



# TAIWAN COMMUNIQUE

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# 02

## Who murdered Mr Lin's mother and daughters?

Almost one year ago, on 28 February 1980, the mother and two young daughters of opposition lawyer Lin Yi-hsiung – a member of the Taiwan Provincial Assembly — were brutally knifed to death in their home in Taipei.

At the time Mr. Lin was in detention for his alleged involvement in the Kaohsiung incident. He had been held incommunicado since his arrest in the early morning of 13 December 1979. For a period of approximately 42 days after the arrest Mr. Lin was interrogated and severely beaten by the secret police agents interrogating him (see his account, titled "My Detention," published in the Summer 1980 issue of SPEAHRhead, the Bulletin of the Society for the Protection of East Asians' Human Rights).



**Mr. Lin Yi-hsiung**

On February 26, 1980 the interrogators threatened Mr. Lin, saying that "unfavorable" things could happen to his family if he would disclose to his family members what "treatment" he had received during his interrogation (New York Times, March 26, 1980). On February 27 Mr. Lin and other detained opposition leaders were allowed to meet briefly with relatives. During this visit he indicated that he had not signed the customary "confession" voluntarily.

Just after noontime on February 28, Lin You Ah-mei, age 59, and Mr. Lin's seven years-old twin daughters T'ing-chün and Liang-chün were murdered. A third daughter, Ah-chün survived multiple knife wounds. The house had been under 24 hours-a-day police surveillance since Mr. Lin's arrest in mid-December. To this day the Taiwan authorities maintain that they have not been able to find a suspect in the case.

*Taiwan Communiqué* has now learned of new information pointing in the direction of a major cover-up by Taiwan's authorities: well-informed, unimpeachable American sources have indicated that this terrorist act against Mr. Lin's family was committed by a person associated with the "patriotic anti-communist heroes". The "heroes" are an extremist right-wing group with strong connections with the military and the secret police organizations. It is still possible that the murderer himself also was an agent of the Taiwan Garrison Command (TGC) or the Investigation Bureau of the Ministry of Justice (IBMJ). In fact there have been repeated reports that he was a bureau chief in the Investigation Bureau, but it is obviously difficult to obtain official confirmation of these reports.

The American sources also indicated that a few days after the murders took place the "patriotic hero" was arrested and executed by the authorities. Strangely the Taiwan authorities did not make this information public, but continued to insinuate that "communists" or "pro-independence activists" were responsible for the murders. In April 1980 there was even an attempt to link the Presbyterian Church with the case: Taiwan Garrison Command agents showed up in Christian aborigine mountain villages and promised a large monetary reward to villagers if they would implicate a member of the Church.

Another noteworthy piece of information: Shortly after the murders occurred moderate pro-KMT legislator Fu Ch'iu-yuan criticized **Chi Feng** — the publication of the "heroes" — in a matter that was not related to the murders. The editor of **Chi Feng** then publicly stated " ... *Legislator Fu should repent and behave himself, or else he will meet the same fate as the members of Lin's family*" (**Taipei's Peoples' Daily**, March 7, 1980).

Instead of investigating the "heroes", the Taiwan authorities then invited five prominent members of the group for a tour around the world.

Why did the Taiwan authorities conceal the arrest and execution of the murderer? We believe that there are two possible explanations:

1. Disclosure of this information would "embarrass" the right wing of the KMT and the secret police organizations with close links to the "patriots." It was thus politically expedient to play the game that the murderer could not be found.
2. The murderer was executed to prevent him from disclosing involvement of secret police officials in the planning of the murders. This would fit the established Taiwan Garrison Command and Investigation Bureau pattern of murder as part of an effort to hide the truth.

*Taiwan Communiqué comment: It cannot be expected that the Nationalist Chinese authorities will voluntarily be forthcoming with any further facts on this matter. We hope that somewhere in the government of the United States — be it in the Executive Branch or in the Congress — there are persons with a sense of justice, who will urge the Taiwan authorities to see to it that the guilty are brought to justice and that the innocent are released.*

Mr. Lin is at this moment still languishing in prison, accused of “inciting” the crowd at Kaohsiung. However, the tape recordings of the Kaohsiung incident show that Mr. Lin was only introduced late in the rally, but did not speak (see ‘The Kaohsiung Tapes,’ to be published simultaneously in February by Taiwan Communiqué, and by the Society for the Protection of East Asians’ Human Rights in its quarterly publication SPEAHRhead).

