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14

December 1983 elections *Tangwai* present strong challenge

On 3 December 1983, elections were held in Taiwan for 71 “supplementary seats” in the national legislature, the Legislative Yuan. The result was a predictable victory for the ruling Kuomintang (62 seats). However, the election of several prominent *tangwai* (“outside-the-party”) candidates signified a strong challenge to the legitimacy of the imprisonment of native Taiwanese *tangwai* leaders after the Kaohsiung Incident of December 1979. The native Taiwanese constitute 85 percent of the population of the island, but they have been systematically prevented from building up significant representation in the political system by the ruling Nationalist Chinese Kuomintang, which has its power base among the mainlanders who came over from China after 1945.

Several of the elected *tangwai* candidates are relatives or lawyers of the imprisoned native Taiwanese leaders. The most significant victory is that of Mrs. Lin Fang Su-min, the wife of Mr. Lin Yi-hsiung, a member of the Taiwan Provincial Assembly who is presently serving a 12 years’ prison sentence (see story on page 5). Mr. Lin’s mother and the couple’s two young daughters were murdered in their home in Taipei on February 28, 1980 after Mr. Lin – who was in prison at the time – had complained of torture at the hands of the Kuomintang’s secret police.

Also elected were Taipei-based Chiang Peng-chien, Mr. Lin Yi hsiung’s defense lawyer in the “Kao-



Mrs. Lin Fang Su-ming

hsiung Incident” trial of March 1980, and Mr. Chang Chun-hsiung a Kaohsiung-based lawyer for Mr. Lin Hung-hsüan, one of the other “Kaohsiung” defendants. Mrs. Hsü Jung-shu, wife of imprisoned Provincial Assembly-member Chang Chun-hung, was re-elected to her seat in the Legislative Yuan. Mrs. Hsu was first elected in December 1980, and makes frequent headlines in Taiwan because she continues to speak out on the issues of “self-determination” and “the future of Taiwan.” These issues are taboo in the vocabulary of the ruling Kuomintang, because they undercut the Kuomintang’s claim to sovereignty over all of China. Mrs. Lin Fang Su-min

An unexpected defeat was suffered by Mrs. Kao Li Li-chen, the wife of the imprisoned General Secretary of the Presbyterian Church, Reverend Kao Chun-ming. There are clear indications, however, that her defeat was due to fraud on the part of election officials. An analysis is given below.

Another prominent *tangwai* candidate, Mr. K’ang Ning-hsiang, a member of the Legislative Yuan since 1969, did not regain his seat. Mr. K’ang has been criticized by other *tangwai* for being too compromising towards the ruling Kuomintang.

Unfair competition

The elections have the outward appearance of a democratic system: a lively election campaign of 15 days, pitting KMT-candidates against “outside-the-party” *tangwai* candidates. However, the unbalanced outcome is more an indication of the fact that the system is unfair than a stamp of approval for the Kuomintang’s policies.

Below we present the most important elements of the lack of true democracy in Taiwan:

1. The continuation of martial law, which has been in force on the island since May 1949. Under this law freedom of speech and freedom of the press are severely restricted. Almost every month the much-feared Taiwan Garrison Command confiscates several opposition-magazines because they discuss issues such as political prisoners, self-determination or martial law itself. In the words of the Garrison Command, these magazines “confuse public opinion and affect the morale of the public and the armed forces.”
2. The prohibition on the formation of opposition parties. The *tangwai* are only allowed to run as individual candidates, but are not permitted to set up a formal party. They thus cannot develop a permanent coordination-mechanism for the election-campaign.

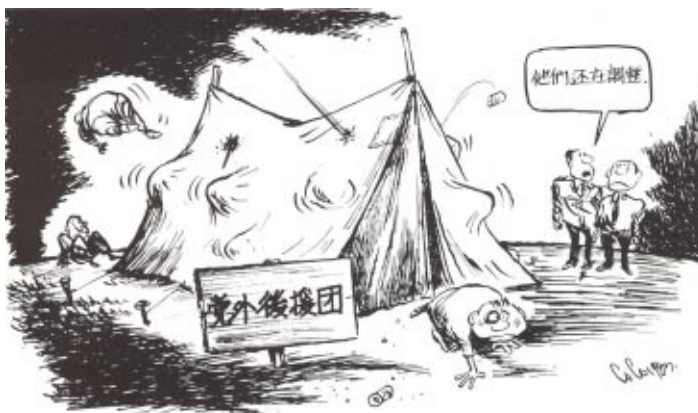
3. The campaign period is limited to 15 days. Outside this period no political gatherings may be held. Only during the first week of the campaign period may the candidates organize campaign-rallies themselves. During the crucial final week the candidates may only speak at government-sponsored rallies, where the speeches of *tangwai* candidates are sandwiched in-between the speeches of Kuomintang candidates.
4. The exposure of the candidates is further limited by the prohibition of advertisements in the media. However, the government-controlled daily newspapers give ample coverage to the campaigns of the KMT candidates, but they deliberately ignore the *tangwai*. The authorities do not allow the *tangwai* to establishment their own daily newspapers.
5. New campaign rules passed in June also limit the number of places where campaign posters can be hung and the number of campaign trucks to be used. This restricts on-the-street campaigning, something that the *tangwai* must rely on heavily in order to get into direct contact with the voters.
6. Sixteen of the 71 seats are reserved for occupational groups, such as fishermen, farmers, workers and businessmen, while there are three seats for representatives of the aborigines and the population of the off-shore islands. The selection-process for these seats is -- in the words of the pro-KMT China Post of December 7, 1983 -- a "semi-closed block voting operation." The KMT fully controls the process, and for most of these seats there are usually only one or two KMT-candidates. "Outside-the-party" people do not have the slightest chance of getting elected and generally don't even bother to field candidates for these positions. Thus only 52 seats are open for truly free voting.

Divisions among the opposition

Having said the above, we also need to acknowledge that internal divisions within the opposition contributed to the unnecessary loss of a number of seats. The most surprising loss was that by Mr. K'ang Ning-hsiang, the nominal leader of the *tangwai*. In preparing for the elections Mr. K'ang and the other *tangwai* incumbents had set up a "campaign support committee" which was intended to support the campaigns of a selected number of *tangwai* candidates.

However, the selection process generated accusations of "high-handedness" against Mr. K'ang by several of the "New Generation" young editors and writers of *tangwai* magazines. The younger generation had earlier voiced criticism of Mr. K'ang because they felt he was too compromising towards the ruling Kuomintang. The squabbling

prompted the following cartoon in The Asian Monthly:



Caption: “They are still coordinating in the Support Committee’s tent.”

Thus in several districts, where they could easily have gotten one or two seats, *tangwai* candidates split the votes and lost. This was most obvious in the Second District (Taoyuan County, Hsin-chu and Miao-li), where lawyer Chang Teh-ming, a close associate of Mr. K’ang, received 50,630 votes, while another *tangwai* candidate, Mr. Hsu Kuo-tai, received 68,779 votes. The six KMT-candidates who were elected in this district all received between 76,000 and 99,000 votes.

No doubt the Kuomintang made clever use of the factionalism among the *tangwai*. In all districts and in, the professional groups, blocks of KMT-voters were told for which KMT-candidate they should vote so that an even distribution of the votes would result. This was particularly apparent from the results of the Second District, where an amazingly even distribution was achieved: the bottom four elected KMT-candidates received 76,975, 76,837, 76,530, and 76,185 votes respectively.

Another interesting (ir)regularity is the voter turnout rate (percentage of registered voters who do actually vote) on the off-shore islands and “Fukien province.” While the most districts the voter turnout varied between 60 and 70 percent, the voting rates for Kinmen, Lien Chiang, and Fukien districts each came out to be exactly 96.04 percent.

The overall result of the election is as follows:

	Candidates	Elected
KMT		
Officially nominated	58	56
KMT-approved	7	5
Not approved	27	1
<i>Tangwai</i>	24	6
Other	60	3
Total	176	71

As we indicated earlier, the selection of the sixteen representatives of occupational groups, of the two representatives of the aborigines, and of the one delegate representing the off-shore islands is a process so closely controlled by the Kuomintang that it cannot be regarded an open election-procedure. The number of (more or less) democratically elected representatives is thus $71 - 19 = 52$.

Mrs. Lin Fang Su-ming's triumph

The December election showed continued popular support for the Taiwanese opposition leaders imprisoned after the Kaohsiung Incident of December 1979. Nowhere was this more visibly demonstrated than in Mrs. Lin Fang Su-min's election campaign, which culminated in her sweeping victory.

Fang Su-min has come a long way from being Lin Yi-hsiung's soft-spoken wife to her new role of a political activist. Before the Kaohsiung Incident, she was supportive of her husband's political activities, but preferred to remain in the shadow and took care of the family. But Kaohsiung Incident abruptly changed the course of her life. In the wake of the Incident, Lin Yi-hsiung was arrested and kept incommunicado for more than two months. On December 28, 1980, their twin daughters and Lin Yi-hsiung's mother were murdered in their home in Taipei. The house was under 24-hour surveillance by the police, but to the present day the authorities continue to insist that the murderer(s) "cannot be found." Mrs. Lin narrowly escaped the murder, for on that fatal morning she had gone to prison to see her husband who was awaiting trial.

