

## Detained leaders reportedly tortured

Several prominent leaders of Taiwan's democratic opposition movement arrested in the wake of the December 10 Human Rights Day celebration in the southern port-city of Kaohsiung have reportedly been tortured. From several independent reliable sources in Taiwan we have learned that Lin Yi-hsiung ( ), member of the Taiwan Provincial Assembly and legal adviser to **Meili Tao** (Formosa Magazine); Yao Chia-wen ( ), also a prominent lawyer and legal adviser to Meili Tao, Ms. Lu Hsiu-lien ( ) Taiwan's women's rights leader and Harvard Law School graduate; Chang Chun-hung ( ), chief-editor of **Meili Tao** and member of the Taiwan Provincial Assembly; and Wang T'ao ( ), prominent novelist and literary critic have been tortured severely while in the custody of the Taiwan Garrison Command (TGC). Taiwan authorities have denied these charges.

When asked about these reports, the Taipei office of the American Institute in Taiwan indicated that it was aware of the fact that **nobody** — not even **wives or other close relatives** — had been allowed to see or visit the arrested opposition leaders since they were arrested on December 13, 1979. This fact raises grave doubts about the honesty and sincerity of the Taiwan authorities.

We suggest that — in order to clear up these charges — the Taiwan authorities allow representatives of the American Institute in Taiwan, the International Red Cross, and Amnesty International to visit the detained opposition leaders.



Shih Ming-teh

### Shih Ming-teh arrested

After a 26-day search the Taiwan Garrison Command (TGC) reportedly arrested Shih Ming-teh (38) in Taipei. Mr. Shih was apparently taken into custody at 1:40 pm, January 8<sup>th</sup> 1980, at the residence of Hsu ching-fu ( ) the operator of a movie production / distribution company in Taipei. Mr. Hsu's wife, Chiang Chin-ying ( ), and another woman, Chang Wen-chiang ( ), were also arrested.

Recent visitors to Taiwan reported that Shih had become something of a folk-hero for his capability to elude the secret-police dragnet. These visitors also reported a fast-growing below-the-surface network in support of the democratic opposition in spite of the large-scale arrests of opposition leaders.

*Shih Ming-the executed ? See report on page 7*

## Appeal from Taiwan

On December 31, 1979 the Taiwanese community in the U.S. received an appeal from several members of the democratic opposition group, who had not been arrested yet, but who were in hiding. Below you find the edited text of this appeal:

Help, help, help, rescue us !!!  
To all human rights organizations, all over the world.  
To all Taiwanese organizations, all over the world.  
To all Christians, all over the world.

From a young generation of Taiwanese, who have been fighting for human rights, whose lives are now endangered, and who have been arrested or who are hiding in an attempt to escape from certain torture and maybe death at the hands of the KMT's secret police.

Immediately after the December 10, 1979 gathering - a meeting at which many thousands gathered in Kaohsiung to celebrate Human Rights Day virtually all democratic opposition leaders were arrested by the KMT's secret police. Many people have already been arrested, and more than 500 may be arrested according to the head of the Taiwan Garrison Command.

We don't have a list of the arrested people. Some have just disappeared. Family or friends have not been notified of their whereabouts. We urge all readers of this letter to take immediate action to protest, against these arrests by the KMT, and to rescue all prisoners of conscience in Taiwan.

## Partial List of Arrested Persons

Below you find a list of members of the democratic opposition movement who have either been arrested, arrested and subsequently released, or who are presently being sought by the Taiwan Garrison Command (TGC, Taiwan's secret police). It must be emphasized that it is extremely difficult to get accurate information about the situation in Taiwan: the relatives of the arrested persons have been warned by the police not to relay information about the arrests to the outside world. Several people who transmitted parts of the list to human rights organizations in the United States were subsequently also arrested. The information presented here is therefore far from complete. We will publish more information as it becomes available.

The names are given - as customary - family name first and given name last. In the "ARREST STATUS" column we give, when possible, the date and place of arrest. Some persons were arrested and - according to some sources - released again ("released"), while others are apparently still being hunted down by the Garrison Command ("hiding").