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## A return to closed trials

When during March through May of last year the Nationalist Chinese authorities on Taiwan conducted semi-open (but by no means fair) trials for the opposition members accused of involvement in the Kaohsiung incident, this was heralded by some publications as a major step forward (‘Dissident trial in Taiwan shows some unusual signs of openness’, **New York Times**, March 20 1980; ‘Fair trial, free speech and baby eels’, **TIME Magazine**, March 31 1980).

However, lately the authorities have fallen back into their old habit of closed trials: in separate court martials Mr. Kao Hao-yuan and Ms. Yeh Tao-lei (see our ‘Well-timed arrests,’ *Taiwan Communiqué* #1, December 10, 1980) were recently quickly tried and sentenced to long prison sentences:

Kao Hao-yuan was tried on “sedition” charges on December 19, 1980. Of course the Taiwan authorities said that he “admitted” to the court that he was a “defense minister” for the “Taiwan Independent Movement.”

However, the closed proceedings were witnessed only by Mr. Kao’s father, several of his relatives, and a Mr. Hsu — representative of the “Chinese Association for Human Rights” a group which excels in finding excuses for the KMT’s repressive measures.

No outside observers or representatives of the news media were allowed to attend the trial. Mr. Kao was sentenced to thirteen years' imprisonment plus eight years loss of civil rights. The verdict was announced on December 22, 1980.

Ms. Yeh Tao-lei was tried on January 6, 1981. At this time no details on her trial are available, except that only some relatives were allowed to attend, and that she received a fourteen years prison sentence.

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## **Prison report**

### ***Hunger strike on December 10, 1980***

On the first "anniversary" of the Kaohsiung incident several of the arrested opposition leaders apparently refused to eat in symbolic protest against their unjust imprisonment. On the same day the wives and other close relatives met in fasting and prayer at the residence of Reverend Kao Chun-ming.

### ***Lin Yi-hsiung suffering***

Member of the Provincial Assembly Lin is still suffering deeply from the combined traumatic effects of his torture at the hands of the secret police and the murders of his mother and twin-daughters. Mr. Lin apparently has high blood-pressure, and suffers from severe nightmares: he wakes up almost nightly, screaming and crying. In a recent response to an inquiry by Senator Henry M. Jackson (D-WA) the State Department's Secretary for Congressional Relations J. Brian Atwood wrote: "A recent press report from Taiwan (China Times, 11/8/80) does indicate that Mr. Lin apparently is not adjusting well to prison routine."

### ***Shih Ming-teh still in solitary confinement***

The conditions under which Mr. Shih is being held have slightly improved: he is now allowed to have some outdoor exercise daily. He has been allowed to read some books, but during the recent election campaign he was proscribed from reading newspapers, since this would (according to prison authorities) "emotionally disturb" him. The prison authorities denied that Mr. Shih's solitary confinement was a form of punishment.

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# A letter to the NRC

In issues #12 and #13 of our Newsletter we briefly discussed the nuclear power issue in Taiwan, and referred to a number of other articles on this subject. Our main points of criticism were:

1. There is a significant danger of earthquakes in Taiwan. Just a few months ago a quake which registered 5.8 on the Richter scale shook the area where four new reactors are being planned.
2. Taiwan does at the present time not have a sufficient number of qualified technicians and engineers required for the safe operation of the large number of reactors planned. This problem was highlighted in recent articles in the **Asian Wall Street Journal** (*'Taiwan proceeding with nuclear plans despite shortages of qualified technicians and danger of earthquakes,'* June 30, 1980) and the **Christian Science Monitor** (*'Resource-short Taiwan plunges ahead with nuclear power plants,'* August 12, 1980).
3. The Taiwan authorities have not allowed a public debate on the desirability of such a large number of nuclear reactors. The projects are pushed through by a number of high government officials who stand to make millions of dollars in the construction of the reactors: a son of President Chiang Ching-kuo heads one of Taiwan's construction firms which received a major contract for one of the jobs.

An eloquent statement of opposition against the way in which the nuclear reactor program is being implemented, was made by Professor Lin Jun-yi, Chair-man of the Biology Department of Tung-hai University, in a letter to Dr. John Ahearne, Chairman of the U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission. After this letter became public, Dr. Lin was warned by the secret police to stop "these activities or else ....."

Oct. 31, 1980

Dear Dr. Ahearne:

As a concerned scientist for the environmental integrity of my native land and the health of my own people, I have been speaking out on the side of greater moderation in the rapid development of nuclear power in Taiwan.

