffered a leg injury and a slight concussion.

The motorcyclist started to cry and apologized, saying that he had “*been pressured to do this.*” Mrs. Chang left for medical treatment, while two other wives of opposition members talked to the motorcyclist and asked for compensation to cover the medical costs. The two police guards who were assigned to protect Mrs. Chang then told the two wives “not to bother” the motorcyclist.

Prison Report

In this section we present the available information on the condition of the arrested opposition leaders.

Hot and humid. At this time of the year it is hot and humid almost everywhere in Taiwan, but even more so in Ching-mei prison, where the cells have little ventilation. Since the heat and humidity are sheer unbearable, most prisoners sit in their cells wearing only underwear. When during the third week of June opposition leader Huang Hsin-chieh (52) complained about the heat, he was not allowed to meet his family for the weekly family visit. Since the middle of July there has been some improvement: Every other day at least seven of the major eight opposition leaders are allowed to be out in a central courtyard for a few hours. We have not heard whether Shih Ming-teh has been granted the sane privilege.

Reading and writing. For the first time since their December arrests the detainees are now allowed some reading materials. There are, however, still severe restrictions on mail: the opposition leaders may only receive letters from direct relatives, and their letters to their families are restricted to 200 characters. Both Yao Chia-wen and Chang Chun-hung recently wrote letters which exceeded this limit by a few characters: the prison officials refused to send the letters out.

Property confiscation. At the end of June several wives of opposition leaders received notice that their property—including the house in which they live—would be confiscated. However, as of the time of this writing (July 28, 1980) the martial Law authorities have not taken any action on this matter.

Harassment. Several family members have complained that they are harassed, in particular by the secret police agents which are assigned to “protect” them. Three groups of two agents rotate for 24 hours-a-day protection. Particularly at their work the harassment is very annoying: the brother of Chen Chu has reportedly resigned from his job because of this.

Congressional hearings

Recently the Subcommittees on Asian and Pacific Affairs of both the U.S. Senate and the House of Representatives held oversight hearings on the Taiwan Relations Act. At the session of Senator Glenn’s subcommittee (May 14-15, 1980) Mr. David Dean, Director of the American Institute in Taiwan (AIT), indicated that in one week alone, the Institute had received 812 letters or cards opposing the Kaohsiung trial verdicts, and 334 letters supporting the verdicts and the present human rights conditions in Taiwan.

At the hearing of Congressman Wolff’s subcommittee (June 11 and 17) both Congressmen Jim Leach (R-IO) and Fortney H. Stark (D-CA) presented excellent statements supporting their respective resolutions on human rights in Taiwan. We present some quotes from both statements.

Congressman Leach

“Two basic political rifts underlie Taiwan’s domestic politics today. The first is between the majority native Taiwanese, who comprise 85% of the island’s population, and the mainland Chinese who moved to Taipei in 1949. The second is between the younger, educated future leadership (who are both native Taiwanese and children of mainlanders) and the aging KMT leaders who still monopolize most political power.

A further complicating factor arises from Taiwan’s unique international political position. Both the government in Peking and the KMT authorities in Taipei consider Taiwan to be a province of China. Yet it is clear that increasing numbers of the Taiwanese population are sympathetic to maintaining an autonomous status for Taiwan. Many Taiwanese believe, after 30 years of Nationalist rule, that the government should relinquish its unrealistic claim to govern all of China. But the legitimacy of the KMT government rests on the premise that it is the rightful government of all of China. Relinquishing this claim implies the government must establish a new claim to legitimacy based on the consent of the governed. To establish this new claim the government must open up and democratize the political process.

(There is) the most recent step backward — the current wave of political repression which has resulted in virtually all leading Taiwanese critics of the government being sentenced to harsh prison terms. Under present conditions, it appears that there will be little viable opposition to offer alternatives to ruling party candidates in the parliamentary elections.

Gradual, increasing sharing of political power with the native Taiwanese is essential for continued political stability on the island. The real issue today on Taiwan is not whether there will be more Taiwanese in the government. This is inevitable. The issue is how the process will proceed and at what pace.