NAME	AGE	OCCUPATION	ARREST STATUS
1. CHANG Chün-hung 張俊宏	41	Member Taiwan Provincial Ass'bly Chief-editor <u>Formosa</u> .	Dec 13 Taipei
2. CHANG Chun-nan 張春南	40	Former member National Ass'bly Election coordinator for opposition coalition (1978).	in hiding
3. CHANG Fu-chung 張富忠	27	Writer and assistant-editor for <u>Formosa</u> ; visited U.S. in 1979	Dec 13 Taipei
4. Ms CHANG Mei-chen 張美貞		Sister of Chang Chun-hung; Administrative assistant for <u>Formosa</u>	in hiding
5. CHANG Teh-ming 張德銘		Lawyer from Taoyuan	released ?
6. Ms CHANG Wen-chiang 張文江		possibly sister of # 7	Jan 8 Taipei
7. Ms CHANG Wen-ying	30	Medical technician in Taichung; Also called Chang Rui-ying	Jan 7 Taichung
8. CHEN Bor-wen 陳博文	43	Director, medical clinic in Taichung; writer for <u>Formosa</u> and other opposition publications	
9. Ms CHEN Chü 陳菊	30	Writer and editor for <u>Formosa</u> and other opposition publications.	Dec 13 Taipei
10. CH'EN Chung-hsin 陳忠信	28	B.A. Mathematics, Tunghai Univ. Editor for <u>Formosa</u>	Dec Taipei
11. CHEN Jui-ch'ing 陳瑞慶		resident of Pintung	Dec Pintung
12. CHEN Lai-fu 陳來福	24	from Tainan	
13. Ms CHIANG Chün-ying 江金櫻		Wife of Hsu Ch'ing-fu; accused of harboring Shih Ming-teh	Jan 8 Taipei
14. CH'IU Sheng-hsiung 邱勝雄(邱阿倉)	36	Taxi driver; father of six children	Dec Kaohsiung
15. CHIU Ch'ui-chen 邱垂貞	28	Writer for <u>Formosa</u> ; folksinger; campaign aide to Lu Hsiu-lien	
16. CH'IU Lien-hui 邱連輝		Resident of Pintung	released ?
17. CH'IU Mao-nan 邱茂男	43	Businessman; Candidate in National Assembly elections (78)	

18. CH'IU Yi-pin 邱奕彬	31	Dentist in Chungli; did not attend Kaohsiung rally	Dec 13 Chungli
19. CH'IU Yi-ts'ai		Sister of Ch'iu Yi-pin	released ?
20. CHI Wan-sheng 紀萬生	51	B.A. Tan-chiang College Highschool teacher	Dec D
21. CHOU P'ing-teh 周平德	41	Judicial clerk, local judge; Candidate for Prov. Ass'bly (77) and Legislative Yuan (78)	
22. CHUNG Ch'ung-ming		Associated with Tainan Theol. Seminary; Editor Presbyterian Church Newsletter.	Jan <sup>hiding</sup>
23. FAN Cheng-yu 范政祐	42	Real estate agent in Taichung; Writer for <u>Formosa</u>	
24. HO Wen-chen 何文振			released ?
25. HSIAO Yü-chen, (Ms) 蕭裕珍			in hiding
26. HSIEH Hsiu-hsiung 謝秀雄		Associated with Tainan Theol. Seminary	January <sup>ng</sup>
27. HSÜ Ch'ing-fu 許晴富	45	Movie production company operator; accused of harboring Shih Ming-teh	Jan 8 Taipei
28. HSÜ T'ien-hsien 許天賢		Minister of Presbyterian Church near Chiayi; arrested while con- ducting a church service	Dec 23 Chiayi
29. HUANG Chung-kuang 黃重光			January
30. HUANG Hsin-chieh 黃信介	58	Member Legislative Yuan ; Publisher <u>Formosa</u> ; senior opposition leader	Dec 14
31. HUANG Huang-hsiung 黃煌雄		M.A. Political Science	released ?
32. HUANG T'ien-fu 黃天福		Brother of Huang Hsin-chieh	released ?
33. HUANG Tsao-hui 黃昭輝		Associated with Tainan Theol. Seminary	January
34. HUANG Tsao-kai 黃昭凱			in hiding
35. KUO En-hsing (Ms) 郭恩愷		Associated with Tainan Theol. Seminary ; Editor Church Newsl	Jan

