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Imprisoned Taiwanese leaders issue joint statement

On September 28, 1982 Mrs. Chou Chingyü, the wife of imprisoned lawyer Yao Chiawen, released a joint statement by four major native Taiwanese leaders, who were imprisoned after the "Kaohsiung incident" of December 1979. The four who are being held in Hsintien prison in Taipei cannot communicate with each other, but were able to express their concerns to their respective wives during the weekly halfhour visits. The statement was prompted by the four's deep concern about the Mr. Reagan's "Shanghai Communiqué no. 2" of August 17, 1982.

Immediately after the statement was made public, the Taiwan Garrison Command issued a banning order, saying that it ".... was liable to seriously confuse the issues" (*China Post*, October 1, 1982). The Garrison Command also issued a notice to all schools, libraries, newspapers, magazines, clubs, societies, unions and any other organizations, saying that the statement was banned and that it was prohibited for any organization or person in Taiwan to reproduce or publish it. The Taiwan authorities also took at least one reprisal against the four imprisoned men: they could not receive family visits for three weeks.

Below is the text of the statement. It is followed by an explanatory comment by the families of the four men, which was published in *CARE Magazine* no. 10 of October 5, 1982.



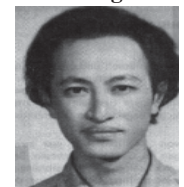
Huang Hsin-
chieh



Yao Chia-wen



Chang Chün-
hung



Lin Hung-hsüan

Joint Statement by Four Imprisoned Taiwanese Leaders

September 28, 1982

“We are in prison because we hold political views and principles, which are different from those held by the government. The authorities consider our imprisonment a political necessity. However, for the past three years, political developments in Taiwan and abroad have confirmed our views and principles on the future of Taiwan. The authorities’ lack of courage and determination to be flexible, as well as their failure to take initiative, has worsened Taiwan’s predicament.

For the past three hundred years, our brave ancestors in their pursuit of freedom have come to settle and develop Taiwan. With their innovative thinking and new lifestyle, they developed a spirit of self-reliance and built the foundation for a democratic society. The long separation between Taiwan and mainland China has resulted in distinct differences between the two societies. Unification of Taiwan and China is a traditional desire of old Chinese rulers, but democracy is the common goal of people in our time. As we cannot have both, we would prefer to have democracy. Unification without the support of the people will cause much injury and suffering to most of our people.

The history of China has demonstrated that more than once its people established separate states because of different political ideas. We believe that our people cannot be deprived of their right to choose a free and democratic life, solely because of historical and racial reasons. In the long term interest of Taiwan, it is essential that democracy is put into practice here; it is far more important and urgent than unification with China.

The authorities have taken this into consideration and therefore have resisted the pressure from China for unification. But on the other hand, the authorities in Taiwan have based their national policies on promises and slogans which will never be realized. This unrealistic policy has resulted in international embarrassment, in social instability, and in the degeneration of morals. It has also obstructed the development of democracy in Taiwan, and has caused others to question the status of Taiwan and even the value of its existence.

We can feel proud that during the past thirty years our society has produced so many people who are mature and who cannot easily be deceived. These people have asked the question: “We are obligated to pay taxes and to serve in the army. Why are we not allowed to participate in the decision-making process of national affairs?”

Modern history shows that democracy is the most effective way to counter the threat of communism. Authoritarian rule destroys democracy, and it is therefore ineffective in countering communist aggression. We believe that the strongest force in a modern society is the freedom of choice, expressed by the people through voting. This freedom of expression strengthens internal unity, and makes us strong against foreign infiltration. It is also the basis for a legal political entity.

Based on our views, as presented above, and because our nation is facing recurrent danger at home and abroad, we solemnly request the authorities to end authoritarian rule, and quickly return political power to our people. Meanwhile, questions of sovereignty, the form of the government, national policies and the choice of the national leader and other such items should be decided by the people in an open and just manner.

Only a government which respects the wishes of the people will be supported and recognized by the international community. Only if a government is formed, based on the principles of democracy as laid down in our Constitution, then will there be opportunity for democracy to grow and prosper.

We wish to take this opportunity to appeal to our people from the highest officials to common citizens to recognize political reality, and let your decisions be guided by your conscience and intelligence. If our own personal suffering can quicken the process towards the attainment of longlasting happiness, security and dignity for all our people, then we are willing to suffer more mistreatment, more misery, and more imprisonment.

May God and our brave ancestors protect our country and our people.”

Huang Hsin-chieh, member of the Legislative Yuan
(sentenced to 14 years imprisonment on April 18 1980)

Chang Chün-hung, member of the Taiwan Provincial Assembly
(sentenced to 12 years imprisonment on April 18 1980)

Yao Chia-wen, lawyer, Candidate for National Assembly (1978)
(sentenced to 12 years imprisonment on April 18 1980)

Lin Hung-hsüan, theologian, Taiwan Presbyterian Church
(sentenced to 12 years imprisonment on April 18 1980)

*Comment by the relatives of
Imprisoned “Formosa” Members
Issued on October 1st, 1982*

The joint statement by the four imprisoned Formosa members was made public in a nonParty meeting held in Taipei on September 28, 1982. Right after the publication of this joint statement, the **United Daily News** (Lien Ho Pao) made several emotional and inflammatory attacks on the joint statement. The United Daily News presented distorted information with regards to the source of the joint statement, the process of formulation, and its distribution. In order to let the world know what **really** happened, we, the family members, feel that it is necessary that we give the following explanation:

“Firstly, we want to point out that all people (including prisoners) should have the right to show concern about the security of our country, and about the dangerous situation in which our country finds itself. This is so, because the country belongs to all the people. Although our loved ones have been deprived of their civil rights, no one can prevent them from showing their concern about our national affairs. Although they are in prison, they are still people. People, naturally, have the right to speak out. And the right to speak out is what the Constitution of the Republic of China is intended to protect by every means.

Secondly, with regard to the source, process of formulation and distribution of this joint statement: it is solely a matter between the families and our loved ones in prison. *No one else* was involved in it. After the publication of Shanghai Communiqué No. 2, for one month, we talked to our loved ones through telephone during prison visits. Following their instructions, we arranged and synthesized the information exchanged during this one month. The joint statement is the result of this process. Anyone who indulges in conjecture and hearsay, only shows his irresponsibility and intention to create tension in our society.