In 1981 at the urging of Lin Yi-hsiung and friends, she and her surviving daughter went to the U. S., hoping to regain some peace of mind there. The two years' stay abroad gave

her “an opportunity to observe and reflect on the situation in Taiwan”, as she stated during a press conference on October 18th in Los Angeles. She said she was deeply concerned about the lack of political reforms in Taiwan and about Taiwan’s increasing isolation in the international community. She declared, “I am returning home to join the movement of democracy and human rights. I hope that through our efforts of continuous cultivation, the flowers of democracy will bloom and flourish, so that the tragedy of my family shall never be repeated again.”



Crowd at a tangwai rally

The KMT’s Coordinating Council for North American Affairs office in Los Angeles tried to discourage her from going back to Taiwan, first by delaying her application for an entry permit, later by threatening that she might “become another Aquino.” She persisted in her plan, and on October 25th she returned to an emotional homecoming. At Taiwan’s international airport she was greeted by more than 500 supporters. Many from the eastern and southern parts of the island traveled through the night in chartered buses, so that they would be on time to greet her at 7:30 in the morning.

She had only three weeks time to organize her campaign. With the help of other *tangwai* leaders and the young editors of *tangwai* magazines, who took charge of her

campaign publicity, her campaign attracted immediate attention and began snowballing. On the fourth day of the campaign, it was reported that more than 50,000 people showed up at a campaign rally held at the school yard of a primary school in San-chung in the suburb of Taipei City. An eyewitness described that a sea of people filled up the school yard. Many climbed to the treetops. Even the rooftops of buildings were occupied by enthusiastic supporters.

Many people wept openly when she spoke about the lack of freedom and democracy in Taiwan, and about her determination to continue her husband's efforts in bringing about political reforms. Donations from the people filled up her campaign coffers. In every campaign rally, enthusiastic supporters threw money onto the platform. One witness later said: "money was falling like raindrops." Many people traveled all the way from the southern end of the island to attend her campaign rallies. They brought along contributions from friends and relatives.

Her campaign also had to overcome a vicious smear-campaign by the pro-government media, which accused her of "sentimentalism." The KMT-press also accused her of "associating with Taiwan Independence elements" in the United States, and of "distributing propaganda for the Communists." The latter accusation was apparently prompted by the fact that one of her campaign leaflets contained a picture of the former U.S. President Carter shaking hands with Teng Hsiao-ping. She used the picture to illustrate Taiwan's increasing isolation in the international community. One of the KMT candidates in the same district immediately started the above-mentioned wild accusation, citing the picture as evidence. Fang Su-min's campaign-aides responded that the same picture had already appeared many times, even in the KMT-magazines. They asked why it was not considered "propaganda for the Communists" before?

The Kuomintang party-newspaper, Central Daily News, immediately printed front-page articles, stating that Fang Su-min was "trying to help the Communist regime on the mainland" and implying that her election might be invalidated. Also, several of her campaign-aides were threatened with arrest.

In the end Fang Su-min was elected with slightly more than 121,000 votes, the third highest number of votes of all candidates in the election.

How Mrs. Kao Li Li-chen "lost"

When Mrs. Kao Li Li-chen, closed off her election-campaign in the late evening of December 3, 1983 it seemed certain that she had won: the televised results showed that at that point she had some 80,000 votes and maintained a comfortable lead over her nearest competitor. The next morning the southern edition of the pro-KMT United Daily News published election-results showing that she had received a total of 85,395 votes. However, when government officials announced the results of election later on that day, her total number of votes had mysteriously dropped to 74,731, and she had lost by a margin of 21 votes. The person just above her -- Mr. Huang Cheng-an -- was elected with 74,752 votes.

Her supporters could hardly believe this, because Mrs. Kao had drawn much larger crowds than Mr. Huang. Suspicions were heightened when polling station No. 72 reported a mistake, and Mrs. Kao was given four more votes, which narrowed the margin of her loss to just 17 votes.

Her campaign aides began searching for more possible sources of error. They found a discrepancy between two pieces of official documents with regard to the number of votes Mrs. Kao received in polling station No. 64 in Tainan City.

The document issued by the Election Commission in Tainan showed that she received 19 votes and Huang Cheng-an, the elected candidate received 59 votes. But the tally sheet issued by the polling station No. 64 showed Mrs. Kao as having 59 votes and Huang Cheng-an only 19 votes. It thus appeared that there might have been an accidental recording error when the ballots from all the polling stations were tallied in the Election Commission's office in Tainan.

However, Interior Minister Lin Yang-kang inexplicably supported the Election Commission and declared that the tally sheet from polling station No. 64 was "not legally valid." Mrs. Kao's lawyer contended that this tally sheet contained the most original information, because it was issued immediately after the vote count and was signed by the officials in charge of the polling station. This argument was "not acceptable" to the - Commission.



Mrs. Kao Li Li-chen

Mrs. Kao's campaign aides then filed a law suit against the Election Commission of Tainan on charges of "forgery of document", and asked for a recount. They requested a recount of _all the ballots, including the invalid and blank ones, in order to make sure that there was no fraud elsewhere. The prosecutor, however, insisted that since the lawsuit was on charges of forgery, it was only necessary to verify the 59 votes received by Huang Cheng-an.

The recount took place in Tainan's city hall on December 9. The ballot box was opened, and out came the supposedly-sealed brown envelope containing the ballots of polling station No. 64. Mrs. Kao's lawyer immediately noted that the envelope was suspect on three points -- firstly, the knot of the plastic string which wrapped the envelope was not sealed, secondly, the envelope itself was not sealed, and thirdly, tags which contained the signatures of the officials in charge were not on the envelope. He questioned the validity of the recount, but the prosecutor ignored the protest and concluded that, according to the recount, Huang Cheng-an had 59 votes, and consequently that Mrs. Kao had "lost."

How democratic is Taiwan now?

How far has Taiwan progressed on the road towards a democratic political system?

In order to answer this question, one has to look at the composition of the total Legislative Yuan and the other two national-level representative bodies, the National Assembly and the Control Yuan. "Supplementary" elections for a small number of seats in the latter two bodies were held in 1980. The table on the following page show that democracy still has a long way to go in Taiwan:

As an example: 631 of the National Assembly members are "selected alternate delegates", meaning that they themselves were not elected on the mainland, but that they have been appointed by the Kuomintang authorities to succeed members who have died since 1947.

If one would want to calculate the overall "representativity" of these three bodies one could divide the sum of the elected persons ($49 + 52 + 22 = 123$) by the sum of the total membership ($1133 + 371 + 74 = 1578$) which results in a "representativity percentage" of 7.8 percent.

	NATIONAL ASSEMBLY	LEGISLATIVE YUAN	CONTROL YUAN
Membership according to the Constitution	3045	773	223
Elected in 1947 in China	2961	760	180
"Life members", remaining from 1947	1057 **	274	42
Elected by the people on Taiwan	49 ('80)	52 ('83)	22 ('80)
Appointed from overseas Chinese groups and selected from professional groups	27	45	10
TOTAL MEMBERSHIP	1133	371	74
Percentage elected by the people on Taiwan	4.3 %	14.0 %	29.7 %

Coverage in the international press

Taiwan's elections received considerable publicity in the international press. *Taiwan Communiqué* noted the following articles:

Far Eastern Economic Review:

- * "Divide and rule ?" (November 24, 1983), and
- * "Strategy wins out" (December 15, 1983); both by Andrew Tanzer.

International Herald Tribune:

- * "Ruling party in Taiwan wins Assembly election" (December 5, 1983);
- * "Taiwan's party pursues gradual social change" (December 7, 1983; both by Steve Lohr of the New York Times News Service.

Wall Street Journal:

- * "Taiwan vote to test sympathy for nation's political prisoners" (December 2, 1983), and
- * "Taiwan ruling party retains firm control of Legislature" (December 5, 1983); both by the Journal's Taipei reporter Maria Shao.

TROUW (a Dutch national daily newspaper):

* “Regime on Taiwan continues to belittle the Taiwanese” (December 3, 1983); by Trouw’s international news desk.

The future of Taiwan

Resolution passed in the United States Senate

On November 15th, 1983 the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee passed Resolution 74, concerning the future of the people on Taiwan. As we reported in *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 11 (April 8, 1983) this Resolution was introduced in the Senate on February 28, 1983 by the Senators Claiborne Pell (D - Rhode Island), John Glenn (D - Ohio), David Durenberger (R - Minnesota) and Edward Kennedy (D - Massachusetts). The Resolution emphasizes that Taiwan’s future should be settled “peacefully, free of coercion, and in a manner acceptable to the people on Taiwan.”