36. LI Ch'ang-tsung 李長宗		residing in Taichung	Taichung
37. LI Ch'ing-jung 李慶榮	52	B.A. History National Univ. reporter and writer	
38. LIN An-shun 林安順	50	Staff member <u>Formosa</u> branch office in Kaohsiung	Dec 19 Kaohsiung
39. LIN Hsin-chi 林信吉		residing in Kaohsiung	
40. Ms LIN Hui-chen 林惠珍		nurse in Taichung	January Taichung
41. LIN Hung-hsüan 林弘宣	36	B.A. Philosophy, National Un. Graduate Tainan Theol. Seminary; Manager Kaohsiung office of <u>Formosa</u> Associated with Tainan Theol. Seminary	Jan 7
42. Ms LIN Shu-chüan 林淑娟			
43. LIN Yi-hsiung 林義雄	38	Member Taiwan Provincial Ass'bly Legal advisor to <u>Formosa</u>	Dec 13 Taipei
44. LIN Ya-Ch'ing (Ms) 林亞卿			in hiding
45. LIU Hua-min 劉華民		residing in Pintung	Dec Pintung
46. LIU Tai-ho 劉泰和		residing in Pintung	Dec Pintung
47. LÜ Hsiu-lien (Ms) 呂秀蓮	35	M.A. Univ. of Illinois and Harvard; Taiwan's women's rights leader	Dec 13 Taipei
48. P'AN Lai-ch'ang 潘來長			Dec Taichung
49. SHIH Fei-fei 史非非		Writer for <u>The Eighties</u>	
50. SHIH Ming-teh 施明德	38	B.A. Military Academy; former political prisoner (62-77); Manager <u>Formosa</u>	Jan 8 Taipei
51. SU Chen-hsiang 蘇振祥	29	Truckdriver in Kaohsiung	
52. Ms. SU Chieng-li 蘇慶梨	33	B.A. Philosophy National Univ. Editor-in-chief of <u>China Tide</u> and <u>Spring Wind</u>	

53. Ms SU Chih-fen 蘇治芬	28	Daughter of former political prisoner Su T'ung-chi; Candidate for National Ass'bly (78)	
54. SU Ch'iu-chen 蘇秋鎮	50	Lawyer in Kaohsiung; member of <u>Formosa</u> executive committee	
55. SU Ch'ing-shan 蘇清山	40	Fishing boat owner; accused of helping Shih Ming-teh escape Taiwan !	Dec 22 Pintung
56. TIEN Chiu-chin (Ms) 田秋堇			in hiding
57. TS'AI Ch'ui-ho 蔡垂和	37		
58. TS'AI Yu-ch'üan 蔡有全	28	Associated with Tainan Theol. Seminary.	Jan 7
59. Ms TSENG Hsin-I 曾心儀		Writer	in hiding
60. WANG Sheng-min 王聲閔	30	residing in Kaohsiung	Dec Kaohsiung
61. WANG T'o 王拓	35	Well-known writer; editor of <u>Formosa</u>	Dec 13
62. WEI T'ing-ch'ao 魏廷朝	46	Political scientist; editor of <u>Formosa</u> ; former political prisoner. Brother of # 62	released ?
63. WEI Yen-ch'ao 魏延朝			
64. WU Che-lang 吳哲朗		Prominent opposition member; Arrested in November	Nov 18 Taichung
65. WU Chen-ming 吳振銘	24	from Tainan	
66. WU Wen-hsién 吳文賢		from Tainan	Dec 19
67. YANG Ch'ing-ch'u 楊青蘊	39	Factory worker and writer; Candidate for Legislative Yuan (1978)	
68. YANG Wen-chang 楊文章	31	Owner of printing company Assistant-manager Formosa office in Kaohsiung	Dec 19
69. Yao Chia-wen 姚嘉文	41	Prominent lawyer; Candidate for National Assembly (1978)	
70. YAO Kuo-chien 姚國建	27	Staff member <u>Formosa</u> office in Kaohsiung; former political prisoner (1971-1978)	Kaohsiung

71. YEN Tzu-lung			in hiding
72. Ms Yuan Yen-yen 袁燕姬		Manager of girl's dorm of Catholic Church	Jan Taipei
73. YÜ A-hsing 余阿興		from Tainan	Dec 19 Kaohsiung
74. Dr. YU Ch'ing 尤清	38	Ph.D. in Law, Heidelberg Univ. Attorney in Kaohsiung; lawyer for Wu Che-lung.	

On Friday, January 11 1980, the Washington office of the Coordinating Council for North American Affairs (CCNAA, Taiwan's unofficial representation in the U.S.) indicated that 65 people have been arrested pending completion of investigation on sedition charges. No figure for the total number of arrests was given, but sources in Taiwan estimate the overall total to be well over 300.

The CCNAA report said that if investigations do not yield evidence to support sedition charges, then the sedition cases will be remanded to civil court.

We find it interesting to note that the Taiwan authorities first arrest people on sedition charges, and then look for evidence to support these charges.

### More Presbyterians Arrested

After completing the above list, we received word that the Taiwan Garrison Command had started to arrest more people associated with the Presbyterian Church, including Ms. Shih Jui-yun ( ), secretary of Dr. C.M. Kao, General Secretary of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan. The Reverend Kao indicated to friends in the United States that he expects to be arrested any day.

### Shih Ming-the Executed?

Mr. Shih — arrested on January 8th is a former political prisoner, who played a key role in the embryonic democratic movement. He served as manager of **Meili Tao** (Formosa Magazine) until it was banned after the December 10 Human Rights Day celebration. During interrogation by the Taiwan Garrison Command in 1962 police officers knocked out Mr. Shih's teeth and damaged his back so severely, that fifteen years later he was still suffering from his back injury.