We strongly believe that our loved ones are not selfish and that they are deeply interested in our national affairs. In spite of all the attacks and slander they are subjected to, we will always regard them with deep respect. We believe that our people and history will give them a fair judgment.”

* * * * *

3. Martial law must be lifted! So must the ban on organization of political parties! Press censorship must cease;
4. Membership of the central parliamentary bodies must be completely renewed through elections.
5. We steadfastly oppose the enactment of the Police Emergency Arrest Power (which is designed to legitimize violations of human rights); and finally
6. We give qualified approval to United States arms sales of a de-fensive nature to Taiwan, for the sake of safeguarding the securi-ty of the people and the future of Taiwan. We absolutely oppose, however, any U.S. sales of riotcontrol equipment.”

Signed

World Federation of
Taiwanese Associations

Taiwanese Association of America
(and 22 regional and local chapters)

DEMOCRACY, UNITY, SAVE TAIWAN

Joint statement by nonParty (*tangwai*) leaders

Issued in Taipei on September 28th, 1982

The Democratic Movement in Taiwan, which has persisted for the past thirty years, has finally come to a decisive and critical moment. This moment has come as a result of the continuous sacrifice and struggle of our non Party (*tangwai*) forerunners, as well as under the pressure of the recent political developments at home and abroad. To speed up the birth of this critical moment, and to welcome the arrival of a new era, we, members of the *tangwai* issue our joint “political principles” for the public’s review and criticism.

1. The future of Taiwan has to be decided by the eighteen million people who live on the island, and by noone else.
2. Enact national fundamental laws based on the spirit of our Consti-tution and take account of the current reality [that recovery of the mainland is highly unlikely Ed.]; eliminate temporary provisions to the Constitution; abolish martial law; reorganize the parliament; lift ban on the formation of new political parties, and on publication of new newspapers.

3. Immediately enact guidelines of selfgovernment for the province (Taiwan) and counties, and for cities which are directly under the jurisdiction of the national government, so that local autonomy can be fully implemented.
4. There must be strict separation between the political party (Kuomin-tang) and the government. The political party must cease its control of the army, the school system, election supervisory organization, public enterprises, personnel department and media censorship. Publish the financial statement of each political party. A clear separation must be maintained between the treasury of the political party and that of the country.
5. Release all political prisoners. Stop legal, economic and social discrimination against released political prisoners and their relatives. Stop maintaining the black list of overseas compatriots, so that true unity of the people at home and abroad is strengthened.
6. Follow the principle of livelihood [one of the “Three Peoples’ Principles” Ed.], not only in theory; but also in practice:
 - a. Enact progressive labor laws, recognize the workers’ right of collective bargaining with employers. Implement national medical and unemployment insurance.
 - b. Eliminate tax on farm land. Guarantee stable prices of grain and set no restrictions on the purchase of grain. Establish an insurance system for agriculture.
 - c. Assist the fishery, forestry and mining industries to improve working conditions, to protect the security and livelihood of their workers.
 - d. Build government housing for lowincome people, and make it available at longterm, low interest rates.
 - e. Affirm the free economic system; forbid monopoly of a few financial giants.
 - f. Abolish special economic privileges for big enterprises, in order to protect the sound development of small and mediumsize enterprises.

The above are the joint principles of the members of *tangwai*. We appeal to the people at home and abroad to work together towards the realization of these principles.

Resolution and Hearing in the US Congress

Resolution 591 concerning martial law on Taiwan

On September 16th, 1982 U.S. Congressman Stephen Solarz, Chairman of the Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs, introduced a resolution in the U.S. House of Representatives calling for the end of martial law in Taiwan. Below you find the text of this Resolution 591.

Resolution

Expressing the sense of the House concerning martial law on Taiwan

Whereas 1982 marks the 33rd year of martial law on Taiwan;

Whereas the Taiwan Relations Act states, “The preservation and enhancement of the human rights of all the people on Taiwan are hereby reaffirmed as objectives of the United States”;

Whereas martial law is used on Taiwan to deny people such rights;

Whereas legislators are imprisoned, journals are censored and ordinary citizens have been jailed merely for expressing political opinions;

Whereas the people on Taiwan have proved themselves in the exercise of local democratic rights;

Whereas a more free and open Taiwan with legal due process would have an even stronger claim to the moral support of the American people;

Now therefore be it resolved, That the House of Representatives calls on the authorities on Taiwan to end martial law and to replace it with a more democratic, free and open system that will guarantee the rights of all the people on Taiwan.

Hearing on lack of religious freedom

On September 23, 1982 the Subcommittee on Human Rights of the International Affairs Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives held a hearing on religious persecution of the Presbyterian Church in Asia. Three prominent church leaders presented testimony on the situation in Asia, and particularly in Taiwan and South Korea. Reverend Dr. Arie Brouwer, General Secretary of the Reformed Church in America gave a general overview of the developments during the past years.

Dr. Shoki Coe, former director of Theological Education with the World Council of Churches in Geneva, presented a statement about Taiwan, while Mr. TongHwan Moon described the situation in South Korea. Below you find the full text of Dr. Shoki Coe's statement. We thank Congressman Don Bonker (DWashington), who serves as chairman of the Subcommittee, for taking the initiative for this hearing and for making the information available to Taiwan Communiqué.

“Mr. Chairman, Thank you very much for your kind invitation to address this important hearing. I am currently known as Shoki Coe. This is the name I have chosen when I was granted the British citizenship in 1967. I have been asked to share with you some key aspects pertaining to the persecution of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan. But before I address myself to these issues, I would like to beg your indulgence to identify myself more fully because I have had to use, and am known by, several other names. The circumstances which forced me to use several names other than the Taiwanese name given by my Taiwanese parents illustrate quite well the major dilemma of the Taiwanese people. It is an example of the denial of the right to selfdetermination.