Below follows the text of the resolution as it was adopted by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee:

**In the Senate of the United States
Resolution**

Expressing the sense of the Senate concerning the future of the people of Taiwan

Whereas February 28 marked the eleventh anniversary of the Shanghai Communiqué signed by the United States and the People’s Republic of China;

Whereas the Communiqué and the 1979 United States - People’s Republic of China normalization agreement greatly improved relations between Washington and Peking;

Whereas peace has prevailed in the Taiwan Strait since the normalization of relations between the United States and the People’s Republic of China;

Whereas maintaining a sound United States- People’s Republic of China relationship serves the interests of both countries and the interests of peace in the Pacific region;

Whereas the United States has also pledged in the Taiwan Relations Act to continue commercial, cultural and other relations between the people of the United States and the people on Taiwan;

Whereas the United States established diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China in the expectation that the future of Taiwan will be determined by peaceful means; **Now therefore be it**

RESOLVED, that it is the sense of the Senate that Taiwan's future should be settled peacefully, free of coercion and in a manner acceptable to the people on Taiwan and consistent with the Taiwan Relations Act enacted by Congress and the communiqués entered into between the United States and the People's Republic of China.

Dr. Lo Fu-chen's statement

Preceding the acceptance of the Senate Resolution by the Foreign Relations Committee there was a hearing at which a number of persons testified about the issue of the future of Taiwan. Dr. LO Fu-chen, a leading Taiwanese-American who is Visiting Scholar and Lecturer at the University of Pennsylvania, gave an excellent analysis of the legal status of Taiwan. A few excerpts from his statement:

"It is well known to international legal scholars and well accepted by the international community that the legal status of Taiwan is still unsettled. Taiwan has never been a part of China, Communist or Nationalist. As pointed out by Professor Michael Reisman of Yale Law School in 1972 [The New Republic, April 1, 1972, as abstracted from Lung-chu Chen and W.M. Reisman, "Who owns Taiwan: A Search for International Title", The Yale Law Journal, Vol. 81, No. 4, March 1972]:

[During World War II] At China's behest, the three Allied Powers affirmed in the Cairo Declaration of 1943 and reaffirmed at Potsdam, a desire "to restore Formosa and the Pescadores to China." Declarations such as these cannot of course, legally dispose of the territory of another state. Additionally, the legal effect of an unratified declaration, particularly a war-time declaration, is controversial, but there is no controversy over the superseding of such a declaration by a fully-fledged peace treaty. In case of conflict, the treaty prevails. Hence the importance of the 1951 Japanese Peace Treaty, in which Japan renounced "all rights, title and claim" over Formosa. But the treaty did not state to whom Taiwan was to be delivered. An examination of the preparatory records shows that this was not an oversight, but was a matter to be decided at a later date. As the British delegate to the Peace Conference put it, "In due course a solution must be found, in accord with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations."

Dr. Lo also presented arguments to show that the Taiwan issue cannot be regarded an internal affair of China:

“First, historically Taiwan has never been a part of China. Most of the Taiwanese people are ethnically of Han-Chinese extraction. Their forebears migrated to Taiwan as frontier settlers. Like the Mayflower pilgrims who came to settle in New England, the early Taiwanese settlers did not come to Taiwan to extend territorial sovereignty, but rather to escape the hardship of life in China

Second, the people on Taiwan have developed over their 400-year history a unique identity of their own. The history of Taiwan is a history of frontier settlement by migrants and a history of continuous struggle against intervention and control by external powers. Over the last three hundred years, the people in Taiwan had forcefully resisted, in turn, exploitation by Spanish, Dutch, the Ch’ing government and the Japanese.

Under the Ch’ing Dynasty, it was well-described in the saying, “There was a small revolt every three years, and a large uprising every five years.” In 1895, Taiwan declared the independence of the Republic of Formosa in a total armed resistance against Japanese occupation forces. There was no single year under Japanese rule without resistance by force or political struggle. The struggle against outsiders has emerged as the root of Taiwan nationalism over this 400-year history. Taiwan is the only homeland for Taiwanese. Although mainly of Han-Chinese stock, they do not politically identify with China anymore, just as Italian Americans are not Italian and German Americans are not German. Descendants of these native Taiwanese make up 85 percent of the population in Taiwan today.”

Dr. Lo also explained how difficult it is for the native Taiwanese to let their voices be heard:

“Expression of one’s political view on the future of Taiwan is itself a political taboo in Taiwan and prohibited under martial law. But various groups and individuals are courageous enough to speak out on behalf of the silent majority in Taiwan. As a series of diplomatic setbacks led to the Nationalist regime’s increased international isolation, the call for the right of the 18 million people to decide their own future became louder and clearer. The following items can be cited:

- * On December 30, 1971, the General Assembly of the Taiwan Presbyterian Church issued a “Public Statement on our National Fate” stating that, “We do

not wish to be governed by Peking... The United Nations Charter has affirmed that every people has the right to determine its own destiny.”

- * On August 16, 1977, the Taiwan Presbyterian Church issued “A Declaration on Human Rights”. It states that, “We urge our government to face reality and to take effective measures whereby Taiwan may become a new and independent country.”
- * In July 1982, the Taiwanese Association of America issued the Joint Statement on Self-Determination and Democracy on Taiwan, demanding that, “The future of Taiwan must be decided by the 18 million inhabitants of Taiwan.”
- * On September 28, 1982, four of the imprisoned “Kaohsiung Eight” leaders issued the following joint statement: “We believe that our people cannot - solely on the basis of historical and racial reasons -- be deprived of their right to choose a free and democratic life. It is in the long-term interest of Taiwan that democracy is put into practice here; it is far more important and urgent than unification with China.”
- * On September 28, 1982, a joint statement by non-Party (*Tangwai*) leaders on “Democracy, Unity, Save Taiwan” demanded that, “The future of Taiwan has to be decided by the eighteen million people who live on the island, and by no one else.”
- * On October 19, 1982, Mrs. Hsu Jung-shü presented an interpellation at the Legislative Yuan in Taiwan, calling on the Executive Yuan “to allow open and public discussion of Taiwan’s future”, and asserting that “the future of Taiwan should be decided by the common decision of its 18 million people.”
- * On October 11, 1983, Mrs. Hsu Jung-shü made another statement in the Legislative Yuan, saying that, “[Unless] we the 18 million people on Taiwan decide to determine our own future, the status and the future of Taiwan, there is no way we can be distinguished from the Communist China.”
- * On October 23, 1983, two hundred non-party (*Tangwai*) leaders issued a “Ten-point Principles of *Tangwai* Joint Platform” declaring that, “the future of Taiwan should be determined by all the people who live on Taiwan.”

From these quotes, it is evident that the Taiwanese people are becoming more vocal on the issue of the future of the island. The message is clear: the future of Taiwan must be decided by the people on Taiwan themselves, and by no one else.”

Mr. Reagan and China

In the middle of January 1984 China’s Premier, Zhao Ziyang, visits Washington D.C., and in April President Reagan will follow in the footsteps of his predecessor Richard M. Nixon, and pay a visit to Peking. With these moves Mr. Reagan apparently wants to demonstrate his mastery of the art of foreign relations -- and thus improve his image as a statesman, and thereby his standing in the polls.

In the third week of November both visits were almost canceled when the Chinese authorities became angered about the Senate Resolution mentioned earlier in this article, and about an amendment attached to an International Monetary Fund appropriations bill by conservative senators. The IMF amendment recommended that Taiwan remain seated in the Asian Development Bank. In the beginning of December it was reported (BBC broadcast on December 7, 1983) that the visits would proceed as planned, and that the United States had given “clarifications and promises.” It was stated in the report that China hoped the U.S. would follow this up with concrete action. The report said that it was not specified what these clarifications and promises were.

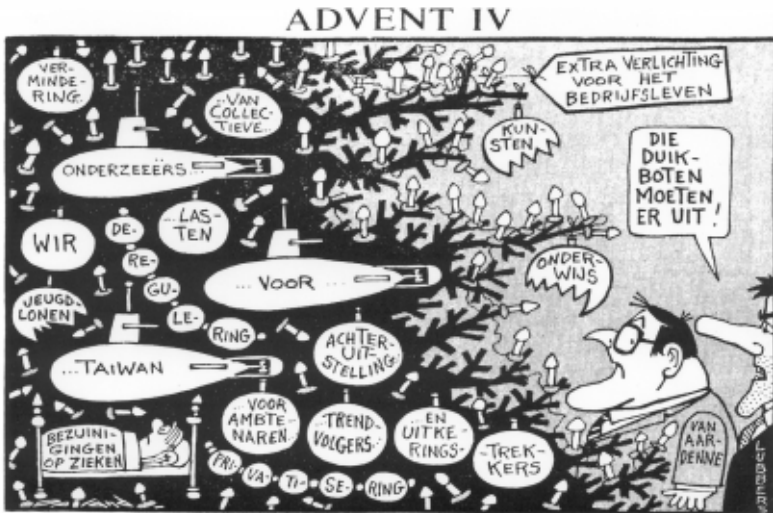
Taiwan Communiqué comment: *The Reagan Administration should follow up its “clarification and promises” with “concrete action” by actively supporting the Senate Resolution on the future of Taiwan. A peaceful and just solution of the Taiwan question can be achieved only if the people on Taiwan can participate fully and effectively in the debate about the future status of the island.*

No Dutch submarines for Taiwan

The Cabinet decides

On 21 December 1983 the Dutch Cabinet decided against granting an export license to the Wilton-Feyenoord shipbuilding company for two to four more submarines for Taiwan. On December 28th the lower house of the Dutch parliament discussed the matter in a debate lasting more than nine hours, and just after 12 o’clock midnight it voted 80 to 38 to uphold the Cabinet’s decision.