As an ecologist, I am also fully aware of the dangers and risks of nuclear power on the environment and health. It is out of this concern and my own professional conscience

that I am extremely distressed by the statements allegedly attributed to an NRC source concerning the safety issues of nuclear power plants exported to the Philippines and Taiwan as follows:

*“We have no legal obligation to inquire, and our policy is that safety is strictly for the importing nation to worry about.” - quoted on page 4, column 3, line 2-5. Export Monitor, Vol.2, no.1, published by the Center for Development Policy, Washington, D.C.*

*Our view is that the cause of a potential accident in a foreign country does not count, and the NRC has also determined that a worst case accident would not have a significant impact on the ‘global commons’, which the State Department and NRC define as beginning 12 miles offshore. The only other ground for denying a license under the Philippine guidelines is if American lives would be threatened.” - quoted in an article “Taiwan Reactor Export Challenged”, the Energy Daily, Monday, June 23, 1980.*

As a federal agency charged with the responsibility to ensure the safety of nuclear power, such statements not only erode the trust given to your Commission, but also shake the foundation for nuclear development in the future everywhere in the world.

As a citizen of the Republic of China where two reactors are in operation, four are under construction and another two are on the drawing board, I would like to register a strong protest over the statements. I consider that the cause of a potential accident in any country does count.

I consider that while a worst case accident may not have a significant impact on the “Global Commons”, it would have a significant impact on my own native land and people. I consider the “Global Commons” as the space-ship earth in which you and I live. I also consider the lives of my own people as precious as the Americans’. Therefore, my government and people demand safety measures for nuclear power plants in Taiwan as stringent as your Commission would impose on those in the U.S.

As you are well aware, nuclear technology is a highly sophisticated technology that is beyond the complete management of my government at this time; and as you are also well aware, nuclear power has its potential risks that are beyond the current means of assessment ....With such understandings, your Commission has every moral, legal and technical responsibility to ensure that every nuclear power plant is constructed and

operated, especially in the third world, in the safest way possible.

I assume that a 1979 Executive Order from President Carter to direct federal agencies to assess the environmental impact of US activities overseas is meant precisely for that purpose. My government is extremely concerned with the safety and risks of nuclear power plants because of the large number constructed and their proximity to densely populated metropolitan areas.

However, due to its deficiency of technological capability and legal binding, it has to rely largely on your Commission and the vendors to conscientiously carry out safety requirements. From the statements allegedly made by your Commission, I am afraid that your Commission is taking advantage of my government's trust and innocence, and is willfully evading the responsibility that your government has entrusted you to take.

Then, on behalf of the 17 million residents of Taiwan, Professor Lin asked Mr. Ahearne a number of specific questions about the seismic and volcanic risks posed by several existing nuclear reactors, and by reactors which are under construction. He mentioned that on several occasions during the past year the cooling water intakes of the Chinshan reactors were blocked by seaweed, thus creating potentially dangerous situations.

Professor Lin closed his letter as follows:

Until these issues mentioned above are given satisfactory attention and research, I wish to beg for your delay in your recommendation for reactor export to Taiwan.

President Carter directed on April 22, 1977 that in his words "reactor safety and standards should be strengthened and enforced." I strongly urge upon you to strengthen and enforce reactor safety and standards also for those exported to Taiwan and elsewhere.

Dr. Ahearne, we are all in the global commons. Let us work together to end forever "the tragedy of the commons" by having a global concern at least for safety issues of nuclear power.

Sincerely yours,  
Lin Jun-yi, Ph.D.  
Chairman, Biology Department  
Director, Graduate Institute of Biology  
President, the Asian Ecological Society

# Taiwan today ...

## In politics, it's not nice to oppose the ruling party

*This article appeared in the Longmont Daily Times - Call, Longmont, Colorado 13 December, 1980.*

About 500 people were gathered in the dusty courtyard of a school in the outskirts of Taipei the evening of Dec. 2 when a small bespectacled woman stood up to speak.

She was on a platform, taking her turn to give a 10-minute speech at a government-arranged campaign rally.

Polite applause had greeted previous candidates, who spoke of the need for national unity to combat the Communist threat, the standard argument of Taiwan's ruling Kuomintang (KMT) party.

But when the woman, Chou Ching-yu, spoke in a quiet, level voice, streams of people crowded the courtyard.

She waved a letter to the crowd. It was from her husband, human rights lawyer Yao Chia-Wen. In April 1980 he was sentenced to 12 years in prison.