Dr. Shoki Coe

I have introduced myself to you as Shoki Coe. The name given to me by my parents should be pronounced in our mother tongue Ng chiong--hui. This is how I am known among my fellow Taiwanese both in Taiwan and abroad. However, not so long ago, between 1937 and 1947 when I was in England as a student, I had to carry a Japanese passport in which my name had to be pronounced as KO shoki. As you will recall, that was the period when Taiwan like Korea was a colony of Japan, and that Japanese was the so-called “Kokugo,” the national language in Taiwan. Then between 1947 and 1967 I was known by yet another name, Hwang Changhui, because in traveling abroad, I had no alternative but to carry a passport issued by the Nationalist (Kuomintang KMT) regime on Taiwan. And Mandarin, another foreign language, has now superseded Japanese as the national language for the Taiwanese.

In saying all this about my name, I wish to emphasize to you that I am a Taiwanese whose identity has been complicated and distorted by the intrusion of the Powers into Taiwan from the outside, and this unsatisfactory situation is the main cause of the problem and predicament of Taiwan and its people in a nutshell. We have to live in our homeland as

second class citizens. We have to use our mother tongue as the second class language, very often with an imposed sense of shame and guilt. In essence we are denied our inalienable right to selfdetermination.

Aside from my personal experience of an everchanging identity, I bring my testimony to you as a Taiwanese pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan (PCT). I was twice its Moderator (in 1957 and 1965) and served as the President of its Theological Seminary (1949-1965) prior to joining the World Council of Churches as its Director of the Theological Education Fund.

So many of those who are suffering in Taiwan are, in fact, my former students including our Church's General Secretary, Reverend Kao Chunming. They are caught up in the same history of suffering and colonialism which I have briefly described. Their suffering I regard to be mine as well. We are struggling together for the fate of our Island nation and for the future of its 18 million people.

So, in spite of my professional retirement in 1979, I feel privileged to continue to serve as the chairperson for a worldwide movement known as "Christians for Selfdetermination in Taiwan."

Turning to the question of the current persecution of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan by the Kuomintang, let me begin by endorsing the interpretation and the substance contained in the testimony of the Reverend Arie Brouwer which you heard a while ago. What he has so ably summarized for you about the church situation in Taiwan today has been well documented, widely publicized and attested to in previous Congressional hearings. I do not wish to recount for you again the courageous statements which my church has made and the unprecedented level of harassment and intimidation by the KMT which ensued. The imprisonment of the Reverend Kao is our church's most eloquent statement of its costly commitment to be in solidarity with the Taiwanese people and with their aspirations for a compassionate and just society.

You have heard about how the KMT denied our church's right to participate fully in the ecumenical fellowship by forcing it to withdraw from the World Council of Churches and much has been publicized about the KMT's deplorable action of confiscation of the Bibles printed in Taiwanese, our mother tongue and the language of the people. But I should like to draw your special attention to an insidious strategy conducted by the KMT in order to split the strength and authority of our church which is based on the Presbyterian polity under the leadership regionally of the Presbytery and nationally of the General Assembly. There is increasing evidence that the strategy takes the following forms:

First, the churches in the mountains which have been the strongest supporters of the General Secretary Kao and whose church buildings have never been subjected to property tax are now required to pay property tax. Since these congregations are very poor, they are in danger of having their buildings confiscated as a penalty of failure to meet sustained tax payments.

Secondly, through the session of each congregation, which is composed of elders, the KMT is infiltrating the Church by pressuring the congregation to elect KMT sympathizers as elders. The implication is farreaching because the session runs the life of the Church, including the appointment of pastors and the management of church funds.

Thirdly, the KMT is intimidating our congregations to support special government legislation which will make the sessions more independent of the General Assembly. No doubt you are aware of the shelving, in the Legislative Yuan, of the "Regulations for Shrines and Temples." I do not believe for one moment that this is a closed matter. The legislation will be enacted once international attention lapses. This enactment will make our local churches much more vulnerable to KMT intimidation and control, because it will transfer substantial authority from our General Assembly to each local congregation. This is a matter for your careful monitoring and appropriate action.

Mr. Chairman, I shall now attempt to analyze some of the most important causes of the persecution of our Church. It is my strong conviction that it would be a grave error to view the constant intimidation and harassment of our Church as simply a matter of religious persecution affecting the Presbyterian Church's freedom to carry out religious observances within buildings set aside for freedom of religion. This would be too narrow an approach. A more useful line is to recognize the breadth of the concern for the rights to freedom of opinion and expression found in Articles 18 and 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which also provides for the right to self-determination. Judged according to the broader second definition there can be no residual doubt that the Kuomin-tang regime flouts international standards for the observance of religious liberty and is among the worst perpetrators of religious persecution in our world [Emphasis added Ed.].

In attempting to understand the persecution of our Church by the KMT it is most important to underline the Presbyterian Church's understanding of its life and witness in the Taiwanese society and in the world community. First and foremost, the Church professes the Lordship of Jesus Christ, which superseded the authority of any state, policy, or of any regime. Simultaneous with this profession of faith is its conviction that, in choosing Jesus Christ as its Lord, it must be a Church of the people and for the people.

Put simply, the Presbyterian Church, in its life and witness, has consciously chosen to be bound up in the struggle and the aspirations of the Taiwanese people. This clear theological conviction of the Church has appropriately earned itself the name of “a church living under the cross.”

Secondly, the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan is being prosecuted most severely in the past decade because it has sought to be the voice of the voiceless, as well as to be in the forefront of our country’s struggle for self-determination. As the only large independent body with an islandwide network of congregations, the Presbyterian Church courageously responded to the deep yearnings of its people to be heard, and heeded by calling for a new Taiwan which must not continue to be treated as pawns either by the Kuomintang or by outside powers and whose destiny is determined by its people and them alone, towards a free and just society.

A third, equally important, point in understanding the significance of the Church’s position as well as the ensuing opposition, attack and persecution, is the almost unbelievable collusion of powers in their power-politics which have prevailed over Taiwan and frustrated the hope and aspirations of its people after World War II just as much as during the earlier Portuguese, Dutch and Japanese Colonial rule. The first major collusion took place in the 1950’s and 1960’s between the pretensions of the Kuomintang regime as the only “legitimate” government of China which would eventually “recover” the Mainland and the “containment” policy of the United States administrations which, in its own self-interest, prop-ped up the Kuomintang regime with massive military and economic assistance.