The decision was preceded by two months of heated debate in the Dutch press. The debate indeed began already in the beginning of August 1983 when the young and inexperienced leader of the conservative VVD party (People's Party for Freedom and Democracy) in the Dutch Parliament, Mr. Ed Nijpels, was invited by the Kuomintang authorities to spend his honeymoon in Taiwan. Upon his return from an undoubtedly luxurious stay in Taiwan Mr. Nijpels immediately announced that the Dutch government should look favorably upon the sale of a few more submarines to Taiwan. Prime Minister Lubbers -- still remembering the difficulties surrounding the 1981 decision about the export permit for the first two submarines -indicated that he had strong reservations about a second order.



Prime Minister Lubbers tells Mr. Van Aardenne:
“Remove those submarines from the Christmas tree.”

On October 27th and 28th, the issue again rocketed to the front pages of the Dutch daily newspapers when it was announced that shipbuilding company Wilton-Feyenoord -- until recently a part of the now bankrupt Rijn-Schelde-Verolme (RSV) company -- had requested the Dutch Ministry of Economic Affairs to issue an export-permit for two to four submarines. In parallel, another shipyard, Van der Giessen-De Noord, requested an export permit for a number of Navy minesweepers. The issue set off a torrent of newspaper articles in unemployment-plagued Holland, pitting those in favor of the sale for economic reasons against those objecting to the sale for political reasons (“one shouldn’t step on China’s toes once again”).

The Dutch Cabinet decided to let a democratic discussion take its course and postponed the decision until the end of December 1983. The debate about the stationing of Pershing and Cruise missiles quickly moved the submarine-issue off the front pages, while a postal strike and other labor unrest also commanded the attention of the public and government. However, in the meantime the two government ministries most directly involved in the matter -- Economic Affairs ("in favor, because of the employment opportunities") and Foreign Affairs ("against, because of China's political clout") -- maneuvered for a position of comparative advantage.

Foreign Minister Van den Broek quickly sent a senior diplomat, Mr. H. Wijnaendt, to Peking, who returned with a predictable response from the Chinese authorities: "the deal is unacceptable to Peking." A few weeks later Minister of Economic Affairs Van Aardenne sent his own mission to Taiwan, which came back with an equally predictable response from the Taiwan authorities: "Taiwan will increase its imports from the Netherlands by 35 to 40 percent each year" if the Dutch government gives the green light for the submarines.

In the end, Foreign Minister Van den Broek appeared to have done his homework better than Mr. Van Aardenne: most of the members of the Cabinet accepted the Foreign Minister's argument that granting of the export permit for an additional number of submarines would gravely damage the diplomatic relations between the Netherlands and the People's Republic of China. Three years ago, when the first deal of two submarines was approved, the Dutch government had indicated that it was a "once-and-no-more" matter. "Now, in 1983, the Dutch government should keep its word," thus stated Prime Minister Lubbers at a press conference after the Cabinet's decision. The matter prompted the following cartoon in *De VOLKSKRANT*, one of Holland's leading national daily newspapers:

The Parliament debates

On December 28th the lower house of the Dutch parliament (Tweede Kamer) came back from its Christmas recess to discuss the matter. The debate was attended by Prime Minister Lubbers, Foreign Minister Van den Broek, and Minister for Economic Affairs Van Aardenne, who made statements and answered questions. The debate lasted from 1:30 pm until just after midnight. Below we present a summary of the views presented by the ministers and by spokesmen for the major political parties.

VVD-party spokesman H.H. Jacobse opened the debate. He argued that since the previous submarine-decision (in 1981) very little had changed and that it would thus

have been consistent policy if the Dutch Cabinet had approved the export permit. If anything, he stated, there is much more unemployment in the Netherlands now than there was three years ago, so there are even more reasons for going ahead with the sale. He questioned the Cabinet's statement that there is now a consensus in the Western world not to sell weapon systems to Taiwan. He also posed questions regarding the amount Taiwan had already paid for the submarines presently under construction, and about a report that Taiwan would be willing to place civilian orders in the Netherlands to the amount of US \$ 600.- million.

Mr. Engwirda, spokesman for the small left-of-center "Democrats '66" opposition party, expressed his approval of the Cabinet's decision. His party had also opposed the previous sale. He spoke in favor of intensifying relations with the PRC, and even urged the Government to retract the permit granted in 1981.

Mr. Engwirda was followed by speakers representing several even smaller parties. The left-of-center ones were generally approving the Cabinet's decision, and the right-of-center ones opposed. The spokeswoman for the Evangelical People's Party, EVP, Ms. Cathy Ubels, discussed Taiwan's martial law and the sad state of human rights on the island.

Then the floor was granted to the major opposition party, the Labour Party ("Partij van de Arbeid", PvdA). Mr. H. van den Bergh spoke about the difficult decision-making process the Dutch Government and Parliament had to go through. Important foreign policy considerations had to be weighed against employment for the people at the shipyard. He stated that his party agreed with the Government's decision, but felt that the arguments presented by the Cabinet were rather meager. He suggested that more weight should have been given to the argument that the Dutch Government considers a peaceful resolution of the conflict between China and Taiwan very important. He also mentioned the PRC's nine-point peace proposal of October 1981, and wondered why the Taiwan authorities had not looked favorably upon this proposal.

Mr. A. Van der Hek, the second spokesman for the PvdA, discussed the economic aspects of the matter. He stated that in 1981 Prime Minister Van Agt had said that it would be a "once-and-no-more" deal. Mr. Van der Hek thus wondered why the present VVD/CDA coalition-government had hesitated so long about the matter. VVD-leader Nijpels at this point interrupted the speaker and said that in politics one has to agree with James Bond and "never say never again." A lengthy discussion ensued about the exact words Mr. Van Agt used in the 1981 debate. Apparently he used the phrase:

“I do not consider it likely that in the foreseeable future there will be another situation where we will have to decide again about an export permit for submarines for Taiwan.”

Mr. Van der Hek proceeded by criticizing the Cabinet for continuing the official payment-moratorium (state of insolvency) on the Wilton-Feyenoord shipyard. He urged the Government to come up with measures to ensure continuation of work for the shipyard.

Mr. J.N. Scholten, vice-chairman of the Tweede Kamer's Foreign Relations Committee, also spoke of the difficult choice between economic considerations (employment at the shipyard) and the non-quantifiable political considerations (relations with the PRC). He brought up the question of human rights and democracy in Taiwan, and urged the Dutch Government to speak out against human rights violations and especially against the restrictions on religious freedom on the island. Mr. Scholten also requested the Government to inform the Parliament about recent moves in the U.S. Congress regarding the issue of self-determination for the people of Taiwan.

Mr. Van Iersel, spokesman for the Christian Democratic CDA party (which together with the VVD party forms the ruling coalition) stated that his party supported the Government's decision not to grant an export permit for the submarines. He agreed with the Government that in its foreign policy the Netherlands should follow a consistent “one-China” line, and that this precluded yet another sale of submarines to Taiwan. Mr. Van Iersel regretted that the two ministries which were most directly involved in the matter -- Foreign Affairs and Economic Affairs -- had not worked closely together and had even pulled in opposite directions. He had hoped that the ministries would have set up a joint task force to study the options and to prepare a Government decision. Apparently this had not happened.

Mr. Van Iersel also warned against having high expectations of Holland's economic relations with the PRC. Any trade with China would involve long and slow negotiations, he said. The Netherlands should also beware of transfer of important technology to China. This would later be used by China to manufacture products for the international market, which might then be damaging the Dutch position on the international market.

Mr. Van Iersel said that his party advocates good economic relations with Taiwan, since it is one of the Newly Industrialized Countries (NIC's). He also urged the Government to facilitate the completion of the two submarines presently under construction, and requested the Government to investigate all possibilities for new orders for Wilton-Feyenoord.