At approximately noon time on January 10 1980 (West Coast time) a report reached the United States that in the evening of January 10 (Taiwan time) Mr. Shih had been sent to a secret military court for sentencing, and was scheduled to be executed at dawn on January 11th (Taiwan time). The U.S. State Department, the offices of Senator Kennedy and several other prominent U.S. Senators and Congressmen, as well as Amnesty International immediately lodged strong protests against the reported impending execution.

On the morning of Friday, January 11 1980, General Hsu Mei-ling, ( , spokesman for the Taiwan Garrison Command), announced that Shih Ming-teh had not been brought to trial or executed. However, nobody has been allowed to see or visit Mr. Shih.

## Who planned Violence in Kaohsiung?

One of the major questions being raised in connection with the December 10 Human Rights Day celebration is: “*Where did the violence originate?*” The governing authorities (KMT in the remainder of this statement, since the Taiwan government is almost synonymous with the ruling KMT, Kuomintang Chinese Nationalist Party) charge that the rally was “premeditated result of conspiracy”, which brought together “lawless and radical elements armed with clubs, bars, iron hooks, torches, incendiary chemicals, axes, and rocks that had been deliberately gathered and made ready specifically for use” at the rally.

Such imaginative prose must be contrasted against more down-to-earth information obtained from other sources in Taiwan:

1. The opposition group applied for permission to hold an open-air gathering to celebrate Human Rights Day. If the opposition group was indeed “lawless and radical”, then they would not have applied for a permit for the meeting.
2. Opposition sources indicate that the major violent confrontations of the evening of December 10, 1979 were initiated by the riot troops: in the beginning of the evening the police fully encircled and then moved in on the opposition group. After the initial melee the opposition regrouped and had a peaceful gathering attended by more than 10,000 people with speeches and the singing of Taiwanese folksongs. Violence erupted again at the end of the evening when riot troops arrived, which smashed with their trucks into the crowd, and attempted to break up the meeting with teargas. (See the eyewitness account reported in our Newsletter # 7, December 15 1979).
3. KMT sources report that “unarmed policemen” were attacked by a “large mob” and that “182 policemen and 1 demonstrator were injured”. Our comment on that report would be that, firstly, anyone who has ever been in Taiwan knows that policemen there are never “unarmed” (in Britain maybe, but in Taiwan...?), and secondly, that in any major confrontation between two groups it is highly unlikely that only people on one side are injured.
4. People who attended the Kaohsiung event informed us that the torches, which they had brought with them for the torchlight parade, were the only “weapons” carried by the democratic opposition group. The other “weapons” described in KMT accounts are thus either figments of KMT imagination or were brought in by KMT instigators.
5. The issue of KMT instigators is an important one: Several reports from Taiwan indicate that the KMT may have planned to have the Human Rights Day rally end in a violent confrontation, and use it as a good excuse to crack down on the democratic opposition movement. Some pieces of information are presented here:



- a. Persons from suburban areas in Kaohsiung reported that they saw in the crowd plaincloth policemen from their own district *attacking the riot police*.
- b. Several days before the Kaohsiung event police authorities called back paroled criminals. Our sources in Taiwan suggest that these persons played the role of instigators in the violence, in return for reduced sentences.
- c. Several weeks before December 10, 1979 relatives of high KMT officials in the United States received a suggestion from the governing authorities to move to a different residence. The KMT may thus have been planning to crack down on the opposition - no matter what happened at the Human Rights Day event - and wished to minimize the risk of reprisals against these relatives.

We believe that only a thorough investigation can lead to a firm conclusion. However, it is doubtful that the governing authorities in Taiwan will conduct any fair or impartial inquiry into the matter. We can only hope that further information which may clarify the situation, will come out in due time.

## Concern in the U.S. Congress

The developments in Taiwan are followed with great concern by officials of the U.S. Government and by members of Congress. The subcommittees on Asian & Pacific Affairs (chaired by Congressman Wolff, D - New York) and International Organizations (chaired by Congressman Don Bonker, D - Washington) of the House Foreign Affairs Committee will conduct joint hearings on the human rights situation in Taiwan and in several other Asian countries. A Congressional delegation, led by Congressman Wolff, will visit Taiwan starting January 21, 1980.

Congressman Jim Leach (R - Iowa), who is particularly well-informed about the developments in Taiwan, made a statement in the U.S. House of Representatives on December 20, 1979. We believe that this statement contains an excellent analysis of the situation in Taiwan. We reprint the full statement here (with the approval of the Congressman's office) for the benefit of our readers.