Whatever the justifications for U.S. policy may be, the end product in Taiwan is a country ruled by iron hand with the longest martial law regime and a police state with its people the silent majority. The second, more complicated but also more serious, collusion emerged in the 1970’s involving the U.S. and the People’s Republic of China, after which the Kuomintang lost its international legitimacy and credibility.

During this period the U.S. has been seen to be eagerly playing the “China card” in its competition with the Soviet Union and China, in turn, played its own “Taiwan card” in order to bargain with the U.S. In the so-called Shanghai Communiqué II of August 17 this year, Taiwan is referred to as a province as if there were no people there, and as if its people were but serfs attached to the land, who have no say whatsoever on the matter. Even in the Chinese ninepoint proposal for reunification with Taiwan, the main addressee is the Kuomintang, and the terms affecting the Taiwanese were made without consultation with the majority of the 18 million Taiwanese.

Mr. Chairman, it is against this ignoble history of denial of the right to selfdetermination that the Presbyterian Church of Taiwan has repeatedly had the audacity to break out of the enforced silence and speak out, not so much for its own interest as for that of the people of Taiwan as a whole. Against a background of colonialism, betrayal and power collusion, this audacity is at the same time an urgent appeal to the international community to take all appropriate bold measures to enable our people to be heard and to exercise their fundamental right to selfdetermination. The plight of our church deserves to receive continued concern and attention of the world at large, but the best contribution that the world can make is to encourage and promote the implementation of its aspirations made on behalf of the 18 million people living in Taiwan today, namely, the 18 million people, and they alone, have the right to determine their own future and the future of Taiwan, their homeland.”

Dutch government and parliament concerned about human rights in Taiwan

On Wednesday, September 1, 1982 the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Dutch Parliament met with Prime Minister Van Agt who at that time also served as Minister of Foreign Affairs to discuss violations of human rights in Taiwan and in three other countries. Parliamentary members representing three major political parties (CDA, PvdA, and D'66) urged the Dutch government to publicly express its concern. One party (VVD) wanted to use private nongovernmental channels to do this. Prime Minister Van Agt responded by declaring that he is deeply concerned about the lack of democracy in Taiwan, and about the imprisonment of political and religious leaders there. Mr. Van Agt particularly mentioned the fact that the Taiwan authorities continue to detain the Secretary General of the Presbyterian Church, Dr. Kao Chunming.

The meeting took place in the morning of September 1, 1982 in the Parliamentary building in The Hague, and was attended by the foreign affairs specialists of all major Dutch parties. Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman J.N. Scholten (of the ruling Christian Democratic CDA Party) requested a spokesman of each party to make a brief statement on human rights violations in Taiwan, Malaysia, West Papua and South Africa. In particular Mr. Scholten asked the spokesmen to comment on information presented by Amnesty International (Dutch section), contained in a letter of August 19, 1982.

In the following we report the statements made about Taiwan.

Member of Parliament **Van Weezel** spoke for the ruling Christian Democrats (CDA). He stated that there are frequent reports about human rights violations in Taiwan, and that the Dutch government does have an opportunity to exert a positive influence, because we have informal (trade) contacts. Mr. Van Weezel said that his party is particularly concerned about the fact that the Presbyterian Church is being pressured by the authorities in Taiwan.

Mr. Ad Nuis, Member of Parliament for the D'66 party (the fourth largest party) stated that it is wellknown that 'there are severe problems with regard to democracy and human rights in Taiwan. He said his party regrets this and he urged Mr. Van Agt to express publicly the Dutch Government's concern about this matter. He also requested Mr. Van Agt to use the informal channels available to the Government to show concern.

Mr. Willem Van Eekelen (spokesman for the conservative VVD party) said that in view of the fact that the Dutch government does not recognize the existence of a government on Taiwan it would not be possible for the Dutch Government to express its opinion on this matter. Mr. Van Eekelen suggested that this should be done through private nongovernmental organizations.

Mr. De Waart, spokesman for the socialdemocratic PvdA party (which -after the parliamentary elections of September 8, 1982 again became the largest party in the Netherlands Ed.) indicated that his party would support a public statement by the Dutch Government about the imprisonment of political and religious leaders of the Taiwanese people.

Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Scholten then addressed Mr. Van Agt, saying that although the Netherlands doesn't recognize the Government on Taiwan, we can certainly have an opinion about the situation in that country. Mr. Scholten expressed his deep concern about:

1. The lack of democracy. He mentioned that a small minority of main-landers (13 % of the population) control the government, while the large native Taiwanese majority has little voice in the national government.
2. Mr. Scholten requested Mr. Van Agt to urge the release of all political prisoners. He particularly mentioned Legislative Yuan member Huang Hsinchieh and Dr. Kao Chunming.

Mr. Scholten also called Mr. Van Agt's attention to the resolution of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches (WARC) in Ottawa about democracy and human rights in Taiwan.

Prime Minister Van Agt then responded. He stated that the situation in Taiwan fills him with concern. The central problem is that the native Taiwanese are ruled and repressed by a small governing upper layer. Mr. Van Agt declared that the martial law (in force since 1949) and the restrictive measures resulting from it are something we do not wish for the people of that country.

Mr. Van Agt deplored the long prison sentences meted out to the native Taiwanese political leaders and to Dr. Kao Chunming in 1980. He said that these steps by the Taiwan authorities are certainly a reason for concern. The Prime Minister then said that by giving this public state-ment he wanted to show the rulers in Taipei his concern. However, because there are no diplomatic relations this could not be relayed direct-ly, but he hoped it would get across in this indirect way. He said he would carefully study the WARC resolution.

Committee Chairman Scholten closed the meeting by thanking Mr. Van Agt for his thoughtful statement. He said he agreed with this public state-ment and hoped it would convince the Taiwan authorities to release the imprisoned native Taiwanese leaders. He also suggested that the Dutch government should bring this matter to the attention of the Human Rights Committee of the United Nations.

Church News

The World Alliance of Reformed Churches (WARC) reports

From August 17 through 27, 1982 the General Council of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches held its meeting in Ottawa, Canada. At this gather-ing of this umbrellaorganization of Reformed Churches, the Policy Refer-ence Committee issued a report on the difficult circumstances under which the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan has to work. Below is the text of the report:

“The land of Taiwan with its 18 million inhabitants has a long history in a search for their own self-determination. Despite the social and economic development of the past twenty years, there has been a great deal of political tension and unrest. This came to a head in 1979 with the tragic circumstances arising from the human rights rally in Kaohsiung where many people were injured, arrested and subsequently imprisoned.