The first round of statements lasted for almost three hours. It was followed by the responses from the Government. Minister of Economic Affairs Van Aardenne started off with a review of the events which preceded the Government's decision. When the mammoth Rijn-Schelde-Verolme (RSV) company fell apart in early 1983, it was decided that all new construction work for the Dutch Navy would from then on be done at two other shipyards (one in Vlissingen and one in Rotterdam), and that Wilton-Feijenoord would do all repairwork and also take all possible foreign orders. At the time of the RSV break-up a payment-moratorium had been imposed on all RSV subdivisions. Some of the subdivisions were subsequently closed down, while a number of economically-viable ones had their payment-moratorium lifted. Wilton-Feyenoord's moratorium had been maintained because the company still had unpaid debts to the order of approximately 70 million Dutch guilders.

Mr. Van Aardenne said that on September 7th the Dutch government was informed that there would be lay-offs in January 1984 already, if the shipyard did not receive any new orders. On October 6th the possibility of new orders from Taiwan were discussed in a meeting between the shipyard and the Ministry. On October 21st, the shipyard received a letter of intent from Taiwan's navy, signed by vice-admiral Lo Chi, deputy commander-in-chief. Immediately Wilton-Feyenoord filed a request for an export permit for two submarines with an option for two more.

The Ministry of Economic Affairs then started to gather arguments in support of granting the export permit. It first took a close look at the financial situation around the two submarines presently under construction. Taiwan had already paid 475 million Dutch guilders out of a total contract price of 907 million guilders. However, out of this amount only 275 million had been used directly for the construction of the submarines. The other f 200 million had disappeared into the coaldigger-project of the RSV-company. Still, Mr. Van Aardenne argued, WiltonFeyenoord could break even on the two submarines: the projected profits (f 100 million), a bank account jointly held by Wilton-Feyenoord and Taiwan (f 55 million) and a f 45 million "completion guarantee" loan by Taiwan would just fill the financial hole of f 200 million.

Mr. Van Aardenne also mentioned that the trade delegation he sent to Taiwan in early December had received assurances from Prime Minister Sun Yun-suan that Taiwan would purchase U.S. \$ 250 million worth of civilian products from the Netherlands if the sale of two more submarines were to be approved. Mr. Van Aardenne then announced that on the morning of December 28th he had received a telex from the Dutch trade office in Taipei, which stated that Foreign Minister Chu Fu-sung had promised purchases of civilian products to the amount of U.S. \$ 600.- million if the sale of four more submarines were to be approved.

Foreign Minister Van den Broek then took to the floor to explain why from the perspective of the Netherlands' foreign policy it had been necessary to oppose the deal. He stated that a positive decision on the export permit-request would have resulted in a serious and lengthy break in the relations between the Netherlands and the PRC. He considered this undesirable in view of the PRC's prominence in the international arena: the fact that one quarter of the world's population live in China, the fact that the PRC is a permanent member of the UN Security Council, and the fact that the European Community is trying to improve its relations with the PRC were important considerations for the Dutch government. If the Netherlands approved the export permit it would be out of step with the international community.

Mr. Van den Broek also mentioned that no other West European nations are selling weapons to Taiwan, and that even the United States under Mr. Reagan had promised to reduce its weapon sales to Taiwan. The Foreign Minister stated that the Netherlands should contribute to a peaceful resolution of the conflict between China and Taiwan. In this context he mentioned the PRC's nine-point peace proposal of October 1981.

The Foreign Minister also responded to the human rights concerns expressed by several members of the Parliament. He said that the Dutch Consulate in Hong Kong had been instructed to closely monitor the human rights situation in Taiwan, and that it regularly reported to him about the developments on the island.

Prime Minister Lubbers closed off the first round of responses. He stated that in no way his Cabinet had been legally bound by the "once-and-no-more" remark of his predecessor Van Agt. The present decision had been made after a lengthy and difficult process of weighing economic considerations against political considerations. He expressed the hope that good economic and other non-political relations with Taiwan would continue.

After Mr. Lubbers' statement the Parliament adjourned for dinner. The session started again at 8:30 pm, when there was a second round of debate, mainly dealing with a number of details. Just after midnight the Parliament arrived at a point where it could vote on a number of resolutions which had been introduced by several parties. By 80 to 38 votes it decided to support the Cabinet's refusal to grant the export permit. The Parliament also voted in favor of sending an economic mission to China to examine possibilities for trade with the PRC. It furthermore voted in favor of a resolution asking the Government to do all it could to find other orders for Wilton Feyenoord shipyard.

Dutch press: articles about democracy and self-determination in Taiwan

The debate in the Parliament and the press reports during November and December mainly focused on the employment problems in the shipbuilding industry and on the relations between the Netherlands and the PRC. However, there were also several newspaper articles which examined the issues of human rights, democracy, and self-determination in Taiwan. On December 9, 1983 TROUW -- a national daily newspaper -- published an article titled "Weapons for Taiwan," in which Dr. H.J. Neuman, a prominent member of the CDA-party, briefly discussed Taiwan's history.

On December 28 TROUW published an article titled "The forgotten reality behind the submarines" in which Dr. G. van der Wees -- chief-editor of *Taiwan Communiqué* and chairman of the Netherlands-Taiwan Association -- discussed the status of human rights and democracy on the island. He urged that the Netherlands' economic and other non-diplomatic contacts with Taiwan should be linked to progress in the area of human rights and democracy on the island.

On the day of the parliamentary debate the NRC-Handelsblad -- generally considered the most influential daily newspaper in the Netherlands -- published another article by Dr. Van der Wees, titled "Self-determination must be the central theme" (in Holland's policy towards Taiwan). A few excerpts:

"The Dutch Cabinet's decision about the submarines was mainly based on considerations of international law. It was stated by the Cabinet that the relations between the Netherlands and the PRC would be severely damaged, which would not be in the interest of world peace. However, international law has another side to it, which has been insufficiently discussed in the present debate: the Taiwanese people's right to self-determination. The people of Taiwan cannot be told what the future status of their island should be, because, according to Article 1 (2) of the United Nations' Charter, this right belongs exclusively to the people on the island themselves.

The People's Republic of China never possessed sovereignty over Taiwan. The Chinese Communist Party started to claim Taiwan only in 1943, after Chiang Kai-shek had advanced his claims on the island at the Cairo Conference. Before this time neither the Kuomintang nor the Communist Party on the mainland had claimed Taiwan. The present Chinese claim on Taiwan is thus the result of a

conflict which existed on the mainland in the 1930's and 1940's. The island Taiwan and its population of native Taiwanese (who presently constitute 85 percent of the island's population) unintentionally became involved in this struggle when in 1945 the Allies temporarily placed the island under supervision of the Chinese Nationalists.

At the 1952 Peace Treaty of San Francisco Japan ceded its sovereignty over the island, but it was not decided to whom it was ceded. De facto the Kuomintang authorities -- who had fled to the island in 1949 -- were the beneficiaries, but de 'ure the international community has not made a decision on this question yet."

The author then discussed the structure of the present government in Taipei and the composition of the Legislative Yuan. He then focused on the rise of the *tangwai* movement, and its emphasis on human rights, democracy, and self-determination. He continued with a discussion of China's claim to sovereignty over Taiwan:

"The international community has recognized the government in Peking as the government of China. However, most countries have only declared they acknowledged, understood, or respected the PRC's position with regard to the claim to Taiwan, but these countries have themselves not taken any position on this matter. It is thus incorrect to state that the PRC's claims have been internationally recognized. It is also incorrect to say that Taiwan has not been recognized as a country. From the perspective of international law this question has not arisen yet, because the authorities in Taipei have never presented themselves as the government of an independent country, but always as the government of China. This claim has not been recognized by the international community

From the perspective of international law the status of Taiwan has therefore not been decided yet. A prominent American legal scholar, professor Victor Li, used the expression "de facto separate entity" to describe the present status of the island. The future of the island will primarily depend upon the internal political developments on the island, whereby it is to be expected that the native Taiwanese population will play the most important role. The international community should support these developments by emphasizing the principle of self-determination."

The author concluded the article with a reference to the U.S. Senate Resolution regarding the future of the people in Taiwan, and urged the Dutch government to place a similar emphasis on human rights, democracy, and self-determination.

Nine Taiwanese scholars visit China

In August 1983 nine overseas Taiwanese scholars were invited to attend a conference in Peking to present their views on the issue of "The Future of Taiwan." The nine professors, holding university teaching positions in Canada, U.S., Japan, Hong Kong and Australia, are well-established scholars in their respective fields of history, international relations, economics and political science.

Their decision to attend the conference spurred a heated discussion on the pro's and con's of such contacts, and stirred mixed emotions among the overseas Taiwanese community. Some lauded it as a positive step since it opened channels of communication with academicians in China; others, however, were wary that the trip to Peking would be used by the Peking authorities as a propaganda ploy.

The authorities in Taiwan prohibited any discussion about the conference by the press. In September, the Taiwan Garrison Command raided a printing shop to confiscate all copies of *The Current Monthly* no. 15, an opposition magazine which carried an article by University of Queensland (Australia) Professor Chiu Chui-lien, who participated in the Peking conference.

