



Published by:

International Committee for Human Rights in Taiwan

Europe : P.O. Box 91542, 2509 EC THE HAGUE, The Netherlands

U.S.A. : P.O. Box 45205, SEATTLE, Washington 98105-0205

European edition, August 1985

Published 6 times a year

ISSN number: 1027-3999

21

Hunger strike in prison continues

On the date of this writing (August 18, 1985), three well-known Taiwanese political prisoners were still continuing their hunger strike. Below, we give the most up-to-date information available to us, while on the following pages we present some further background information on these three persons.

On Shih Ming-teh. Mr. Shih -- who has been fasting since April 1 intensified his hunger strike on July 1 by going on a "water only" diet. However, he was force-fed by the staff of the Tri-Services Military Hospital, where he is still being held under heavy guard.



Shih Ming-teh

On Huang Hua. Mr. Huang began his hunger strike on April 25 in support of Shih Ming-teh's action. He appealed to the authorities to release all political prisoners and allow the formation of an opposition party. He urged the *tangwai* to form a political party.

His brother Huang Chi-tang visited him on May 19th, but he was denied permission for any further visits. On May 20, *tangwai* legislators requested via KMT intermediaries in the Legislative Yuan that Huang Hua be transferred from the isolated Green Island' to the Tri-Services Military Hospital, but they did not receive any response.



Huang Hua

Mr. Huang is reportedly suffering from rheumatism, but otherwise very little is known about his health condition, because the authorities do not allow any

further family visits. He is presently still being held on Green Island, and recent reports from Taiwan indicate that he is continuing his fast.

A third well-known political prisoner, Mr. Yang Chin-hai, reportedly joined the hunger strike on 11 July 1985. Mr. Yang is also being held on Green Island, and has long suffered from a severe case of peptic ulcer.

Huang Hua: a peaceful reformer

As we have written before, Mr. Huang (46) has been imprisoned on the isolated Green Island (the Kuomintang's version of Devil's Island) since 1976, when he was arrested for his writings in the *Taiwan Political Review*. This opposition magazine was suspended in December 1975 after publishing only five issues. In mid-1975 Mr. Huang had just been released in an amnesty after the death of then-president Chiang Kai-shek.

He had been imprisoned on two earlier occasions for his political beliefs. In 1960, he supported Mr. Lei Chen's proposal to form a new political party. Mr. Lei Chen, a prominent mainlander politician, was later arrested and imprisoned from 1960 to 1970.

In 1963, Mr. Huang was arrested for the first time. He had wanted to register as a candidate in the election of city council in his hometown of Keelung, a city in the northern tip of Taiwan. He spent the next two and a half years in a detention center for reformatory education.

Prison life did not diminish his fervor in political activity. In 1967, he and a group of friends formed the "Society for Promoting Unity of Taiwanese Youth." He was soon arrested, before he could participate in yet another upcoming local election. The group was said to have held political conversations in a restaurant. The indictment charged them with joining a "seditious organization to foment social unrest and to overthrow the government." Mr. Huang and his friends were tried by a military tribunal *in camera*.

He served eight years of a ten-years' sentence, and was released in July 1975. A month after his release, he approached **the Taiwan Political Review**, which just started publishing, and volunteered his services. The director of the magazine, Mr. K'ang Ning-hsiang (presently the publisher of **The Asian Weekly**), told him to wait for three months in order to think carefully whether he wanted to get involved politically again.

Three months later he returned to tell Mr. K'ang that he had made up his mind and wanted to work for the magazine. In December 1975 he became a deputy editor of the

magazine. In the four articles which he published, he advocated the use of non-violent means to build a more democratic society, and showed himself an admirer of Gandhi and Martin Luther King.

In an article entitled “Remembering Huang Hua” published after Mr. Huang’s 1976 arrest, Chang Chun-hung (, 142 !P,4), the former chief editor of **Taiwan Political Review**, wrote “Huang Hua’s magnanimity rivals that of a saint.” Mr. Chang himself was later arrested in 1979 and sentenced to 12 years imprisonment in connection with the Kaohsiung Incident. Chang Chun-hung also wrote:

“Even though he had suffered so much pain and hardship, he never complained. Nor did he harbor any hatred or grudge against the people who did him injustice. The many years of imprisonment did not alter his conviction on the need to establish a democratic political system on Taiwan. We were greatly inspired by his resolve to work for the **Taiwan Political Review**, and his courage to continue the advocacy of peaceful political reform.”

Yang Chin-hai: tortured politician

Mr. Yang, age 53, was arrested in the Spring of 1976, after he had served as the campaign manager for Mr. Yen Min-shen, a non-Kuomintang politician who ran for a seat in the Legislative Yuan in the elections of 1975. Both men were accused of “sedition” and were tried in closed Military Court. Mr. Yen was sentenced to 10 years imprisonment, while Mr. Yang received a life sentence. At the trial, Mr. Yang submitted to the court a written statement, indicating that he had been tortured into admitting the charges against him, and that he had been threatened with death if he retracted the confession. Both men have been adopted by Amnesty International as prisoners of conscience.