For many years prior to this the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan had actively requested the political powers to recognize the need for the people of Taiwan to determine their own future. In 1980 the General Secretary Dr. C.M. Kao was arrested and after a trial was sentenced to seven years imprisonment. The charge was based on giving Christian assistance and care to Shih Mingteh. Other church leaders and members were subsequently imprisoned.

The Church continues to speak out against what it believes to be a clear act of injustice. Also many people outside of Taiwan who before knew little about the problems of that country are certain now that a great injustice has been done and want to see it remedied. It is in light of this that we present the following statement and commend to the Alliance as its way of making public its concern about what is happening to the Taiwan Church and people.

The World Alliance of Reformed Churches meeting in Ottawa 1982 had opportunity to examine the life and conditions of its member churches. The Presbyterian Church in Taiwan has, since as early as 1971, made public statements concerning the problems of human rights in their country. These statements are both well known and documented and appear under the following titles: “A public statement on our National Fate” (1971), “Our Appeal” (1975), and “A declaration on Human Rights” (1977).

The Alliance therefore commends the church on its stand identifying itself with the suffering and aspirations of the people of Taiwan. Out of its belief in the Christian ministry of love, justice and reconciliation the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan affirms that freedom, human dignity and the right of self-determination are fundamental to the political future of Taiwan.

The WARC expresses its support for the stand taken by the Church and assures it of its continued prayers. It further believes that Dr. C.M. Kao, its General Secretary, along with other church leaders and members now serving prison sentences, acted in accordance with their Christian faith, exercising a ministry of love in obedience to Jesus Christ, and have been unjustly imprisoned. It therefore respectfully asks the authorities for his and other church members’ immediate release.”

New declaration issued by Presbyterian Church

On the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the Human Rights Declaration of 1977 the Taiwan Presbyterian Church decided to renew its effort to convince the Nationalist Chinese authorities to move towards a democratic political system. The new declaration starts with a quote from the 1977 declaration "The future of Taiwan should be decided by the 17 million people of Taiwan" Human Rights Declaration by the Taiwan Presbyterian Church on August 16, 1977.

The statement then continues

"This is the fifth anniversary of the publication of our Human Rights Declaration of August 1977. Right after its publication, misunderstanding and misrepresentation [by the authorities Ed.] of our action caused us a lot of problems. However, history shows that the truth will always prevail. The first paragraph of our Declaration said:

"Our church confesses that Jesus Christ is Lord of all mankind, and believes that human rights, and a land in which each one of us has a stake, are gifts bestowed by God. Therefore we make this Declaration, set in the context of the present crisis threatening the 17 million people of Taiwan."

For the past five years, Taiwan has faced a series of crises, each larger and more severe than the previous one: from severing diplomatic relations with U. S. and abrogating the mutual defense treaty to Mr. Reagan's three letters [to the Chinese leaders in Peking Ed.] and possibly a second Shanghai Communiqué. But our Human Rights Declaration which we published five years ago has helped the enactment of human rights provision and inclusion of security measures for Taiwan in drafting the "Taiwan Relations Act".

In August 1981, John Glenn, the American Senator -- who is also an elder in the American United Presbyterian Church -- came to Taiwan and had a meeting with us. He told us that the Human Rights Declaration by the Taiwan Presbyterian Church had great influence on the enactment of the Taiwan Relations Act in the American Senate. He said that our Human Rights Declaration corresponds with the fundamental principles on which the United States was founded the "principles of human rights" which came from the Christian belief. Senator Glenn was, at the time of enactment of the Taiwan Relations Act, chairman of the Asian and Pacific Subcommittee of the Foreign Relations Committee in the American Senate.

Human rights and our land are gifts bestowed by God. Therefore these rights rise above the control of any political regime in history and transcend the cultural boundaries of any race. Human Rights lie at the foundation of both cultural and political life. Therefore the Presbyterian Church, in observing the fifth anniversary of the publication of our Human Rights Declaration, appeals on behalf of the 18 million people of Taiwan. This appeal is made under the premise of respect for the government of the Republic of China.

The issue of the future status of Taiwan must be decided by the free wishes of the people of Taiwan. Therefore, at this critical moment, we present our special requests and declaration.

To the outside world, we solemnly state:

1. Refuse any claim of sovereignty over Taiwan by Communist China, and reject the rule of any communist atheist regime.
2. Appeal to all the countries in the world to respect the human rights and rights of the land of the Taiwanese people.
3. The United States bears special moral and historical responsibility for the security of Taiwan and for the protection of the human rights of the people of Taiwan.

To those who live inside Taiwan we state: the authorities should take the following measures in order to strengthen democracy and unity.

1. Hold new elections for all the seats of the parliament.
2. All unjust laws which violate our human rights must be abolished; or at least corrective measures must be taken to restore justice.
3. Release all prisoners of conscience.
4. Lift the ban on the formation of new political parties, on publication of new newspapers, and the restrictions on freedom of speech.
5. All security and intelligence organizations should operate under the supervision of the government and the parliament, based on the principles of respect for human rights and democratic rule.

Finally we use the prayer of poets to conclude our appeal:

We beseech God that Taiwan, and the whole world, may become a place where “mercy and truth will meet together; righteousness and peace will embrace. Truth shall spring out of the earth; and righteous-ness shall look down from heaven.” (Psalm 85, verses 10 11).

Articles and Publications

1. Presbyterian Church publishes book on Lin Yi-hsiung. In April 1982 the Taiwan Presbyterian Church published a book (partly in English, partly in Chinese) dedicated to imprisoned Provincial Assemblyman Lin Yihsung, whose mother and twindaughters were murdered on February 28, 1980. The book, titled “Through the valley of the shadow of death,” was issued on the day of the dedication of a new Church building in Taipei, Easter Sunday, April 11, 1982. The new church is located at the former residence of lawyer Lin (where the murders took place). The book may be ordered from: Gi kong Church, P.O. Box 391170, Taipei, TAIWAN.