The conference took place from August 9 to August 12, 1983. The Chinese delegation consisted of scholars from Peking University and the China Social Science Academy. The discussion on the issue of "The future of Taiwan" was approached from different perspectives, namely, history, international relations, law, economics and political science. The presentation of the papers was followed by a general discussion.

In interviews given to the press after their return from the conference, the Taiwanese professors stated that their hosts did make a good effort to have a relative open and free discussion at the conference. Nevertheless, the Taiwanese professors said, the papers presented by Chinese scholars did not give an objective analysis of the issue, but all closely followed the official "unification" policy line as pronounced by the Peking government. The Chinese scholars mainly emphasized historical links, and cultural and racial ties. They hardly touched on the concept of the modern nation-state or on the large economic, social and political differences between present-day Taiwan and China.

According to Professor Hsiao Hsin-yi, chairman of the History Department at the University of Victoria, BC, the Taiwanese professors -- approaching the issue from

their respective field of expertise -- reached the conclusion that any settlement on “the future of Taiwan” had to take into account the wishes of the people on Taiwan. The Chinese scholars countered that not “the wishes of the people” but “the interest of the people” should be taken into account. They stated that the idea of “respecting the wishes of the people” was a result of Western influence. They believed that concepts such as “self-determination” and “independence” were advocated by a few capitalists and the majority of the people in Taiwan would favor unification.

The Chinese scholars argued that it is not feasible for Taiwan to be independent without economically becoming a colony of other countries. Dr. Lin Tsung-kuang, a Taiwanese-American professor of history at Drake University, responded that economic interdependence between countries does not imply colonial subjugation. He gave the example of western European countries which are economically interdependent but politically are independent countries.

Professor Kuo Huan-kuei of Simon Fraser University in Vancouver asked the Chinese scholars who was to decide what is “in the best interest of the people” on Taiwan. He argued that at this point it is important to emphasize the process through which a policy is enacted, rather than the end result. A policy is sound only if it is enacted with the participation of the people. Therefore, with regard to the future of Taiwan, the 181 million people of Taiwan should have the right to decide their own future.

The Taiwanese professors also felt that the conference gave the Chinese scholars an opportunity to broaden their horizon. Professor Hsiao commented that the Chinese scholars held rather simple-minded views -for instance, they believed that the Taiwanese people favor unification, but that only the United States is preventing this from happening. Through this conference, the Chinese scholars came to the realization that the issue is considerably more complicated, and that the Taiwanese people want a free and democratic political system, and want to determine the future status of the island themselves.

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Prison report

Reverend Kao on hunger strike

Rev. Kao Chun-ming, the imprisoned Secretary-General of the Taiwan Presbyterian Church went on a five-day hunger strike in September in an attempt to help Ms. Lin Wen-chen, the imprisoned principal of Calvin Bible School, getting medical treatment for a severe case of ulcer. Rev. Kao stated that his decision to go on a period of fasting and prayer was inspired by the Christian belief that in time of desperation, one can gain strength from fasting.

Ms. Lin, serving a five-year jail term has suffered a relapse of ulcer since her imprisonment. Her anguish over the death of her mother in July this year has further aggravated her physical condition: she was not able to sleep due to the continuous sharp pains in her stomach and was not able to digest any food.

On the second day of Rev. Kao's fasting, Ms. Lin was allowed to go to the Three Services Military General Hospital for X-ray and biopsy. On September 3 Ms. Lin's sister was allowed to visit her at Jen-ai Detention Center and was told of the doctor's advice that Ms. Lin's illness required a long-term treatment and a change of environment in order to help her recuperate.



Rev. Kao Chun-ming

On September 5th, Mrs. Kao together with two other ministers from the Presbyterian Church visited Rev. Kao in prison. Rev. Kao said that his fast prayer was not an act of protest against the government but was inspired by his Christian belief. The prison authorities respected his religious belief and did not attempt to force-feed him. Rev. Kao ended his hunger strike in the evening of Sept. 5th.

In the meantime, Ms. Lin's family and the Presbyterian Church petitioned the authorities to allow Ms. Lin to go to a private hospital for treatment. On September 12th, Ms. Lin Wen-chen was allowed to go to the Three Services Military Hospital for an extended period of treatment. On October 3rd in the afternoon, she was released from the hospital and allowed to go home.

Six political prisoners released

During the past few months the Taiwan authorities released six of the “Kaohsiung Thirty-three” political prisoners, who were arrested after the Kaohsiung Incident of December 1979, and who had completed their prison sentences. The persons are:

Name	Released on:
Yang Ch'ing-ch'u	October 8
Yu A-hsing	October 11
Chui Chui-chen	October 11
Chang Fu-chung	October 18
Ch'en Chung-hsin	October 18
Fan Cheng-yü	December 15

Below we present a brief profile of several of these prisoners:

Yang Ch'ing-ch'u was released on October 8, 1983, four months before the end of his four years and two months' prison term. Before his arrest Yang was a construction worker but he also became a well-known writer of the “Hsiang Tu Literature” school, writing about the common people's day-to-day struggle with poverty, corruption and injustice in the society.

In an interview with Progress magazine after his release, he said that following his arrest he spent two months at the detention center of the Garrison Command in Hsintien, near Taipei. The interrogation went on continuously for 40 days. He said, “this experience worth more than a four years college education. I saw what the dark side of politics is all about”.

Yang was a candidate in the supplementary election for the Legislative Yuan in 1978. He said that his prison experience did not change his attitude that one should use peaceful means such as his writing and running for election in order to build a more reasonable and just society. He does not believe in violence and confrontation.

Both **Yü A-hsing** and **Chui Chui-chen**, who were released on October 11th, were **Formosa** magazine assistants. Mr. Yu sold the magazine in the streets of Kaohsiung, while Mr. Chui was a writer and a folksinger. He also served as assistant to Ms. Lü Hsiu-lien, the imprisoned women's rights leader and one of the “Kaohsiung Eight.”

Ch'en Chung-hsin, the 35-year-old former executive editor of Formosa magazine was trained as a mathematician but later became a writer. He was responsible for the many straightforward editorials of Formosa. In an interview with Progress magazine after his release, he said he almost never attended any public gathering. He spent most of his waking hours working at the Formosa office. On the fateful day of December 10th, 1979, he went down to Kaohsiung because he wanted to write about the Ku-shan incident which happened the day before [see our publication "The Kaohsiung Tapes", published in February 1981 - Ed.].

Chang Fu-chung is characterized by his friends as a devoted young man with endless energy. His trade mark is a knapsack on his back filled with photographic equipment. Chang Fu-chung made his political debut in 1977 when he became a campaign aid for Hsu Hsin-liang, who was running for country magistrate of Taoyuan. Chang took charge of publicity by designing campaign posters and drawing many of the eye-catching billboards, which helped Hsu Hsin-lung win the seat of country magistrate.

Even after the election of 1977, he could not quench his enthusiasm for the political campaign and decided to write a book about it. Together with Lin Chen-chieh, another campaign worker for Hsu Hsin-liang, now the publisher of **Progress** magazine, he produced a book called "Long Live Elections" which described Hsu Hsin-liang's campaign and gave an eyewitness account of the Chung-li incident which occurred towards the end of the campaign. It was triggered by ballot-tampering by the Kuomintang's election officials. After the police refused to take action against the officials involved in the ballot-tampering, hundreds of people gathered in front of the Chung-li police station in protest. In the process a police vehicle was overturned and set on fire.

In March 1978, a few days before the official publication of "Long Live Elections", agents of Garrison Command ransacked the printing office and confiscated 10,000 copies of the book on the charge that it intended to "confuse public opinion."

Freedom of the press?

Senh-Kin banned twice

Around the 10th of August the Government Information Office (GIO) issued a banning order for issue no. 14 of Senh-Kin magazine. The reason for the banning was the

publication of a speech given by Mrs. Hsu Jung-shu (member of the Legislative Yuan and publisher of Senh-Kin) at a gathering of the Northern California Taiwanese Association in the beginning of July. In the speech Mrs. Hsu urged the Taiwan authorities to move towards a democratic political system in Taiwan. Other articles which drew the ire of the GIO: "Introducing overseas-Taiwanese organizations," and "On separatism."

At the end of October the Taiwan Garrison Command issued a banning order for issue no. 19 of Senh Kin magazine. It was the first weekly issue of the magazine, which had appeared once every two weeks up until that time. The issue contained an article titled "Welcome home", which was written for Fang Su-min, the wife of imprisoned opposition leader Lin Yi-hsiung. Mrs. Lin returned to Taiwan on October 25th, after a two-years' stay in the United States. Issue no. 19 had already been on the newsstands for several days when the banning order was issued. Two earlier issues of the magazine were confiscated this year: no. 6 on April 6th, and no. 9 on May 28th, the latter one because it printed a statement by U.S. Senator Kennedy about Taiwan's martial law.