‘The Kaohsiung incident must be seen in the context of these internal political dynamics. In the starkest terms, a group of native Taiwanese critics of the government became too active politically for the ruling party to tolerate. The authorities appear to have seized on the confrontation last December 10 in Kaohsiung as the pretext to prohibit publication of journals critical of the government and to arrest, try and sentence to harsh prison terms most leading opponents of the KMT. Subsequently it was decided to move against the leaders of the Presbyterian Church, the second largest organization in Taiwan after the KMT itself, by arresting and sentencing the Church’s General Secretary.

While the Kaohsiung demonstrators may have exaggerated tensions by pressing authorities to unnecessary limits, the harsh sentences which have been handed down clearly reflect an intention to tightly contain political dissent rather than merely punish those who disturbed the peace.

Former Secretary of State Cyrus Vance in his recent commencement address at Harvard, offered several insightful comments into the importance of human rights to American foreign policy. Vance emphasized that ‘it is in our interest to support constructive change... before the alternatives of radicalism or repression force out moderate solutions.’ Vance added that ‘we know from our own national experience that the drive for human freedom has tremendous force and vitality. It is universal, it is resilient. And, ultimately, it is irrepressible.’

Congressman Fortney H. Stark

“I had one concern in mind when I introduced my resolution, House Resolution 603, the political and human rights of the people on Taiwan. I strongly believe that our Government should not seek to impose our form of government on other peoples or nations. But an important corollary of that belief is that our Government should not undermine or restrain the impulse for democratic self-government present in all peoples.

For this reason, all U.S. military assistance to authoritarian regimes deserve close scrutiny. We sell arms to the national government on Taiwan. That government is an authoritarian government. Its human rights stance deserves careful monitoring, and, of course, congressional oversight is mandated by the 1979 Taiwan Relations Act.

We also have before us the standards laid down in section 502-B of the Foreign Assistance Act. No security assistance, including sales, is permitted “to any country the government of which engages in a consistent pattern of gross violations of internationally recognized human rights.” That is, a government engaging in “torture or cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment, prolonged detention without charges and trial, and other flagrant denial of the right to life liberty, or the security of person.”

The question for the Congress is: Does the government on Taiwan systematically violate these internationally recognized human rights norms? The question is not: Are there other governments that engage in more flagrant violations of these norms? In no way can the human rights record of the Peoples’ Republic of China justify human rights violations that occur in Taiwan. The danger is that by turning a blind eye towards Taiwan’s rights violations, we shall drive the people of that land into the arms of the autocrats ruling mainland China.

May I suggest that the past human rights record and practices of the Kuomintang and recent evidence stemming from the Kaohsiung case make a close look at the human rights situation on Taiwan imperative.”

Congressman Stark then presented in his statement information on the torture of Lin Yi-hsiung during his interrogation and information on the arrest of Dr. Kao Chun-ming. The Congressman also inserted a recent article from the **Far Eastern Economic Review** (“The Church under fire”, May 23, 1980). He then continued:

“The people of Taiwan are not adequately represented in their national government, yet they cannot question, criticize or otherwise express concern about this government. When I look at Taiwan I see that it is ruled by an aging group of politicians who also claim to represent a land they were forced to leave over 30 years ago. To maintain this charade they rely on martial law to enforce severe restrictions on political activity while claiming to be a member in good standing of the “free world.” I suppose it is consistent in this topsy-turvy scheme to sentence illegal paraders to 12 and 14 year prison terms — one defendant received a life sentence.

But we don’t have to be accessories after the fact. That’s why I think we must look carefully at the human rights situation on Taiwan before we sell them the FX (fighter aircraft - Ed.) or any other arms.

I do not underestimate the complexity of the situation in the Taiwan Straits area. Tensions are low now and we all hope they remain low. But a peaceful solution cannot be achieved by forcefully clamping the lid on the political aspirations of the Taiwanese. Relaxing the political restraints will not achieve the absolute political calm I imagine all authoritarians dream about. But it will help bring about the sort of society that most Americans and most Taiwanese desire.”

Publications

I. Congressional Documents on Taiwan. The events in Taiwan following the Kaohsiung incident have generated considerable interest in the United States Congress. They were discussed extensively at several hearings and at a Congressional workshop. The proceedings of one hearing and of the workshop have now appeared in print:

- a. **Human Rights in Asia:** Noncommunist countries. Hearings before the Subcommittees on Asian and Pacific Affairs and on International Organizations of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives. Document No, 59-993 O.
- b. **Taiwan: One Year after United States - China Normalization.** A workshop sponsored by the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, and by the Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress. Document No, 62-206 O.