2. The Church and the Law; a lawyer’s opinion. One of Taiwan’s most prominent lawyers, Dr. You Ching recently visited Europe. In the Dutch daily newspaper TROUW (October 14, 1982) he gave his vision on the relations between Church and State in Taiwan. Some excerpts:

“In Taiwan the Constitution is neutral with regard to the Churches, but the Government is planning to introduce a law, which would enable the Government to get the Presbyterian Church within its grip. The reason why the authorities want to exert more control over the Church, is the Church’s strong stand on human rights. During the past twelve years the Church has lodged strong protests against the restrictions on civil and political rights by the authorities, which eventually led to the imprisonment of the Secretary General of the Church, Dr. Kao Chunming.

The formal reason for Dr. Kao’s seven years’ sentence was that he had neglected to tell the authorities the hiding place of a leader of the opposition, Mr. Shih Mingteh. Dr. You Ch’ing is deeply disappointed that he was not able to get the military court to free Dr. Kao. The military judges did not recognize the right of clergy to maintain their professional confidentiality. Dr. You says “Imagine that a minister has heard in

confidence that someone has stolen something, do you think the minister should be arrested and sentenced together with the thief ?”

Lawyer You Ch’ing thinks that laws in Taiwan should be improved, in order to provide better protection for religious freedom, otherwise the Church will be the victim of the political manipulation by the authorities. He says that in spite of the fact that repression has eased during the past ten years in comparison with the early period of the Kuomintang regime the present government still does not allow very much room for different political ideas. Still, there is every reason for the authorities to respect the civil and political rights of the citizens, says You Ch’ing, because that would improve Taiwan’s standing in the international community and would benefit Taiwan’s economic interests.”

3. CarnegieMellon University report on Chen Wen-cheng’s death. On a visit to his native Taiwan, Professor Chen, of CarnegieMellon University in Pittsburgh, was interrogated by one of the major security police organizations, the Taiwan Garrison Command (TGC). Several hours later he was found dead on the campus of National Taiwan University. In *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 5 (December 25, 1981) we presented an extensive report on the case. On July 3, 1982 one year after the murder Carnegie- Mellon University issued its report on the tragic death of its faculty member. Below you find the full text of the report:



Dr. Chen, his wife Su-jen, and their son Eric shortly before their journey to Taiwan

“The mysterious death in Taiwan on July 3, 1981, of CarnegieMellon Professor Wen-cheng Chen was last summer’s major news story. Chen, a national of the Republic of China, Taiwan, with permanent residency in the United States, had returned to Taiwan last summer with his wife and oneyearold child to visit relatives. Chen’s family had lived in Taiwan for generations. He shared a feeling of many native Taiwanese that the ruling Kuomintang regime, controlled by officials who fled the Chinese mainland in the 1940’s, should share its power. (Taiwan has been under martial law for the past 33 years. Mainlanders constitute about 13 percent of the total population).

Shortly before his scheduled return to the United States, Chen was interrogated by the Kuomintang security police allegedly about political statements he had made in Pittsburgh. Some hours after the interrogation, and after the police claim that they had escorted him home, Chen was found dead on the campus of National Taiwan University in Taipei.

Initial press reports quoted Taiwan security police as stating that Chen probably committed suicide by jumping from the fifth floor of a university building because he feared arrest for his antigovernment activities. The other possibility advanced by the Taiwan authorities was that the death was accidental. These reports brought an intense response from Chen's colleagues at CarnegieMellon who could not believe that he was capable of suicide. They noted that he was a dedicated scholar who was gaining increased recognition in his field of statistics, and that he was an extremely proud father whose purpose in going to Taiwan was to show his child to relatives. Accident was ruled out as an incredible coincidence after interrogation by the police.

President Richard M. Cyert [of CarnegieMellon University -Ed.] took immediate action to ensure that the government of Taiwan was informed of the university's grave concern about the violation of Dr. Chen's rights. He sent a telegram to the President of the Republic of China, Taiwan, demanding a full and impartial investigation of Chen's death. In a statement to the press he said: "I am deeply shocked by the death of Prof. Chen and particularly by the circumstances surrounding his death On the basis of inadequate evidence there seems to be a likelihood that his death was political-ly motivated. There should be a complete airing of the methods of the Taiwanese police and appropriate action taken by the United States government if there proves to be a connection between Prof. Chen's interrogation by the police and his death."

Dr. Cyert contacted Pennsylvania senators and congressmen urging that the State Department vigorously investigate Chen's death. He was aware, however, that such an investigation could easily be silenced because of official sensitivity to the delicacy of U.S.--Taiwan relations. In a period when diplomatic overtures were being made to mainland China, American officials might not want to publicize anything that would damage America's Taiwan allies.

To ensure that Chen's tragic death would not be buried under diplomatic red tape, Dr. Cyert responded to all requests for interviews from the print and electronic media. Major stories appeared in the New York Times, the Washington Post, Time, Newsweek, U.S. News & World Report and on national television. Frequent articles were also

carried by the Associated Press and United Press International. Editorials appeared in major newspapers including the Honolulu Advertiser, Chicago Tribune, Rocky Mountain News (Colorado), Arizona Republic, and Knoxville Journal.

Locally, Al Rosensweet of the Pittsburgh PostGazette followed the story very closely. From July 8 1981, when the first PostGazette story about Chen's death appeared, through August 22 1981, for example, Rosen-sweet had written 26 stories for the PostGazette and a major article appeared on page two of the July 21 New York Times. His work was thorough and reporters from other cities used his articles to research information on the case. The Pittsburgh Press also carried frequent news stories on the case, including an editorial. (The PostGazette had two editorials.) Numerous reports and inter-views about the case appeared on Pittsburgh's television and radio stations.

On July 30, President Cyert testified in Washington before the Sub-committee on Asian and Pacific Affairs of the House of Representatives. He charged that Taiwan students on American campuses are under close surveillance by agents of that government and that Professor Chen's death could well have been a warning to dissidents. "Professor Chen's death has left every Taiwanese who believes in democracy and freedom terrorized. If a professor from a prestigious American university can meet a mysterious death without the cause of the death being made clear, no student is safe," he said. As a result of this and other hearings, the Congress passed legislation that banned arms sales to countries that systematically harass or intimidate people in the United States.