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DAY 10: NEW POLITICAL REPRESSION ON TAIWAN

**HON. JIM LEACH**

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Thursday, December 20, 1979

● Mr. LEACH of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, in the past 10 days some extremely disturbing events have occurred in Taiwan which give cause for grave concern for political evolution on that island and, indeed, for the future relationship between the United States and Taiwan.

In the several months following diplomatic recognition of the People's Republic of China by the United States a year ago, the Nationalist Kuomintang (KMT) authorities in Taiwan took a series of politically repressive steps to restrict opposition political activities. Scheduled local elections were postponed, two non-KMT publications were banned, a respected, elderly local politician was sentenced to 8 years in prison and other actions to impede political expression were taken.

In subsequent months, however, there were encouraging signs of a degree of political relaxation. Two monthly magazines taking positions independent of the Government were allowed to publish, and there was even some reason to believe that the postponed elections would be rescheduled late this year or early next year. Both magazines enjoyed instant success, with a circulation reflecting the widespread thirst on Taiwan for information from sources not tightly controlled by government censorship. One

of the two, the Formosa Monthly, published four issues and reached a circulation of some 200,000 copies.

Because of the long history of restrictions on political activity in Taiwan, where the KMT is the only legal political party, the Formosa Monthly became a magnet for many of the Taiwanese who seek a greater voice in their own government. The magazine became a focal point for opposition points of view and its organizational structure came to function almost as a pseudo-political party. It was critical of one-party rule on the island and urged greater opportunities for political freedom for the native-born Taiwanese who constitute 85 percent of the population of Taiwan.

Unfortunately, the views expressed in the Formosa Monthly were not well-received by the KMT and the Government began a crackdown. In vigilante-style tactics typical of many police states, the magazine's office in Kaohsiung, Taiwan's largest city, was broken into and ransacked. The publisher of the Formosa Monthly, Mr. Huang Hsin-chieh, an elected native Taiwanese member of the National Legislative Yuan, had his life threatened because of the political opinions expressed in the magazine.

The latest and most serious incident resulted from a request by Formosa Monthly to sponsor an outdoor rally in Kaohsiung to commemorate International Human Rights Day on December 10. Large opposition political rallies have not been permitted on Taiwan, and the authorities denied the request. There is some question whether a smaller indoor meeting would have been allowed. Nevertheless, the magazine decided to proceed with its plans for an outdoor rally in a large park in central Kaohsiung. On the evening of December 9, two employees of the magazine who were advertising the rally were arrested and severely beaten at the local military garrison.

On the evening of December 10, supporters of the magazine gathered at its Kaohsiung office. Large numbers of police and military forces cordoned off the building and a crowd of many thousand gathered in the area. When some 200 to 300 persons tried to march from the magazine's office to the city park, they were restrained. Fighting broke out between the marchers and the police and tear gas was used to quell the demonstrators. Disturbances continued until the early morning. Although little physical damage was done, Taiwan military authorities claim 182 military and civilian police were injured and charge that the demonstrators were deliberately provocative. Supporters of Formosa Monthly, for their part, point out that there was never any reason to have such overwhelming police and military forces at the rally and argue that the authorities seized upon the planned rally and

the confrontation between security forces and demonstrators as a pretext for rounding up increasingly bold Taiwanese dissidents.

In the following days, the largest mass arrest of opposition forces in Taiwan's recent political history occurred. Fifteen prominent personalities in the Taiwanese political movement, including several who did not even attend the December 10 march, were detained on December 13. Subsequently, others involved in the demonstration have been arrested, bringing the total of those detained to more than 100. Others are in hiding and are being sought by the police. Formosa Monthly has been proscribed from further publication.

Among those arrested are two members of the Taiwan provincial assembly, one of whom visited my office in September, as well as Mr. Huang, the publisher of Formosa Monthly. Mr. Huang's detention created a particularly precarious problem for the authorities since his parliamentary status theoretically gave him immunity from arrest. However, the Yuan, most of whose members are mainland Chinese elected before 1949 to represent provinces of China which the KMT government no longer controls, gave overwhelming approval to his detention, and he was arrested on the floor of that body on December 13. Also among those detained is a woman human rights leader who called on me last summer. While formal charges have yet to be announced, there is a very strong possibility that these 15 will be charged with sedition, which carries the maximum penalty of execution and certainly extended imprisonment. I sincerely hope that those arrested will be released, but, should this not occur, that those who are eventually charged will be tried before a civilian and not a military court.