Both publications are available from: The Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402

2. Summer/Fall issue of SPEAHRhead. The Society for the Protection of East Asians' Human Rights (SPEAHRhead) came out with its summer/fall issue. The publication contains the full text of Lin Yi-hsiung's statement titled My Detention, as well as information about the murders of Mr. Lin's mother and twin daughters. The publication is available from: SPEAHR, P.O. Box 1212, New York, N.Y. 10025

3. Letter on Taiwan. The Taiwanese-American Society just published its third LETTER ON TAIWAN. The 100 page publication contains analyses and commentaries, as well as newspaper articles and editorials on the developments in Taiwan following the Kaohsiung incident. Available from: The Taiwanese American Society, P.O. Box 910, Manhattan, Kansas 66502

Economic Growth at all Cost

Social and environmental concerns

The high economic growth rate in Taiwan is generally used by apologists for the Nationalist Chinese government to show that “the Taiwanese really don't have it so bad; they are pretty well-off and don't have much reason to complain.” Tight political control has enhanced the achievement of great economic progress — or so the argument goes.

We wish to counter these arguments by pointing out that the high economic growth rates were possible, in part, due to a severe disregard of the social and environmental consequences of the present economic policies and

practices in Taiwan. Some information on the lack of safety and sanitation in Taiwan's factories was presented in *Made in Taiwan*, a publication of the Asian Center (198 Broadway, Rm 302, New York, NY 10038) This document details the rather abominable working conditions of the low paid (50-60 dollars/month) Taiwan Labor force.

Another question is the high pollution level in Taiwan. We suggest that the economic growth rate may be artificially high, because Taiwan industry does not have to abide by strict pollution standards, as is the case in the United States or Europe. The Nationalist Chinese government is not willing to enforce strict standards because many government officials do get their share, either directly or indirectly, of the high profits thus "earned" by Taiwan's industries.

Nuclear Power

The "economic growth at all cost" approach is exemplified by the decisions of the Taiwan authorities to build a number of nuclear power reactors on the island despite serious safety and environmental concerns. These concerns were recently highlighted in an article in the *Asian Wall Street Journal* (June 30, 1980) titled "Taiwan proceeding with nuclear plans despite shortage of qualified technicians and danger of earthquakes." Another article discussing the earthquake aspect of these nuclear power plants was recently published in the *Export Monitor*, a publication of the center for Development Policy, 225 4th St NE, Washington DC, 20002. We reprint the article below.

U.S. Has Ok'd Six Nuclear Reactors on Seismic and Volcanic Taiwan Sites

Four nuclear power reactors—not just one, but four—have been sited on an active volcano structure, in a fault-ridden, highly seismic region at the northern tip of Taiwan just 12 miles from Taipei's one-and-a-half million people.

Two more reactors are being built at Taiwan's southern extremity, directly straddling a geologic fault which is at least 240 miles long and thus vulnerable to severe earthquake shock.

U.S. firms are the suppliers for all six reactors. The U.S. Export-Import Bank has financed all of them. The Nuclear Regulatory Commission issued export licenses for all of them. There has been

continuous U.S. support and participation in Taiwan's nuclear power program since 1969.

Yet the official record does not reveal a single instance when any of the responsible U.S. officials who helped move these projects forward ever asked:

- have the earthquake and volcanic hazards of the site been assessed?
- what was the quality of the assessment?
- what were the findings?
- do we have any idea how serious are the dangers?
- do we have a *moral responsibility* to find out?

Had these questions been asked, the

standard answer up to the present would have been, "We have no *legal obligation* to inquire; and our policy is that safety is strictly for the importing nation to worry about."