Progressive Forum: one issue banned and one confiscated

This weekly publication was started in the middle of August by Mr. Lin Chen-chieh, a "non-party" member of the Taipei city council. It succeeded Progress weekly, which had its publication permit suspended for one year in the beginning of August. In the last week of August, issue no. 3 of the new publication received a banning order because it reported -- as did TIME magazine -- that Taiwan Garrison Command chief Chen Shousan met with Filipino opposition leader Benigno Aquino prior to the latter's fateful flight to Manila.

In the beginning of September issue no. 4 of Progressive Forum was confiscated at the printing shop. The offending article was titled "Taipei, Aquino, Manila." The publisher stated that the confiscation meant a loss of 270,000 NT\$ (U.S. \$ 6,750) for the publication.

Vertical-Horizontal censored

On August 25th the County government of Taipei County ordered the editors of Vertical-Horizontal magazine to change the contents of two articles of issue no. 29. The titles of the offending articles: "The Taiwan experience of Cheng Chen-kung and his son Cheng Chin," and an editorial expressing criticism of the Kuomintang authorities [Mr. Cheng Chen-kung -- also known as Koxinga in the West -- was a 17th-century pirate from mainland China, who occupied Taiwan from 1662 until 1683 -- Ed.].

The Current no. 15 confiscated

In the middle of September, issue no. 15 of this monthly magazine, published by Legislative Yuan-member K'ang Ning-hsiang, was confiscated. The reason was an article about a visit which nine U.S.- and Canada-based Taiwanese scholars paid to China in mid-August 1983. During the visit the Taiwanese scholars had meetings with Chinese colleagues and discussed the question of the future status of Taiwan. The Taiwanese scholars emphasized the separate status of Taiwan and told their mainland-colleagues that the Taiwanese people do not want to "unify" their island with China.

The Taiwan authorities issuing the banning order stated that the article was against the anti-communist policy of the Nationalist Chinese and also spread the idea of "independence" thought.

Political Monitor suspended for a year

On October 21, 1983 the Taiwan authorities issued a banning order for issue no. 10 of this magazine, which is being published by *tangwai* Legislative Yuan-member Huang T'ien-fu. The offending articles were: an editorial titled "Give us back our beautiful island" and two essays, one about the Kuomintang's secret police and another titled "The philosophy of the Kuomintang's control in Taiwan." Two earlier issues of Political Monitor were confiscated this year: number 5 on May 21st, and number 8 on August 21st. On November 10, 1983 the magazine received an order suspending its publication license for a year.

CARE no. 23 confiscated

On or around November 5, 1983 the Taiwan authorities confiscated issue no. 23 of CARE magazine. The apparent reason for the confiscation (financial losses to the magazine are approximately U.S.\$ 10,000) was that it contained the text of a letter written by the President of the World Federation of Taiwanese Associations, Mr. Chen Tu, addressed to authorities in Taipei. In the letter Mr. Chen announced that the World Federation had decided that it will hold its next annual convention in Taipei. This is the third confiscation of the magazine this year: Issue no. 18 was confiscated in May because it contained a list of political prisoners, and issue no. 20 in August because it printed the text of a lecture presented in the United States by Mrs. Yao Chou Ching-yü -- publisher of CARE and member of the National Assembly.

China Tide no. 10 confiscated

At some time in November the authorities confiscated issue no. 10 of China Tide, a magazine primarily concerned with social issues. At this time we have no further information on the reasons for this confiscation.

Specification for the period August 1st -- November 30th, 1983

(a listing for the first seven months of 1983 can be found in *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 13):

<u>DATE</u>	<u>MAGAZINE</u>	<u>MEASURES</u>	<u>REASON</u>
<u>August</u>			
5	Care no. 20	confiscated	Article about U.S. lecture by Mrs. Yao Chou Ching-yü.
6	Progress	<u>suspended</u>	
10	Senh-kin no. 14	banned	Article about U.S. lecture by Mrs. Hsü Jung-shu.
21	Political Monitor no. 8	confiscated	Article titled "Taiwan's fate."
21	Progressive Forum no. 3	banned	Report on meeting between TGC-chief Chen Shou-san and Benigno Aquino.
25	Vertical-Horizontal no. 29	censored	Article about Taiwan experience of 17th century pirate Cheng Chen-kung and his son.
<u>September</u>			
5	Progressive Forum no. 4	confiscated	Article titled "Taipei, Aquino, Manila."
15	Current Monthly no. 15	confiscated	Article about visit of nine U.S.- and Canada-based Taiwanese scholars to China.
<u>October</u>			
21	Political Monitor no. 10	banned	Editorial titled "Give us back our beautiful island" and two articles critical of the KMT authorities.

<u>DATE</u>	<u>MAGAZINE</u>	<u>MEASURES</u>	<u>REASON</u>
<u>October</u> 28	Senh Kin no. 19	banned	Editorial "Welcome home" for Fang Su-min, wife of imprisoned opposition-leader Lin Yi-hsiung.
<u>November</u> 5	Care no. 23	confiscated	Letter from the president of the World Federation of Taiwanese Associations regarding 1984 convention.
10	Political Monitor	<u>suspended</u>	banning and confiscation in August and October.
?	China Tide no. 10	confiscated	?

An overview of press-censorship in Taiwan in 1983 (Situation as of 1 December 1983)

MEASURES (in order of increasing severity):

1. **Censored:** an article (or parts thereof) was ordered deleted, changed or blackened out.
2. **Banned:** the magazine received an order prohibiting the sale and distribution of one issue of the magazine.
3. **Confiscated:** one issue of the magazine was seized by secret-police agents; generally these are agents of the Taiwan Garrison Command, occasionally of other police agencies.
4. **Suspended:** the magazine received an order prohibiting its publication -- generally for the period of one year.

	CENSORED	ONE ISSUE BANNED	ONE ISSUE CONFISCATED	SUSPENDED FOR ONE YEAR
TOTAL 1982	2	14	5	4
<u>1983</u>				
January		1		1
February			1	
March	1	1	1	1
April		1	2	1
May			2	
June		1	1	
July			2	1
August	1	2	2	1
September			2	
October		2		
November			2	1
RUNNING TOTAL				
FOR 1983	2	8	15	6

Articles and publications

Wall Street Journal: Inching towards elections

On September 28th 1983 this New York-based business daily published an accurate article about the recently-held elections. A few excerpts:

“The Dec. 3 elections are only a tiny step forward in the process of opening up Taiwan’s one-party system, and they’re sure to leave many impatient for speedier change. Nonetheless, every election here is important because it represents another small experiment with popular rule. Candidates from the *tangwai* -- which literally means “outside the party” have posed an increasingly aggressive challenge to the Kuomintang in recent years. *Tangwai* candidates usually win a solid 30 percent of the popular vote. New political parties are banned, but the *tangwai* operates as a party in practically everything but name. (Taiwan does have two other parties besides the Kuomintang, but they don’t exert any influence) . . .

The legislature was brought over from the mainland in 1949, and most of its 372 members are at least septuagenarians, representing provinces they haven’t set eyes on

in 34 years. They are guaranteed their posts for life, in line with the Kuomintang's claim to be the rulers of all of China. As a consequence, only 98 seats are up for election every three years. Of these, a mere 55 are open for truly free voting. The government appoints overseas Chinese - who presumably are Kuomintang loyalists -- to fill 27 seats, and another 16 are chosen from trade and professional groups, which are dominated by the Kuomintang. In the elections of 1980, the *tangwai* won 13 seats and hopes to increase that to about 15 this year. The Kuomintang has nominated 57 candidates

New campaign rules passed in June tend to hamper *tangwai* candidates more than Kuomintang candidates. Regulations govern almost every aspect of campaigning -- from where posters can be hung to how many publicity trucks can be used. This restricts on-the-street campaigning, something that non-party candidates must rely on heavily. Kuomintang candidates can count on votes of fellow party-members in their work or military unit, for instance. The formal campaign period is only 15 days

Magazine clampdown

The election year has brought a clampdown on opposition magazines, which are at the heart of the *tangwai* movement. So far this year, by one count, four issues have been banned from sale, 10 issues have been confiscated and five magazines were suspended for a year. Punishment seems to be getting stiffer: last year more issues were banned but fewer were confiscated and suspended. The Taiwan Garrison Command, the island's top internal security agency, is empowered to restrict publications that "confuse public opinion and affect the morale of the public and the armed forces."

General Wang Sheng is out

On October 4, 1983 the **Wall Street Journal** published an article about general Wang Sheng -- the recently demoted head of the "Political Warfare Department" of the Ministry of Defense.