Chou Ching-yu, candidate in Taiwan's national elections, prepares to speak ...her husband is a jailed dissident lawyer, but she won more votes than anyone on the island

Along with seven other major leaders of Taiwan's democratic opposition, Yao was convicted of sedition. His wife can see him for half an hour every week.

Chou Ching-yu talked about the need for freedom of speech and mentioned the 31 years of martial law Taiwan has been under in her talk.

There were people in the crowd near me who were crying, standing silent and still. When the small woman finished speaking, she moved through the crowd to her poster-covered campaign bus. The crowd moved with her. Hundreds swarmed out, clogging the streets but saying little.

The next KMT candidate got up to speak, facing about one-third of the previous audience.

Before the final week of the 15-day highly regulated campaign period, candidates could arrange their own appearances. Chou Ching-yu was said to have drawn crowds of 30,000 people.

She and other opposition candidates apparently were warned not to see foreigners during the campaign period. But she told me on the phone, "Every time I speak, people cry a lot, women and men, too. I don't think they are crying for me or my husband, they are crying for themselves. I tell them this society is not healthy. They feel it for themselves. I just point out, and they know they are not free."

Her husband and the other imprisoned seven started a magazine called "Formosa," in August 1979. It quickly became the most popular magazine on the island, as it broached previously taboo topics like political repression and labor problems.

But when an International Human Rights Day rally, sponsored by the magazine in December 1979, turned into a riot in the southern city of Kaohsiung, the government had a chance to crack down.

The strictly controlled media on the small island reported the demonstrators had injured 182 riot policemen, while only one civilian was hurt.

But tapes of the incident reveal the voices of the leaders appealing for calm as police closed in with tear gas on the frightened crowd, blocking exits.

The defendants in the military trial received sentences ranging from 12 years to life in jail. Other dissident leaders also were convicted of crimes related to the rally.

The government then rescheduled elections, which had been cancelled in December 1978, following the break in diplomatic relations with the United States. Several observers said the government feared the popularity of opposition candidates at that time.

Before the campaign period began, the government security office announced that any mention of the "Kaohsiung Incident," the trial, the verdict, or the ideas of the magazine would be punishable by seven years in jail.

But it appeared to many observers that the year's political turbulence was the real issue of the campaign. People repeatedly described the election as a "people's trial," a referendum on the government's treatment of its dissidents.

Chou Ching-yu was not the only wife of a jailed dissident who dared to run despite various forms of intimidation. In the central Taiwan area of Nantou, Hsu Rung Hsu decided to run for the legislature. Her husband, journalist Chung Chung Hung, was sentenced with Yao earlier in the year.

An aide of Hsu Rung-Hsu told me, "I just hope this election ends peacefully. If there are arrests, we will have lost most of our leaders. People will despair. Already those who worked for many years and encouraged the young people are in jail."

There were rumors there would be violence at the polls, but none was reported. And both wives won their seats. Chou Ching-yu was the highest vote-getter of the hundreds of candidates on the island. Her 153,602 votes compared with 106,880 for the next nearest of her 13 rivals. People could vote for only one candidate.

Her seat in the national assembly is a largely ceremonial post, but many people called her victory a sign that the voters know the truth, despite the controls exercised on the information they are able to receive.

On Dec. 10, Taiwanese in the United States reported the government was seriously considering prosecuting Chou Ching-yu. Her leaflets included mention of her husband. That may be a prohibition of the law against "helping to spread rebellious thoughts."

She is quoted as saying, "If I have to go to jail because I printed a picture of my husband on my leaflet, I'm willing to do it."



Another relative of the eight opposition leaders imprisoned won a seat in the legislature, and the next day vowed to speak from his new position.

He is Huang Tien-fu, brother of Formosa magazine publisher Huang Shin Chieh, who recently was sentenced to 14 years in prison.

Huang Tien-fu said that because so few legislators regularly attend sessions, he and the seven other opposition candidates elected could have an impact by questioning government policies and calling for

due process of law, human rights and free speech.

Some were worried the government would retaliate by arresting campaign aides of the non-party candidates or non-party candidates who were not elected. One young man said he had been warned not to work for Chou Jing-yu. "But we need to do something for democratic rights, so maybe when we are old we can say we did something for our children," he said.

Some said the opposition figures were trying to undermine national unity. But another opposition campaigner said, "The premise of unity is the idea you have the freedom to express yourself. If you're forced to be united, that's just following orders and is not freedom."