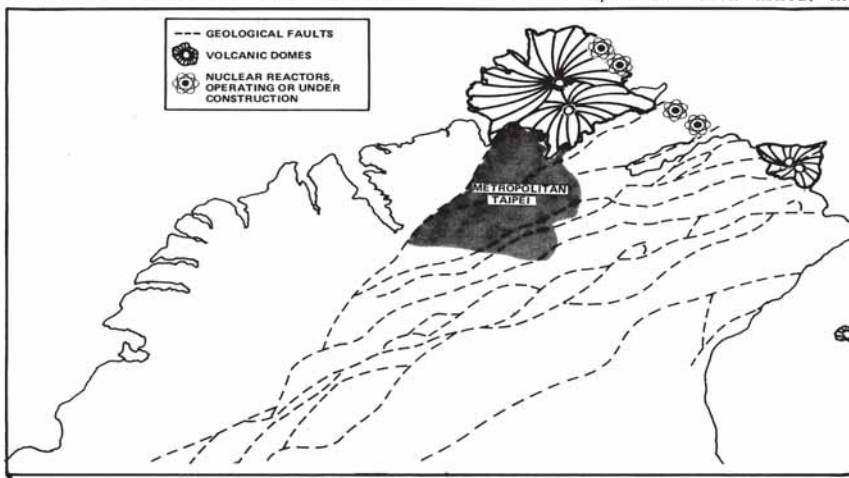
A primary goal of CDP's Campaign on Runaway Reactors is to force a change in that policy. The Campaign is invoking provisions of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Act of 1978 and a 1979 Executive Order which directs federal agencies to assess the environmental impact of U.S. activities overseas.

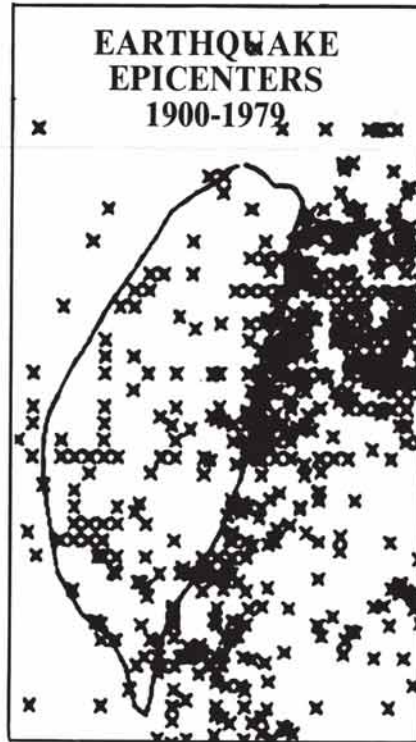
But meanwhile, no one in the complex U.S. bureaucracy which promotes, finances and regulates nuclear exports appears to have any idea how serious may be the hazard we are creating for the people of Taiwan.

One reactor is already operating, a second is nearing completion, and the other four are in various stages of construction.

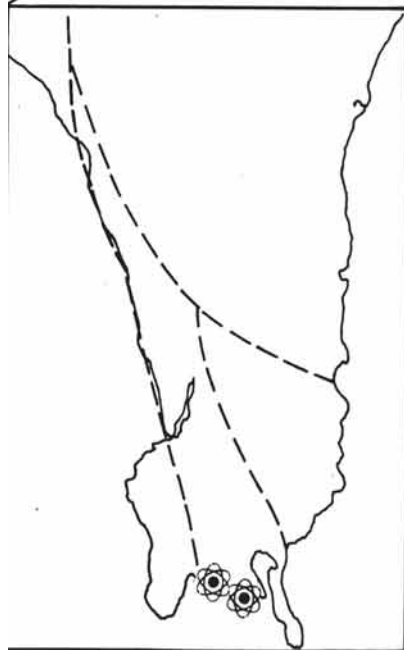
CDP researchers, from data available to the public through the U.S. Geological Survey and the Smithsonian Institution, have determined the following:

- Taiwan's first four reactors are sited at the edge of a massive strato-volcano with multiple lava domes known as the Ta-Tun Volcano Group.
- This volcano group is classified in the top category with respect to indications of volcanic activity in the compilation of "Post-Miocene Volcanoes of the World" by the International Association of Volcanology and Chemistry of the Earth's Interior (IAVCEI).
- Ta-Tun's continuing eruptive potential is manifested by the presence of active solfatara (i.e. volcanic vents emitting sulfurous gases and vapors.)