Mr. Speaker, it is evident that a new wave of political repression is beginning on Taiwan. The KMT authorities, after a brief period of apparent uncertainty on how much dissent to allow, have decided to crack down on legitimate political dissent. The Formosa Monthly rally on December 10 in Kaohsiung could have been peaceful, demonstrating to outside observers that there was hope that the KMT authorities and the Taiwanese majority could work together in the exercise of democratic rights which many believe are essential to the future freedom and independence of Taiwan. Instead, it is apparent that hardline elements among the ruling group have increasingly come to prevail.

These events on Taiwan sparked immediate ramifications in this country. Over the past weekend offices of the Co-ordinated Council for North American Affairs (CCNAA) in Washington, Seattle, and Los Angeles were attacked. Windows were broken and, in one of the incidents, furniture broken and one person injured. Although reflective of understandable

frustration, the violent acts against Taiwan's offices in this country are as much to be condemned as the violence which occurred in Kaohsiung. It is time for cooler voices to be heard on both sides and for moderation to prevail.

Above all, it is time that the ruling KMT authorities on Taiwan recognize that the continued denial to the majority of the island's population of the right to participate fully in their own political system is likely to lead to further demonstrations and political instability.

What has happened to Taiwan in the past 10 days is worthy of careful attention in the Congress. Last March, when the Congress passed the Taiwan Relations Act, it asserted in a provision that I am proud to have proposed that "The preservation and enhancement of the human rights of all the people on Taiwan are hereby reaffirmed as objectives of the United States."

I regret to say that, unless there is a fundamental change in favor of greater popular political participation in Taiwan, it may become increasingly difficult to maintain the historically close relations which the United States has had with Taiwan. It would indeed be tragic if the unwillingness of a small minority on Taiwan to share its political power resulted in a degree of instability which threatened Taiwan's present prosperity and at the same time undermined one of the essential ties between the people of Taiwan and the people of the United States.

The events in Iran have captured so much attention from the administration and the American public in recent weeks that the new tightened political repression on Taiwan has largely gone unnoted. It is incumbent, however, on the Congress and the administration to express on behalf of the American people our deep concern for the new directions being taken by the Government of Taiwan.

Clearly, if there is to be a stable future for the people of the island, it can only be insured by expanding rather than restricting basic human liberties. A minority pledged to the unrealistic dream of recapturing the mainland cannot forever rule an independent people committed to democratic participation.

Today marks the 10th day since the clash that took place outside the Formosa Monthly office. The future of U.S.-Taiwanese relations as well as the future of the democratic movement on Taiwan hinge on the judgment that KMT authorities bring to bear on the issues involved. American friends of Taiwan urge restraint and greater democratization. The reverse imperils the freedom and security of the island. ●

## Suspend Military Arms Sales

What can be done to convince the governing authorities in Taiwan that the crackdown on the opposition movement is against their own best interest? One must realize that the decision to move against the opposition leaders represents a victory for the military and right wingers within the KMT over the more moderate group, led by Kuan Chung ( ), deputy chief of the KMT policy coordination committee. The moderate KMT group had been advocating and pursuing an accommodation with the democratic opposition movement. Kuan Chung was sacked in the wake of the events of mid-December.

One reason why the Taiwan authorities decided to go ahead with the crackdown is that they are virtually assured of military supplies from the United States: last summer the U.S. and Taiwan signed a \$ 240.7 million arms sale package, involving 48 F5-E fighter aircraft, 500 Maverick air-to-ground missiles, 48 Maverick modification kits and laser target-finder equipment (**Far Eastern Economic Review**, July 20 1979, p. 23).

On January 21, 1980 the U.S. State Department/Pentagon will formally notify Congress of a \$ 291.7 million package, this one involving Hawk anti-aircraft and TOW anti-tank missiles (see **New York Times** and **Asian Wall Street Journal** articles reprinted here).

*The Asian Wall Street Journal Weekly* January 7, 1980

### U.S. to Sell Taiwan Defensive Weapons For \$291 Million

WASHINGTON—On the eve of a visit to China by Defense Secretary Harold Brown, the Carter administration announced plans to sell Taiwan \$291.7 million of defensive weapons.

The State Department announced the sale as Secretary Brown prepared to leave for China Friday for a round of discussions with Chinese leaders on mutual security matters, including the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

The U.S. has broken formal diplomatic relations with Taiwan and canceled a defense treaty with it, but the sale is designed to show that America will continue to help Taiwan meet its security needs. Administration officials said, however, that the weapons can't be used to attack mainland China, Taiwan's arch rival.

The administration notified Congress that it will sell Taiwan 280 Raytheon Co. improved Hawk air-defense missiles for \$150 million, 14 FMC Corp. Mark 75 shipboard gun mounts for \$58.5 million, 284 improved Sea Chapparral shipboard air-defense missiles made by the Ford aerospace unit of Ford Motor Co. for \$34.5 million and 1,000 TOW antitank missiles, plus 49

launchers, for \$11.5 million from Hughes Aircraft Co.