Despite the serious crackdown on the opposition in the past year, several said it served as a valuable political education and increased election interest. The turnout was impressive — at least 7 million of the island's 9.9 million voters cast ballots.

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# In the wake of two submarines

On November 29, 1980 the Government of the Netherlands decided to approve a request by the Rijn-Schelde-Verolme (RSV) shipbuilding concern to continue negotiations with the Taiwan authorities for the purchase of two modified "Zwaardvis" (swordfish) class submarines, as well as for parts of the steam supply systems of several U.S.-built nuclear reactors. The decision was strongly opposed by Dutch foreign minister Van der Klaauw, but the high unemployment in the Netherlands (7.1 % of the work force) moved other ministers in the Cabinet to vote for the deal.

On December 18, 1980 the parliament approved the decision by a 76 - 74 vote. The opposition parties argued that the deal would damage Holland's long-range interests in East Asia, but with parliamentary elections coming up in May the majority of the parliament decided to let short-range economic arguments prevail and voted for the proposed sale.

The final contract will not be signed for another six months. The Christian Science Monitor also reports that "The Dutch position is understood to be that the sale will be approved, but that the final export license will be granted only after the completion of the two submarines in 1985, at which time a new judgment will be made, based on the state of tension in the area." (**Christian Science Monitor**, 'Dutch sub sale irks China', December 23, 1980).

The Dutch action was thus taken for domestic-economic reasons, and do not constitute a recognition of the Kuomintang regime. However, the move may have international

consequences: already there are suggestions in the press that the sale may make it easier for Mr. Reagan to inch the U.S. relations with Taiwan upward (“*Reagan and Taiwan: Following Holland’s example ?*”, **Wall Street Journal**, January 5, 1981). Will this mean de facto diplomatic relations between the Western countries and Taiwan without major repercussions in the relations between the West and China (as Mr. Reagan and the Dutch government hope), or will it generate a major crisis in the still fragile ties between China and the West ? It is still too early to tell.

We suggest that the long-term interests and security of Taiwan would be best served if the United States and the Netherlands would both maintain friendly relations with China, and — at the same time — convince the Taiwan authorities to move towards a democratic political system. In particular, efforts should be made to obtain the release of the native Taiwanese opposition leaders. Long-term stability in the area can only be achieved if Taiwan has a representative government, which can truly speak for the people of the island in the undoubtedly long and arduous process of determining the future status of the island.

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## Taiwan, China and Ray S. Cline

During last year’s election campaign both Mr. Reagan and some of his staff managed to anger China by statements, which showed a lack of clear perception of the relations between Taiwan, the United States, and China. Even after Mr. Reagan’s election one of the advisers, Mr. Ray S. Cline, continued to blunder his way through the China shop: at the end of November 1980 he told reporters at press conferences in Bangkok and Singapore that Mr. Reagan was considering sending “a special envoy” to Taiwan, and that “the Chinese should be more civilized” and renounce the right to use force in resolving the Taiwan issue. Mr. Cline’s statements were quickly disavowed by Richard Allen, Mr. Reagan’s chief foreign policy adviser (see ‘*More cause than country*’, **Far Eastern Economic Review**, December 12, 1980; ‘*Reagan reportedly studies special Taiwan envoy*’, **Los Angeles Times**, November 25, 1980; and ‘*China should be more civilized*’, **Asiaweek**, December 12, 1980).



Ray S. Cline

***Taiwan Communiqué comment:** While we agree with Mr. Cline that it would be nice if China would renounce the use of force in solving the Taiwan issue, we suggest that he is barking up the wrong tree: the continuing tension between Taiwan and China is predominantly caused by the Kuomintang's insistence that it is still the government of all of China, and that some day it will recover the mainland. If Mr. Cline would convince his Kuomintang friends to move both towards peaceful coexistence with China, and towards a representative, democratic government on Taiwan, then he would be on the right track.*

Mr. Cline apparently picked up his unbridled and un-critical enthusiasm for the Kuomintang when he was a CIA station chief in Taipei from 1958 to 1962. Another former CIA operative who went into full-time lobbying for the KMT, is William N. Morell Jr., now chairman of the U.S.A. - R.O.C. Economic Council.

Both gentlemen have been very supportive of the repressive KMT regime. Mr. Cline even went so far as to describe Taiwan as “an island of hope, prosperity, and human liberty in an Asian sea of poverty and turbulence.” (Taiwan, Hearings before the US Senate, February 7, 1979, p. 577).