- The Ta-Tun volcano lies in a chain of active volcanoes extending for 130 miles to the north. (See map, below.) There have been at least two eruptions in this chain in historic time, one as recently as 1916.
- Taiwan is situated in an extremely unstable geological region. Data of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration shows a total of 2143 recorded earthquakes over the past 63 years in the area from 116° to 126° longitude, 17° to 27° latitude. Hundreds of these have occurred on or just off-shore of Taiwan. (NOAA earthquake location printout below.)
- An extensive network of active geological faults lies only 15 miles away from the northern reactor sites.
- there is a fault which extends the whole length of Taiwan (and an undetermined additional distance to the north and south) which forks at the southern tip of the island. The Manshaan nuclear power site, for which the NRC granted reactor export licenses in 1979, lies directly between the two lines of the fault.



Source: Export Monitor, Center for Development Policy (CDP), Washington, D.C.

We wish to suggest that it is a basic human right of the people of Taiwan not to become subject to undue hazards of nuclear radiation. In democratic countries public opinion, free press, and legislative action by elected representatives can be mobilized to discourage the construction of pertinently unsafe reactors.

In Taiwan, however, these safeguards hardly function: the press is muzzled, the legislature has little real power, and any environmental movement would quickly be labeled "subversive" by the governing authorities. It is thus impossible to determine whether a majority of people in Taiwan favor the construction of these reactors.

Under these circumstances it is essential that the Government and the Congress of the United States weigh their respective responsibilities with regard to the

sale of these reactors to Taiwan extra carefully: We believe that the United States does have a moral responsibility to ensure that the American companies involved in the construction of these reactors carefully evaluate the hazards associated with construction at the present earthquake-prone sites. We urge the Government and the Congress of the United States to take effective steps to ensure that the United States does not become an accessory to the construction of nuclear reactors in pertinently unsafe locations in Taiwan.

U.S. Nuclear Power Exports to Taiwan								
<i>Plant name</i>	<i>Mwe Megawatts (electric)</i>	<i>Company</i>	<i>Loan Date</i>	<i>Total Cost (000)</i>	<i>Exim Bank Total Loan/ Guarantees (000)</i>	<i>License #</i>	<i>NRC Export Purpose</i>	<i>Licensing Status</i>
Chinsan 1	636	GE & Westinghouse	7/24/69	157,500	68,385	XR-80 XSNM-553	Reactor Fuel	approved '72 approved '74
Chinsan 2	636	GE & Westinghouse	8/27/70	168,800	46,726	XR-80 XSNM-553	Reactor Fuel	approved '72 approved '74
Kuosheng 1	985	GE & Westinghouse	9/8/72 6/30/75	comb. tot. 574,100	89,850	XR-96 XSNM-01341	Reactor Fuel	approved '74 approved '79
Kuosheng 2	985	GE & Westinghouse	9/8/72 6/30/75		84,000	XR-96 XSNM-01341	Reactor Fuel	approved '74 approved '79
Manshaan 1		Westinghouse	4/25/74 3/8/78	897,229	149,088	XR-113 XSNM-1431	Reactor Fuel	approved '79 pending
Manshaan 2		Westinghouse	4/25/74 3/8/78	937,497	157,180	XR-113 XSNM-1431	Reactor	approved '79 pending

Newsbriefs

1. Senator Byrd opposes FX sales. The Asian Wall Street Journal Weekly reported recently (July 21, 1980) that Senate Majority leader Robert C. Byrd opposes the sale of the FX advanced fighter aircraft to Taiwan. The Senator said that both the President and the Congress must pass judgment, under existing laws, before arms sales to Taiwan can go forward. The Senator commented: "I would have to be convinced by the evidence that there is such a need (to sell the FX to Taiwan), and I don't believe that there is (such a need) at the present time."

2. Shih Ming-teh requests medical treatment. In our Newsletter #11 (May 30, 1980) we reported on the deteriorating health condition of several of the opposition leaders. We have just learned that Yu Ch'ing, lawyer for opposition leader Shih Ming-teh, has formally requested the military law authorities to allow Mr. Shih to undergo a thorough medical examination. Mr. Shih is suffering severe back aches, stomach problems, a numbing of the left leg, and skin rashes. Yet he is at present receiving no medical treatment, and is allowed to leave his cell for only ten minutes, three times per week.