Congress has 30 days to review these sales but isn't likely to oppose them.

State Department spokesman Hodding Carter said the U.S. turned down a Taiwanese request for high-performance aircraft, such as the McDonnell Douglas Corp. F4, the General Dynamics Corp. F16 and the McDonnell Douglas-Northrop Corp. F18. These planes could attack the mainland. But the U.S. is willing to sell Northrop F5s with shorter range.

Two other sales don't require congressional approval under the laws governing foreign military sales. They are \$25 million of Honeywell Inc. equipment to control the firing of shipboard weapons and \$12.2 million of equipment, by an undisclosed manufacturer, to identify aircraft.

The administration wanted to announce the sales prior to Mr. Brown's trip to Peking to avoid the diplomatic embarrassment of announcing them during or after the trip.

Mr. Brown isn't expected to tell the Chinese that the U.S. has dropped its prohibition against selling military equipment to China, but he's likely to offer the Chinese certain technologically advanced gear, such as a ground station that will allow China to receive pictures from the U.S. Landsat satellite. This satellite photographs the world to show crop growth and geological formations.

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## U.S. to Sell Taiwan Defense Missile

By GRAHAM HOVEY

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 3 — The United States has decided to sell Taiwan \$280 million worth of anti-aircraft missiles and other defensive weapons but to reject for now the Taipei Government's request for advanced fighter planes, the State Department said today.

Unless Congress blocks the transaction by majority votes of both houses, a development considered extremely unlikely, the arms sales will be the first approved for Taiwan since the United States withdrew recognition of Taipei and established full relations with Peking a year ago.

At that time, President Carter made it clear that Washington would continue to sell "carefully selected defensive weapons" to Taiwan even after the Mutual Defense Treaty with Taiwan expired on American initiative at the end of 1979.

According to Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance, Peking registered its disapproval of the Administration's policy but went forward with the normalization of relations "with full knowledge of our intentions."

Hodding Carter 3d, the State Department spokesman, said today that China had been informed that, "consistent with our intentions stated publicly at the time of normalization, we are resuming the sale to Taiwan of selected defensive equipment."

The announcement of the decision appeared to have been timed to coincide

with the departure tomorrow of Secretary of Defense Harold Brown for Peking for wide-ranging discussions with Chinese leaders. Administration officials said the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan had given Mr. Brown's visit greater significance than envisioned when it was scheduled several months ago.

The officials have said that the Administration will seek Peking's cooperation in an effort to improve Pakistan's defense against Soviet military pressure, possibly including shipments of Chinese arms. Hodding Carter said the Administration had given no consideration to supplying weapons to China, however.

Four of the five items approved for sale to Taiwan will reinforce or update weapons systems already in its arsenal. The United States will provide an additional battalion of Hawk land-based anti-aircraft missiles and an improved version of the Sea Chaparral ship-based anti-aircraft missile.

It will furnish additional TOW anti-tank missiles and a modernized shipboard weapons fire-control system, along with 76-millimeter rapid-firing guns.

Washington has rejected all of Taiwan's requests for "high-performance aircraft" for now. Hodding Carter said these requests, including those for the F-4 and F-18 planes, were turned down last year because providing them would have violated the President's arms transfer policy.

These arms sales are reminiscent of the large-scale U.S. arms sales to the Shah of Iran before his downfall. With the benefit of hindsight we argue that – if the U.S. had been able to convince the Shah – at an early stage – to stop the repressive SAVAK's activities, and to allow a democratic opposition with people such as Bahktiar and Bazarghan to function, then the revolution might have been prevented.

We suggest here that the highest priority in the U.S.'s informal relations with Taiwan should be ".... *the preservation and enhancement of the human rights of all people in Taiwan*" (Taiwan Relations Act, Section 2(c)).

As Congressman Leach said in his statement of December 20, 1979: "...*if there is to be a stable future for the people of the island, it can only be ensured by expanding rather than restricting basic human liberties.*"

In line with our arguments presented above, we suggest that the U.S. *suspend military arms sales to Taiwan until the members of the opposition have been released*, and the Taiwan authorities have moved towards a democratic political system.