At the end of 1982, Mr. Yang briefly enjoyed some freedom, when he escaped the military hospital in Taitung, where he was being treated for a bleeding peptic ulcer. However, he was recaptured on January 16, 1983 in Kaohsiung. In June 1983, he was returned to Green Island, where he has been held since then. In mid-1984 there were reports that his health condition was deteriorating severely, but the Ministry of De-



Mr. Yang Chin-hai

fense responded to questions by opposition legislators that Mr. Yang's health condition "does not warrant medical treatment in a hospital." Nothing is known about his present health, since the authorities do not respond to any requests for information.

For more detailed information about Mr. Yang's case, see *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 10, pp. 20-23 (January 1983), no. 11, p. 17 (April 1983), and no. 13, p. 12 (August 1983).

Shih Ming-teh: Born a Taiwanese

On May 27, Mr. Shih was given a medical examination by a doctor at the Tri-Services Military Hospital. His chest and spine were X-rayed, and he received an electrocardiogram- and a blood test. The results showed that his health was rapidly deteriorating: his arteries were hardening, and the blood vessels in his eyes were also hardening. This will -- after some time -- lead to blindness.

In an interpellation in the middle of June, opposition-legislator Chiang Peng-ch'ien requested the Taiwan authorities to allow a private doctor to examine Mr. Shih, but the request was rejected. The authorities also stated in a statement of June 21, that Mr. Shih would be force-fed "if his health deteriorates."

On June 24, Mr. Chiang P'eng-ch'ien, was visited by an unnamed prominent KMT-official, who requested Chiang's cooperation in getting Mr. Shih to end his hunger strike. The official said that if Mr. Shih stopped his hunger strike, he would not be returned to Green Island, but would be allowed to stay with three other prominent imprisoned opposition leaders in "An K'ang" Military prison, near Taipei. Mr. Shih had apparently refused that offer, and stuck to his original request that political prisoners should be released and that the Taiwan authorities should make significant steps in the direction of a democratic political system.

As we reported earlier, Shih Ming-teh has said that he will not stop his hunger strike unless the KMT authorities give some -- no matter how small -- indication that they are willing to pursue democratic rule. He reiterated his decision to continue his hunger strike and indicated that he would stop drinking the 1000 cc in daily rations of milk and fruit juice, and drink only water beginning on July 1, if the authorities did not give an indication that they are willing to prepare for ending repressive measures, release political prisoners, and work towards a democratic political system.

Mr. Shih's sister was allowed to visit him on a weekly basis until June 26. During this visit, Mr. Shih issued an appeal to the overseas Taiwanese community to form an

opposition party, to be named Taiwan _Democratic Party, in order to pave the way for a democratic future for Taiwan. Mr. Shih said he would like to be considered one of the founders of this party. He described the party flag -- a golden sun radiating five rays on a white background. Around the sun he envisioned a broken chain.

On July 1, Mr. Shih started his “water only” diet, while his wife, Linda Shih Arrigo, and a number of supporters began a hunger strike in front of the U.S. Supreme Court Building in Washington D.C. She continued her fast for two weeks.

On July 2, Ms. Shih Ming-chu went to the Tri-Services Hospital for the usual visit to her brother, but she was not allowed to see him. A week later, a niece of Mr. Shih requested permission to see him, but the request was also turned down.

The Taiwan authorities announced on July 3 that the doctors had started force-feeding Mr. Shih. During this force-feeding the daily intake of fluids was reported to be 2000 cc.

On July 9, the Ministry of Defense announced that they continued to force-feed Mr. Shih, but -- in a veiled warning -- stated that the government would not be responsible for any “mishaps” that might occur due to his severely weakened physical condition.

Meanwhile, the international press started to give greater publicity to the hunger strike. The **Far Eastern Economic Review** of July 11, 1985 carried an article, titled “No fast solution”, while the Asian Wall Street Journal of July 8, 1985 quoted the following excerpts from an essay by Mr. Shih:

“Friends, if someone were to ask me, with life being as short as it is, why I should choose to face yet another conviction after already having served one prison term of 15 years, I would answer: it is because I must hold fast. Born a Taiwanese -- one of the oppressed -- I cannot abandon my mission and calling as a human rights activist.”

Shih Ming-teh’s sister was not allowed to visit him again until Tuesday, July 16. Afterwards she told Associated Press that her brother might stop his hunger strike in the near future. Ms. Shih attributed the decision to an appeal signed by the ten persons who were arrested after the Kaohsiung Incident on charges of harboring Mr. Shih. In May 1980, they stood trial before a Military Court, and were sentenced to jail terms varying from two to seven years imprisonment. In their letter, they asked him to stay alive, so that he can contribute his talents to Taiwan’s society. They also appealed to the authorities to grant Mr. Shih medical bail and to release all political prisoners.

Ms. Shih said that her brother is still alert and able to speak. He told her that since July 3, he has been force-fed twice a day by means of tubes through his nose. As Mr. Shih does not want to cooperate with this procedure, it requires several men to hold his head, arms, shoulders and legs. On July 16, the total daily caloric intake of the highly concentrated liquid nutrients was reported to be 2300 cc. His blood pressure was, between 80 and 110 and his weight had slightly increased to 47 kg.