"In the mounting speculation over who will succeed ailing president Chiang Ching-kuo, the strongman behind the scenes has been General Wang Sheng, Taiwan's internal-security czar and one of the president's closest aides. But now it appears that General Wang is out, probably for good. The 65-year-old general soon will become Taiwan's ambassador to Paraguay, one of 22 countries that still has diplomatic ties with Taipei instead of Peking. In effect, that's political exile. General Wang is the leading hard-liner in Taiwan's military and security forces, and his ascendancy in recent years

has irked moderates and technocrats. Many Taiwanese have considered him the second most powerful figure after the president. A virulent anti-Communist, General Wang has advocated tight controls on political activity in Taiwan

The change comes at a crucial time. A presidential election will be held next year [the president is not elected by the people of Taiwan, but by the slightly more than 1100 members of the National Assembly, which itself is a relic of the Kuomintang's rule in China -- Ed.], followed by a host of important political appointments, including vice-president, premier and secretary general of the Kuomintang, the ruling party. These will pave the way for the presidential succession.

The general's future has been in doubt since May, when he was transferred from his powerful post as director of political warfare in the Ministry of National Defense to an obscure job in charge of training the military forces. At that time he was considered down, but not necessarily out. Now he is both.

Despite General Wang's ouster, many hard-liners still wield considerable influence. Since the late 1970's, more and more of General Wang's proteges have gained top posts throughout the government and the Kuomintang. The general's power base emanated from his post as director of political warfare. In the 1950's, he introduced and spread a Soviet-style political warfare system throughout Taiwan's military. Political warfare officers are responsible for the morale, discipline and political ideology of the troops. General Wang claimed the loyalty of a network of such officers throughout the military

... his power extended far beyond his job title. Former associates now hold top posts in the government, the party and the newsmedia, including the head of the Taiwan Garrison Command, which is the island's top internal security agency. But many Taiwanese have seen him as an obstacle to the gradual opening up of the political system to the island-born and to the non-Kuomintang opposition.

General Wang also has been bad for Taiwan's image internationally. Critics in the U.S. and elsewhere blame General Wang for stifling dissent and human rights in Taiwan. "Wang Sheng is the guy with the black hat," one foreigner says.

Most political analysts believe the current front-runner to succeed Mr. Chiang is Premier Sun Yun-suan, a moderate technocrat. General Wang's ouster has only enhanced that theory."

Congressmen push for Taiwanese rights

On August 12, 1983 the **Asian Wall Street Journal** published an article by its Washington correspondent, Mr. Eduardo Lachia, about the efforts made in the U.S. Congress regarding human rights and democracy in Taiwan. A few excerpts:

“To what must be the bafflement of Taiwan’s Kuomintang’s leadership, Americans are becoming increasingly sensitive to the rights of native Taiwanese, who have been ruled by this party of Chinese exiles since it fled the mainland in 1949. Two resolutions on behalf of Taiwanese are gathering signatures in Congress. One urges the lifting of Taiwan’s martial law, a 34-year-old anachronism in a prosperous country that no longer faces a serious threat of Chinese invasion. Its sponsors, who include Senator Claiborne Pell and Senator Edward Kennedy, argue that martial law is just a pretext used by the KMT to deny fuller political representation to the island-born. Taiwanese constitute 85 percent of the country’s population but have only 11 percent of the parliamentary seats

Well, that’s just Congress, you might say. It’s prone to pick up exotic causes such as this to show its humanitarian stripes. But even the Reagan administration, which has stood staunchly by Taiwan through all its diplomatic scrapes with China, echoes the same concerns in its private contacts with Taipei leaders. The State Department has been critical of the harsh sentences meted out to organizers of the 1979 Kaohsiung human rights rally. The demonstration was broken up with tear gas and turned into a riot by the intervention of the police and certain goons [associated with the pro-KMT mayor of Kaohsiung Mr. Wang Yu-yun -- Ed]. Moreover, the State Department disbelieves Taipei’s explanation of the 1981 death of Chen Wen-chen, a Carnegie-Mellon University professor who on a visit to Taipei was viciously interrogated by security agents and later found dead

In addressing these concerns, Washington is responding to a sustained letter-writing campaign from Taiwanese-Americans, a small but highly educated community with representatives in leading U.S. universities, high-tech corporations and the federal government itself. There are about 250,000 Taiwanese and Taiwanese-Americans in the U.S. There used to be just one “Taiwan lobby” -- that which defended Taiwan in its ideological contest against mainland communism. Now, however, there are two. The second one speaks specifically for Taiwanese political rights and is just starting to flex its muscles. Among its organizers are Representative Jim Leach, who is now the ranking Republican on the House Subcommittee on Human Rights, and Trong Chai, a political science professor at the City University of New York

U.S. opinion has had some effect in moderating KMT rule. General Wang Sheng, the former internal security czar, was quietly demoted to a less important post after he was scolded by U.S. Congressmen for the brutal methods of his security police. Earlier General Wang was being groomed by the KMT militants as a possible successor to ailing Taiwan President Chiang Ching-kuo.

Last year the KMT Central Standing Committee took the unprecedented step of allowing four *tangwai* politicians to visit the U.S. These non-KMT parliamentarians -- K'ang Ning-hsiang, Huang Huang-hsiung, Chang Teh-ming and Y'ou Ching -- toured U.S. campuses, including Columbia, Harvard, Berkeley and Stanford. The fact that the U.S. Information Agency co-sponsored their visit and provided escort and translation services wasn't lost on the Taiwanese community.

In another peace offering, the KMT granted exit visas this year to the wives of two men imprisoned for their part in the Kaohsiung incident -- Chang Chün-hung, the editor of the now-banned Formosa magazine, and Yao Chia-wen, a prominent human rights lawyer. Both women are sitting parliamentarians. Public sympathy for her husband was so strong that Mrs. Yao was elected to the National Assembly with the highest majority ever given to a Taipei delegate. The U.S. visit of the two legislators added momentum to the congressional resolutions.

The strategy of some U.S. officials is to work on ruling party moderates such as KMT Secretary General Tsiang Yen-si who could become Taiwan's premier after next year's election. But it's still uncertain whether the moderates who favor gradual Taiwanization of national posts will prevail over the KMT hard-liners. There are even hints in Taipei's controlled press that martial law may have to go soon. To U.S. reform-seekers, however, it won't be enough if martial law is merely replaced by a separate set of laws that would effectively retain the KMT's hold on the legislature."

Notes

Correction: Tainan Church building destroyed

In issue no. 13 of *Taiwan Communiqué* we reported that on August 8th, 1983 a Presbyterian church in the southern city of Tainan was destroyed at the order of Tainan mayor Su Nan-chen. We later learned that the church itself was not torn down, but a

new three-story building behind the church, which had just been built by the local Presbyterian congregation as a center for parish activities.

For nine years the Presbyterian congregation in Tainan had asked to be allowed to build a community center, but had not received an answer from the town's administration. The new building was also to be the new residence of the pastor, since the old residence was built more than 80 years ago and was getting more and more dilapidated. After heavy rains in March and April of this year the pastor's residence partly collapsed so the congregation decided to go ahead with the construction of the new building.

The construction was virtually completed when, on July 5th, the city's authorities informed the congregation that no building permit had been granted. The leaders of the congregation responded that they had been trying for nine years to obtain a building permit, but that through foot-dragging of the authorities this had still not been granted yet. Besides, the congregation's leaders argued, many buildings in the same vicinity had been built without a permit, and the authorities had never taken any action against the owners of those structures.

The Church submitted yet another request for a building permit and even petitioned Mayor Su Nan-chen. However, on August 8th, some 200 policemen with clubs, pistols and teargas cannisters surrounded the site and bulldozers proceeded to demolish the nearly completed building. The pictures below give an impression of the damage done.



Before the demolition

Mayor Su Nan-chen's accomplishment

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CONTENTS

Taiwan Communiqué no. 14
January 1984

December 1983 elections

<i>Tangwai present strong challenge</i>	1
<i>Mrs. Lin Fang Su-ming's triumph</i>	5
<i>How Mrs. Kao Li Li-chen "lost"</i>	8
<i>How democratic is Taiwan now?</i>	9
<i>Coverage in the international press</i>	10

The future of Taiwan

<i>Resolution passed in the US Senate</i>	11
<i>Dr. Lo Fu-chen's testimony</i>	12
<i>Mr. Reagan and China</i>	15

No Dutch submarines for Taiwan

<i>The Cabinet decides</i>	15
<i>The Parliament debates</i>	17
<i>The press: democracy and self-determination</i>	22

Nine Taiwanese scholars visit China

24

Prisoner report

<i>Reverend Kao Chun-ming on hunger strike</i>	26
<i>Six political prisoners released</i>	27

Freedom of the press?

<i>Overview of press censorship in Taiwan</i>	28
---	----

Articles and publications

<i>Wall St. Journal: Inching towards elections</i>	33
<i>Wall St. Journal: General Wang Sheng is out</i>	33
<i>AWSJ: Congressmen push for Taiwanese rights</i>	36

Notes

<i>Correction: Tainan Church building destroyed</i>	37
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Taiwan Communiqué supports a free, democratic, and independent Taiwan, and campaigns for full and equal membership of Taiwan in the international community, including a seat in the UN.

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