1. 在海內外台灣人民的焦慮中，台灣民主運動領袖之一施明德先生，已在台北遭國民黨特務逮捕。施明德的妻子艾琳達在他被捕之後，立即發表聲明，要台灣人民不必因此而氣餒，應該為台灣的民主前途加倍努力。施明德是在台北時間一月八日下午一時四十五分，於台北市漢口街二段九十六號被捕，同時被捕的有江金櫻和張長文江，稍後，許晴富（即江金櫻的丈夫）也被捕。許晴富主持「永順電影企業公司」，是保護施明德的重要人之一。根據國民黨的報紙輿論，以及警備總部的發表談話，施明德恐怕會處以極刑。不同的消息來源傳說，施明德或已被槍斃，或正被處刑。朋友們，無論消息的正確與否，施明德的生命落在國民黨手中，已朝不保夕。請你立刻行動，搶救他的生命。寫信和打電報，請參閱英文信。
2. 從台灣傳來的直接消息，被捕的黨外領袖，張俊宏、林義雄、姚嘉文、呂秀蓮、王拓，正遭受處刑。國民黨之所以如此肆無忌憚，毫不尊重政治犯的基本人權，有兩個重要原因：第一，因為它獲得美國售賣武器的同意，第二，美國正面臨伊朗和阿富汗的危機，無暇顧及台灣的人權。要提醒國民黨尊重基本人權，我們可以做的，就是呼籲美國政府暫停售賣武器給國民黨，直到它不再濫捕，濫刑黨外人士。朋友們，請立刻寫信或打電報給美國國會議員。如果在二月初之前，美國國會沒有提出異議，售賣武器即將獲得通過。所以，你的立即行動可以產生影響力。
3. 台灣長老教會也已面臨迫害的危機。此間的台灣同鄉於一九七九年十二月三十一日，收到台灣年輕基督教徒的呼籲：「給全世界的人權組織，給全世界的台灣同鄉團體，給全世界的基督教徒，請救救我們！為人權奮鬥的年輕一代台灣人，現正面臨危機，被捕的被捕，逃亡的逃亡，以躲避國民黨特務的酷刑或死刑。十二月十日在高雄慶祝世界人權節之後，所有的黨外領袖已立刻被捕，據警備總部的消息已超過五百人被捕。我們沒有被捕的名單，有些人失蹤了，他們的親友都不知他們身在何處。請讀到這封信的人，立刻行動，抗議國民黨的逮捕，並搶救所有的台灣良心的囚犯！」
4. **是誰計畫了這次的暴力行動？**這個問題已經有了答案，根據中國時報訪問黃越欽（政大）教授的談話，黨外人士完全沒有預謀，真正預謀的，是國民黨所準備的鎮暴部隊，「黨外人士落入國民黨的苦肉計」，是一個事實。今年一月五日出版的「大時代」第七期（在台北發行），詳細報導整個事件經過，為中央日報和聯合報頗有出入，充分證明這次事件，是國民黨製造出來的。
5. 我們搜集了七十四位被捕名單，如果能提供更多被捕的消息，或更正我們已有的名單，我們將感激不盡。

## Action

The present mass-arrest and the possible execution of opposition leaders is the most serious situation the people of Taiwan have faced since the February 28 incident of 1947,

Many of us feel helpless in the face of the KMT's blatant aggression. However, we should try to do everything we can. Here in the U.S. we are in a good position to exert pressure on Taiwan. We can accomplish much *if we all act together*.

As we have indicated in this Newsletter, the military arms sales are virtually the only means through which we can influence the KMT. The most recent package will *be automatically approved* unless Congress blocks the transaction by majority votes of both houses before February 21st 1980 (not February 3rd, as we reported earlier!).

Two subcommittees of the House Foreign Affairs Committee have already scheduled joint hearings on the situation in Taiwan (February 5-7, 1980). We should now try to convince the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to do the same.

Please send mailgrams or write to the Senators listed below. It is important that particularly the conservative senators get a large volume of mail !! Say something like:

WE URGE YOU STRONGLY TO HOLD HEARINGS TO INVESTIGATE THE RECENT HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN TAIWAN, AND TO CONSIDER SUSPENSION OF MILITARY ARMS SALES TO TAIWAN UNTIL (1) THE MEMBERS OF THE DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION HAVE BEEN RELEASED, AND (2) THE TAIWAN GOVERNMENT HAS PROGRESSED TOWARDS A FREE AND DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL SYSTEM.

Please act fast, every day counts!!

Senators: \*Frank Church, Chairman Foreign Relations Committee

George McGovern  
Claiborne Pell  
Joseph R. Biden  
\*Charles H. Percy  
\*John Glenn  
\*Richard Stone  
Paul Sarbanes

Edmund Muskie  
\*Edward Zorinski  
\*Jacob K. Javits  
\*S.I. Hayakawa  
\*Howard H. Baker  
\*Jesse Helms  
Richard G. Lugar

\*make sure that these Senators receive your message !

Address: Senate Office Building  
Washington, D.C. 20510