While we do not doubt the relative economic prosperity of Taiwan, we are slightly amazed at the remainder of the evaluation: as CIA officer, Mr. Cline should have been able to notice how restrictive the political system on Taiwan is. But possibly he did not want to see it: maybe he only associated with high KMT and security officials.

We suspect that if Mr. Cline had gone to Russia and hobnobbed with Politburo and KGB officials he would undoubtedly have sung the praises of “human liberty” in the U.S.S.R. — that there are a “few” innocent dissidents in prison doesn't matter much, does it?.

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## Articles

The December elections in Taiwan attracted the attention of a number of English language publications. A brief article appeared in the **New York Times** (‘Opposition gains in Taiwan voting’, December 8, 1980). The most complete account appeared in the **Far Eastern Economic Review**, from which we present some quotes below. We commend the REVIEW for their accurate reporting. Another Hong Kong-based publication, **Asiaweek**, did not do so well: its account was characterized as “Kuomintang propaganda” by U.S. scholar James D. Seymour.

I. *'A moderately successful poll'* (Far Eastern Economic Review, December 12, 1980). Reporter Paul Wilson described the election campaign in some detail, and also highlighted some important back-ground aspects. Several excerpts from the two-page article:

“Despite an inevitable sweeping victory for KMT supported and nominated candidates, non-KMT candidates were surprisingly successful in a country where in the past ballot-rigging in favour of the government has been rife.

The only doubt foreign diplomats express is that the election may have been an isolated public relations exercise by the KMT, which is anxious to win support from foreign governments, and that the general trend of Taiwan’s politics from now on will veer away from the democratic process

.....

A campaign of intimidation of independent candidates and suppression of discussion of major issues in the weeks before the election indicated that the KMT was not yet ready to allow the democratic process to take its course unhindered. Ironically, in view of the ruthlessness with which the KMT suppressed all opposition before the election, most non-KMT candidates support aims similar to those of the ruling party. ‘The repression [of non-KMT politicians] frequently doesn’t stem from ideological differences so much as the KMT old guard’s belief that no other political view, regardless of its complexion, should be allowed to exist in Taiwan independently of its own,’ said a foreign diplomat.

[Another observer commented:] ‘ the election .... is only part of a wider plan by the KMT leaders to give the appearance of producing a broader-based government while in fact keeping the real power in their own hands.’

Despite its title, the Legislative Yuan wields no effective legislative power. That remains firmly in the hands of the president, the KMT Central Committee and the security service commanders ..... Political opposition, to the extent that it includes criticism of the government, is still treason in Taiwan, punishable by the death penalty.

In the build up to the election even moderate independent publications .... were banned. In all, editorial director Antonio Chiang and sponsor K’ang [Ning-hsiang] had three successive independent magazines banned soon after they were started.

This was despite the reported support of Government Information Office Director James Soong, who applauded the editorial concept of one attempt, *The Asian*, and the fact that moderate KMT politicians described K'ang as helpful and constructive. Other independent publishers have suffered the same fate. In some cases their magazines were banned before publication.

Independent politicians who were possible election candidates fared even worse in the run-up to the poll. K'ang is virtually the only independent politician of any stature to remain out of prison following a clampdown over the past two years and some observers fear that he and other independent members may yet be arrested before they can take their seats. Even before the election several other independent politicians still at large were visited by the police and reminded of minor offences which had been overlooked, but which could be resurrected if they decided to stand. Three potential candidates were charged with minor offences a few weeks before the election.

'It was a warning to us all,' says an independent politician who decided not to stand. He also cites intimidation of campaign workers, who have to be approved by the government, and threats against printers handling independent campaign literature  
— .....

Mrs. Yao [Chia-wen] and other wives of imprisoned dissidents were warned that they would be barred from the election if they mentioned their husbands' trials during the campaigns, and all independent candidates were given a long list of prohibited subjects, covering virtually every major issue.

Despite these proscriptions the pre-election period is practically the only time any public political activity is tolerated in Taiwan, and interest in the election was high. The fact that only seven non-KMT candidates were elected to the Legislative Yuan is partly a function of the electoral system, which independents and moderate KMT members agree is overdue for reform. In addition to the normal geographical constituencies, candidates are returned by professional groups such as farmers, industry, education, and labour. Frequently the only candidates standing in these categories are those backed by the KMT, and government officials have the final say on whether an elector can vote in a geographical constituency, where he may have the choice of a non-KMT candidate, or as a member of a professional group, where he has no choice.