Kuomintang officials on Taiwan were very much aware of the uproar that Chen's death caused on the CarnegieMellon campus. Influential people on Taiwan, both in the government and academia, asked Professor Morris DeGroot, a colleague of Dr. Chen on the CMU faculty, to visit Taiwan. After several months of negotiations, DeGroot and Dr. Cyril Wecht, a forensic pathologist, went to Taipei on September 20 to examine Chen's body and to study the government's autopsy reports. At a press conference held on their return to the United States DeGroot and Wecht maintained that "*Chen was a victim of homicide, and that his death was caused by being dropped from an upper floor of the fire escape while unconscious.*"

In a formal report that was sent to officials in Taiwan, De Groot made a series of recommendations. Chief among them was the request that the Kuomintang government establish "*an independent commission with nongovernmental membership ... to review all circumstances surrounding Dr. Chen's death and the procedures that*

were followed in its initial investigation.” Nine months later, he has received no official response to these recommendations [emphasis added -Ed.].

On September 29, 1981 President Cyert issued a strong statement in which he expressed his determination to protect foreign nationals at CarnegieMellon University from any interference in their academic freedom. He warned foreign informers that “we are prepared to deal through our disciplinary system with any individual against whom charges of spying are made. If the individual is judged guilty after due process, I am prepared to act by suspension or expulsion of the individual.” As one practical step, he established a tele-phone hotline for students “who believe that they are being harmed through such spying activities of other students or faculty.”

Dr. Cyert also asked the chairman of the Faculty Senate to establish a faculty committee “to look into the situation and make further recommendations for action.” This committee has drafted a Senate resolution on freedom of Political Expression on Campus and contact-ed other universities in which harassment of foreign nationals has been reported. It is inviting a number of national figures and ex-perts to participate in a Day of Political Freedom on Campus in order to discuss ways of guaranteeing freedom of expression for foreign members of campus communities in the United States.

One clear result of the CMU effort has been that the American public is more aware of the fear that Taiwanese students experience while studying and teaching at American universities. In its May 17, 1982 issue Newsweek noted: “Thousands of students from Taiwan enroll in American colleges and universities each year and often find that their government comes with them. Studentagents of Taiwan’s ruling Kuomintang Party (KMT) haunt campuses all across the United States, taking names of suspected dissidents. The Libyans, Filipinos and South Koreans also spy on students here, but as Stanley Spector, a professor of Chinese studies at Washington University, says, ‘The Taiwanese seem to put the most money into it.’

The problem was high-lighted most dramatically last summer when Chen Wencheng [the Chinese form of Dr. Chen’s name], a professor at CarnegieMellon University, went home to visit his parents and then was found dead on the campus of National Taiwan University. Although Chen’s death was officially said to be an accident or suicide, many believe that he was killed by the KMT because of alleged antigovernment activi-ties [holding a speech criticizing the arrest of non K MT leaders in 1979 and handing out leaflets appealing for the release of these leaders Ed.] reported by spies in the United States.”

Postscript by *Taiwan Communiqué*: recently there were new charges of spying by Taiwan government agents at a prestigious American university: the **International Herald Tribune** reported that officials of Stanford University in California had charged that Taiwanese students are “under constant surveillance and harassment by Kuomintang agents” (IHT, October 910, 1982).

Prison report

1. More news on longterm prisoners on Green Island. In our previous *T a i w a n Communiqué* we published a list of 23 longterm prisoners, most of whom have been held on Green Island for more than 30 years. Just recently a littleknown magazine in Taiwan, named **Life of the Earth** published more information on several of these persons.

Because we have not been able to verify this information with other sources, we cannot vouch for its complete accuracy. We feel, however, that this information may be helpful to other persons and/or organizations in piecing together a more comprehensive picture of these longterm prisoners, so we present it below:

Six of the persons on our list are from Matou. Their names are:

- a. Chen Shui-chuan, Li Kuo-ming, Lin Shu-yang, Lu Chin-mu, Wang Chin-hui, and Wang Teh-sheng. They were members of a local political faction, who participated in an election in the late 1940's or 1950. Their participation in the election was apparently not to the liking of the local Kuomintang bosses, who accused them of having “links with the Communists” [which is now as it was at the time a rather convenient method used by the Kuomintang authorities to get rid of persons with whom they don't agree Ed.].
- b. Lin Cheng-ting was a reporter for the **United Daily News** (one of Taiwan's most progovernment newspapers), who wrote a story about an incident in 1957, whereby an American soldier shot and killed a Chinese person prowling around in his garden. After the incident the American embassy was invaded by a mob (apparently with some help from the Kuomintang's secret police see George Kerr's book **Formosa Betrayed**, p. 410) and partially destroyed. Presumably Mr. Lin's report of the events was not to the liking of the authorities.

- c. Liu Chensung was a member of a swimming team. One of the other members of the team was discovered to be a spy for China. Mr. Liu was arrested, because he had been on the same swimming team.
- d. Liu Tienchao was a Navy officer. In our previous report we mentioned he had passed away in 1981. The *Life on the Earth* article states that it is not known whether he is dead or alive. He was an officer on a Navy ship. One day the captain wanted to defect to China. The attempt was foiled by subordinates, and the captain was executed, while Mr. Liu was sentenced to life -imprisonment.
- e. Meng Chaosan. During the SinoJapanese war Mr. Meng lived in an area occupied by the Japanese. He became a member of a civilian group, many of which were organized by the Chinese commu-nists to resist the Japanese occupation (particularly in Shantung and in Manchuria). When Mr. Meng fled to Taiwan after World War II, he was arrested, together with other members of the group.
- f. Wu Yuehming. In *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 7/8 we quo-ted an Amnesty Interna-tional report that Mr. Wu had been released. The **Life of the Earth** article, however, says that Mr. Wu’s wife requested that he receive treatment in a private hospital. The request was denied, but Mr. Wu was taken to the Three Military Ser-vices Hospital in Taipei. Here the doctors declared that his eye disease “could not be treated”, so he was sent back to Green Island.

2. SPEAHRhead’s prison reports from China and Taiwan. The New York-based Society for the Protection of East Asians’ Human Rights (SPEAHR) published two reports on prison conditions, one from China written by Liu Qing, one of China’s leading democratic activists, who was arrested in 1979 and the other one from Taiwan.