3. Statement by Church leaders. Three prominent representatives of two major world church organizations — the World Alliance of Reformed Churches (WARC) and the World Council of Churches (WCC) visited Taiwan in May to express their concern about the arrest of Reverend C.M. Kao, the General Secretary of the Presbyterian Church. However, Nationalist Chinese authorities refused to meet with the delegation. Upon their departure from Taiwan the delegation expressed strong support for the Presbyterian Church, saying "We have applauded...your courageous witness to the implications of the Gospel of our Lord to the situation in which you have been called to ministry." The delegation called Reverend Kao a man of integrity who has served the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan with vigor and foresight. The three also observed that "...it appears that when the Presbyterian Church began to articulate the relevance of the Christian Gospel to their daily life in this society that the Church and its leaders became the objects of persecution."

Action

This time we have a veritable shopping list of suggested activities in support of democracy and human rights in Taiwan. We urge you to take some time to write just a few letters and cards. Together these Letters and cards will form an avalanche of expressions of concern, which may make the difference between a yes and a no vote in a Congressional Committee, or between more lenient treatment and more harassment for our imprisoned friends in Taiwan

I. Birthday card campaign. We remind you of the upcoming birthdays of several of the detained opposition leaders. Please send them a birthday card both at their home address and at the Taiwan Garrison Command address. We also give the home addresses of several of the other opposition leaders. Please send them friendship/get-well cards.



Huang Hsin-chieh
August 20



Lin Yi-hsiung
August 24



Lin Hung-hsuan
September 11

Addresses:

- Huang Hsin-chieh : 23 Lane 137, Sec 3
Chung-ching North Road, Taipei (台北市重慶北路三段137巷23號)
- Lin Yi-hsiung : 2nd Floor, 5 Lane 246
Sec. 4, Pa-teh Rd., Taipei (台北市八德路四段246巷5號2樓)
- Lin Hung-hsuan : 59 Section 1
Han-chou South Rd., Taipei (台北市杭州南路一段59號)
- Yao Chia-wen : 5th Floor, 136, Sec. 2
Chung-hsiao East Rd., Taipei (台北市忠孝東路二段136號5樓)
- Chang Chün-hung : 2nd. Floor, 9-1 Lane 11, Sec. 1
Ho-ping East Rd., Taipei (台北市和平東路一段11巷9-1號2樓)
- Lü Hsiu-lien : 8 Alley 30, Lane 82
Chi-tung St., Taipei (台北市青東街82巷30弄8號)
- Shih Ming-teh : 30 Section 2
Chung-hsiao East Rd., Taipei (台北市忠孝東路二段30號)
- Ch'en Chü : 22 Yueh-mei Ch'un
San-Hsing Hsiang, Lo-tung, I-lan (宜蘭羅東三星鄉月眉村22號)
- Taiwan Garrison Command, Military Law Section
Fu-hsing Rd., Hsintien, Taipei County

2. House of Representatives. On June 11 and 17, 1980 the Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs of the U.S. House of Representatives held the first two sessions of a series of oversight hearings on the Taiwan Relations Act. Another session was held on July 30, at which Congressman Jim Leach and Reverend William P. Thompson testified in support of democracy and human rights in Taiwan. Please send a letter of mailgram to the Committee chairman, Congressman Lester L. Wolff and request him to approve House Resolution 603, which urges closer attention to the human rights situation in Taiwan before further military arms sales are made to the governing authorities in Taiwan.

Address : Congressman Lester L. Wolff
 Chairman, Subcommittee on Asian
 and Pacific Affairs
 H.O.B. Annex 1, Room 704
 Washington, D.C. 20515

3. Nuclear Power. In this issue of our Newsletter you find some basic information about the construction of nuclear reactors in Taiwan. The authorities in Taiwan are proceeding with this program in spite of serious concerns about the danger of earthquakes. Please write to the following persons and request that they inquire into this matter and take appropriate steps to ensure that the United States is not involved in the construction of unsafe reactors.

Addresses : Senator John Glenn
 Chairman, Subcommittee on Energy,
 Nuclear Proliferation, and Federal
 Services.
 204 Russell Office Building
 Washington, D.C. 20510

The Director
 United States Nuclear
 Regulatory Commission
 1717 H Street, N.W.
 Washington, D.C. 20036

The International Committee for the Defense of Human Rights in Taiwan (ICDHRT) campaigns for the release of political prisoners in Taiwan, and supports the establishment of a free and democratic political system on the island.
 Please support our activities with your contributions.

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City :	State:	Zip:	Seattle, WA 98105
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