Candidates from the two “puppet opposition” parties sponsored by the KMT failed to gain any seats in the Legislative Yuan, and took only one seat in the National Assembly. The two parties, the Young China Party, headed by 86-year-old Li Huan, and the China Democratic Socialist Party, are now virtually moribund and have a combined membership of less than 15,000.

But they still draw NT\$ 1 million (U.S.\$ 27,750) a month from the KMT on the pretext that they provide an alternative anti-communist viewpoint. The continuation of KMT support for two such demonstrably impotent bodies is now seriously in question, observers believe, but they add that the ruling party will obviously be unwilling to disband them in favour of any party offering a genuine alternative position.”

2. ‘.... reads like *Kuomintang propaganda*.’ Another Hong Kong-based publication, *Asiaweek*, did not reach the standard of objectivity and accuracy set by the *Far Eastern Economic Review*. Its reporter P.L. Hsia covered the elections in two articles (‘*Election time*’, *Asiaweek*, December 12, 1980; ‘*Taiwan opts for stability*’, *Asiaweek*, December 19, 1980). In the first article she managed to present such an unreal, rosy picture that Taiwan-expert Professor James D. Seymour was prompted to write the following letter to the editor:

## *Elections in Taiwan*

*Much of your account of Taiwan’s election campaign [Dec. 12] reads like Kuomintang propaganda, and there are important misstatements of fact. Most glaring is the canard, that “almost 200 policemen [were] injured” in the December 1979 human rights demonstration. All independent, knowledgeable observers agree that this story was fabricated by the KMT government to “justify” the imprisonment of nearly the entire opposition leadership. (The U.S. State Department has repeatedly said that only a few policemen were injured.)*

*It is odd that your article fails to mention the many civilian demonstrators who were injured. (That there were none is another KMT fabrication.) The account ends with the statement that” ‘democratic rule’ [is] envisaged by the government.” In the light of continued martial law, total press censorship, a hopelessly rigged electoral system and the imprisonment of the opposition, how can such an assertion be taken seriously?*

*JAMES D. Seymour, Society for the Protection of East Asians’ Human Rights, New York*

In the December 19 article she stated:

“The relatives of the Formosa Magazine defendants probably will view their election as vindication of the group’s politics in the court of public opinion. But the issue never became quite so clear-cut.”

**Taiwan Communiqué comment:** *We venture to suggest that the issue was very clear-cut: the sole reason that Hsu Jung-hsu and Chou Ching-yu (the wives of imprisoned opposition leaders Chang Chun-hung and Yao Chia-wen respectively) ran for office was that they wanted to vindicate their husbands and their imprisoned colleagues.*

*They succeeded in doing this in spite of a long string of obstacles put in their paths by the authorities. The fact that the relatives of the detained opposition leaders won by such wide margins must thus **indeed** be interpreted as an indication of the wide support of the populace for the Democratic Opposition, and an implied criticism of the government for their handling of the Kaohsiung incident.*

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## Notes

**1. Chang Chun-nan arrested.** On January 17 prominent opposition member Chang (40) was arrested in Taichung. Mr. Chang is a former member of the National Assembly and ran for a seat in the Legislative Yuan in the recently concluded elections. American observers who visited Taichung say that Mr. Chang drew much larger crowds than his KMT opponents, but he mysteriously lost when the votes were counted.

Mr. Chang has been an active member of the Democratic Opposition: he was election coordinator of the opposition’s coalition in the aborted 1978 elections. His present arrest stems from four “campaign violations” allegedly committed during the December 1980 elections:



**Mr. Chang Chun-nan**

1. He passed out campaign literature which did not have the printer's name and address on it;
2. He stated that he was ".... the only leader of the opposition not in prison" (an inaccurate statement since there are still a few other non-KMT politicians not in prison -- but the number is dwindling);
3. His speeches and banners were designed to "incite the crowds to violence." (Where have we heard that before? —Ed.)
4. He stated that there are two options for the future of Taiwan: first, peaceful unification with China; second, establishing an independent political entity. He then indicated that due to the political, social, and economic differences between Taiwan and China, it would be difficult to achieve unification, thus implying that he favored independence.

Particularly the fourth "violation" is considered to be a serious crime against the Nationalist Chinese national policy of "recovery" of the mainland.