The second one was written by Li Ao, a wellknown writer in Taiwan, who spent six months in jail during the second half of 1981 and the beginning of 1982. Immediately after his release in February 1982 he wrote a lengthy essay about the things he had seen and heard during his time in prison.

The account had such a convincing ring that the Taiwan authorities found it necessary to ban the magazine which first published Li Ao’s essay. (SPEAHRhead is available from: SPEAHR, P.O. Box 1212, Cathedral Station, New York, NY 10025 USA).

Notes

1. Issue no. 2 of TAIWAN PANORAMA confiscated. In September 1982 a non-KMT member of the Control Yuan, Dr. You Ch'ing, started to publish a new magazine. He named it Taiwan Panorama, and announced articles on a wide variety of legal, social, and political issues. Dr. You is a German-trained lawyer with a Ph.D. from Heidelberg University. In December 1980 he was elected as first non-KMT member of the Control Yuan, a body with supervisory functions.

In the first issue of Taiwan Panorama, which came off the presses in the beginning of September, Dr. You announced that issue no. 2 would contain legal essays on the "formation and operation" of a new political party. This proved too dangerous a subject for the Taiwan Garrison Command: in the morning of October 4, 1982 the TGC raided the printing shop, where no. 2 was being readied for publication, and confiscated the seven thousand copies that had been printed. At the time of confiscation Dr. You was traveling in Europe, contacting European political parties and collecting further information on the legal aspects of establishing an opposition party.

2. Issue no. 17 of VERTICAL HORIZONTAL also banned. In August 1982 Taipei-based **Vertical Horizontal** (Chung Hang), received a banning order for its issue no. 17. It marked the fifth banning of this bimonthly magazine in its short history. Two articles did not meet the approval of Taiwan's censors: the first one was a report on a discussion by American scholars on U.S. policy towards China. The other one was a critique on a previous article called "The Unification of China." According to the Garrison Command, the content of these articles "... confuses the public's perception, and influences the morale of the public."

3. The death of two taxidrivers Continued. In *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 7/8 (August 24, 1982) we reported on the death (after police-interrogation) of taxidriver Wang Ying-hsien. Mr. Wang had been arrested in connection with a bank robbery, but on the night of his death (which occurred while he was in police custody) police in another section of Taipei arrested taxidriver Li Shi-ko,



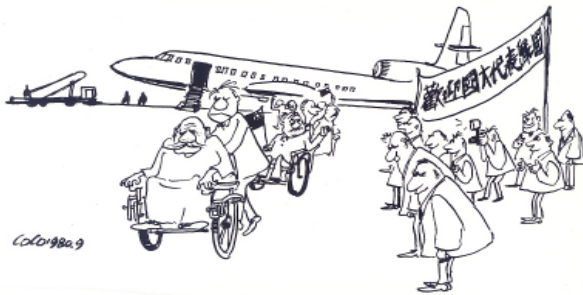
The five policemen: "We didn't torture him to death, just ask him!!!"

who confessed that he had committed the robbery (Mr. Li was executed after a closed trial in military court). Now the Taiwan authorities have brought five policemen all members of the “Larceny Investigation Division” of the Department” (a rather apt name we must say Ed.) – to trial. They were indicted on August 20, 1982.

The first session of the trial was held on September 9 1982, while a second session took place on September 30, 1982. At the time of this writing (October 20) there had been no reports on the outcome of the case. The five accused policemen of course deny having tortured Mr. Wang. This prompted **The Eighties** to print a cartoon, which you find reproduced on page 26.

4. The legislators are very old. The October 1982 issue of one of Taiwan’s most prominent nonKuomintang monthly magazines, **The Eighties**, published an interesting article about the age distribution in the three national level legislative bodies, the National Assembly, the Legis-lative Yuan, and the Control Yuan. The data show that approximately two--thirds of the members of these venerable institutions are over 70 years of age. Only around 16 percent of the members were elected in Taiwan: the remaining legislators (84 percent) were elected in mainland China in 1947, and have been holding onto their positions ever since.

The National Assembly. According to the R.O.C. Constitution this body should have 3045 members. In the elections on the mainland in 1947 2961 representatives from all of China’s provinces were “elected”, but the present number (including 49 persons elected and 27 persons appointed in supplementary elections in 1980) is 1133. Of this number, 781 persons (68.9 percent) are over 70 years of age, while 206 (18.2 percent) have passed the age of 80. The major task of the members of the National Assembly is to elect a new President once every six years. As most of the “oldies” do not live in Taiwan anymore, but have found comfortable places to live in California or on Long Island, they return to Taiwan on an all expenses paid trip to duly cast their vote for the President. This situation prompted the following cartoon in **The Eighties**:



Caption: "A Warm welcome to our National Assembly."

Legislative Yuan. This is the main legislative body in Taiwan. According to the Constitution it should have 773 members, but at the present time there are only 388. Of these, 51 were elected by the people of Taiwan and the small offshore islands in supplementary elections, the latest of which were held in December 1980 when several relatives of the imprisoned “Kaohsiung” leaders won with large margins. Some 45 of the 388 Legislative Yuan members were appointed by President Chiang Chingkuo as representatives of “overseas Chinese” and occupational groups. Thus, approximately 292 of these legislators (or 75 percent) were elected in 1947. Of the total of 388 legislators, 260 are presently over 70 years of age. Many of these “eternal lawmakers” hardly ever attend the sessions of the Legislative Yuan, but do draw a large variety of benefits. **The Eighties** also had a humorous comment on this matter



Speaker of the Legislative Yuan: “*We have an emergency issue facing us: we ask the legislature to issue an easy chair for each legislator. The reasons are:*”

Control Yuan. This supervisory body is the smallest of the three legislative organs of Taiwan’s bulky government. According to the Constitution it should have 223 members, but presently only 74 members are in position. Of this number, only 22 persons were elected from Taiwan. Ten members were appointed by the President, while 42 members were elected on the mainland in 1947, and are thus considered “permanent members.” The Control Yuan is relatively speaking the youngest organ: only 44 members (or 59.5 percent) are over 70 years of age.



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