2. ***Special Arrest Campaign.*** On November 13, 1980 the KMT's Central Daily News newspaper announced that since May 15, 1980 the secret police agencies had conducted a campaign to identify and arrest "rebels, hooligans, robbers, and bad taxi drivers." The campaign is code-named Lei-t'ing Chuan An ('Thunderbolt Special Case) and reportedly has a target list of some 400 persons.

Opposition sources fear that the campaign is a cover for a round-up of political activists. One taxi driver named Lu Ching-hsiung, who volunteered in Mrs. Yao Chia-wen's election campaign, was arrested as a "Lei t'ing suspect." He has been kept incommunicado since early December. Other campaign aides were visited by police and reminded of real or imaginary past infractions. Several of them have gone into hiding because they fear government retaliation against them for working for the opposition candidates.

3. ***A Kaohsiung Incident Movie?*** On at least two separate occasions during the past year police and riot troops held riot control exercises in Taichung and in Tainan. The Taichung event took place during one evening in the middle of April, while the Tainan exercises were spread out over several days in the beginning of November. The exercises in Taichung were particularly interesting in that a number of the



police were dressed up as “thugs” and attacked the police and riot troops with sticks and iron bars. The whole event was extensively filmed by the authorities, and the public was kept away from the area.

One knowledgeable observer noted that the architecture of this particular area of Taichung is very similar to that of Kaohsiung, and that we should thus not be surprised if at some time in the future these films will be used by the Taiwan authorities as new-found “evidence” that the crowd attending the Kaohsiung Human Rights rally attacked the police.

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## Action

**Release Lin Yi-hsiung campaign.** We urgently request our readers to help put pressure on the Taiwan authorities to release Mr. Lin. The recent reports from Taiwan indicate that the continuing incarceration is psychologically damaging to him. Please write to the U.S. and Taiwan authorities listed below, and express your deep concern for Mr. Lin’s well being. Indicate that you believe that he was wrongly imprisoned since tape recordings of the Kaohsiung incident show that he did not speak at the rally. He was indicted and sentenced to twelve years imprisonment for “inciting the crowd” at the rally.

In 1977 Mr. Lin was elected to the Taiwan Provincial Assembly. He spoke out against corruption in the government, and against the repressive practices of the secret police agencies.

Write to:  
President Ronald Reagan  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

President Chiang Ching-kuo  
Office of the President  
Chieh Shou Hall  
Taipei TAIWAN

Mr. David Dean  
American Institute in Taiwan  
P.O. Box 1612  
Washington, D.C. 20013

Coordinating Council for North  
American Affairs  
attn. Konsin Shah  
5161 River Road, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20016

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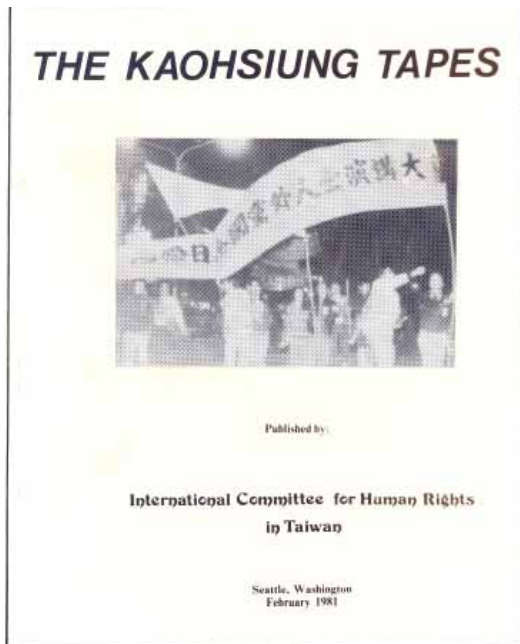
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# The Kaohsiung tapes

In coordination with the Society for the Protection of East Asians' Human Rights (SPEAHR) we will publish the complete English-language transcript of tapes recordings of the Kaohsiung incident. As we indicated in Taiwan Communiqué #1 (December 10, 1980, p. 6) the transcript contradicts the contention of the Taiwan authorities that the opposition leaders "incited" the crowd to attack the police. This charge was the main "evidence" on which their conviction and the long prison sentences meted out to them were based.

SPEAHR will publish the transcript in the Spring 1981 issue of its quarterly publication SPEAHRhead, and we will publish it as a separate booklet. Paying subscribers of *Taiwan Communiqué* and contributors to our Committee will receive one free copy of The Kaohsiung Tapes.

The transcript is now also available on the Internet at:  
<http://www.taiwandc.org/kao-tapes.pdf>





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