On July 22nd, a high unnamed Kuomintang official reportedly visited Shih Ming-teh and urged him to end the four-months old hunger strike. The official told Mr. Shih that -- if he would end his fast -- the authorities would release former Legislative Yuan member Huang Hsin-chieh and lawyer Yao Chia-wen. They would also consider releasing three others, theologian Lin Hung-hsuan, editor Chang Chun-hung, and **Formosa** activist Ms. Chen Chu at a later date.

However, when lawyer Yao's wife, **Care Magazine** publisher Chou Ching-yu, contacted the authorities to verify the information, the authorities denied that they were considering the possibility of releasing Huang Hsin-chieh and Yao Chia-wen.

China's choices on Taiwan

When, on July 26, 1985, PRC President Li Hsien-nien was asked during his U.S. visit if China would ever use force to intervene in Taiwan, he said: "I wouldn't exclude it." Just a few weeks earlier, Communist Party Chairman Hu Yaobang had made similar remarks to a reporter of a Hong Kong newspaper.

Below we present some comments, made on June 17, 1985 by U.S. Senator Claiborne Pell (D - Rhode Island) regarding the remark by Party Chairman Hu Yaobang.

Senator Pell reacts to Hu Yaobang's statement

Mr. President, I wish to draw the attention of my colleagues a recent statement by Chinese Communist Part leader Hu Yaobang that casts grave doubt on the Chinese commitment to a peaceful resolution of the Taiwan question. According to a May 31 report by Agence France Presse, Mr. Hu told a Hong Kong publication that China might consider a military attack against Taiwan in the next decade. He was quoted as having said that:

“In seven to ten years time, we may enjoy a strong economy equipped with modernized defense power. By then, if most Taiwan people wish to return (to the mother country) and only a few saying no, we will have to use some force on them.”

I don't know how the Chinese intend to determine what a majority on Taiwan think about this question, but I am confident that as democratic development continues on Taiwan, the people will be able to give full and free expression of their desires for their future. And I have no doubt that those desires would not give any encouragement to Mr. Hu.

Mr. President, I know that many of my colleagues on both sides of the aisle [Democrats and Republicans -- Ed.] are concerned about the future of Taiwan, and I ask unanimous consent that the full text of the press report that I mentioned earlier be printed at this point in the Congressional record.

There, being no objection, the press report was ordered to be printed in the Congressional Record, as follows:

Hu Yaobang says PRC might “use some force” on Taiwan in next decade Hong Kong, May 31. -- Chinese Communist Party leader Hu Yaobang has said Beijing might consider a military attack against Taiwan in the next decade, it was reported here today. Mr. Hu was speaking to Lu Keng, publisher of a Hong Kong-based China-watching publication, Pai Shing, in Beijing recently, the magazine reported in its latest edition to be released on Saturday.

China has promised Taiwan autonomy in a bid to lure its political rivals, the Nationalists, to return to the lap of Beijing. The military threat against Taiwan issued by the Chinese Party General Secretary was not imminent, according to Pai Shing. “Everyone knows that we do not yet have the military power (to attack Taiwan),” Mr. Hu was quoted as saying. “This temporary period may last four, five or seven, eight years. We have to wait until our economy is on the right track,” Mr. Hu said. “Military power is based on economic power.”

“Say, for instance, in seven to ten years' time, we may enjoy a strong economy, equipped with modernized defense power. By then, if most Taiwan people wish to return (to the mother country) and only a few say no, we will have to use some force on them.” Mr. Hu added that China would take possible interference from the United States into account. “We won't fight an unprepared battle. And we won't fight a battle which we are not 100 percent sure of winning,” Mr. Hu was quoted as saying.

He said the Taiwan question could have been solved without continuous meddling from Washington, where there is a strong proTaiwan lobby.

Taiwan Communiqué comment: *Both the statement by Mr. Li Hsien-nien and the remarks by Hu Yao-bang show that the PRC authorities still have a lot to learn about human rights and democracy. As we have stated on these pages many times before: the decision of the future of Taiwan needs to be made -- without any outside interference -- by the people of Taiwan themselves, through the process of self-determination, as set forth in Article 1.(2) of the Charter of the United Nations.*

Foreign Affairs neglect to present Taiwan's view

In an unrelated development, the generally highly respected **Foreign Affairs** magazine published two articles about the future of the island -- but neglected to present the view of the Taiwanese people themselves. The first article was titled "Taiwan, a view from Taipei" and was written by Mr. SHAW Yu-ming, who serves as Director of the Institute of International Relations of National Chengchi University in Taiwan. The second article was titled "Taiwan, a view from Beijing" and was written by a Mr. HUAN Guo-cang, who is associated with the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences in Peking.

Mr. SHAW is generally considered one of the Kuomintang's major propagandists, and his article is thus straight out of the Chinese Nationalists' propaganda book. We are slightly amazed that Foreign Affairs decided to pass it off as a "scholarly article."

Mr. HUAN's effort is a more deserving effort at analyzing the Taiwan question, but only marginally so: he closely heeds the official Peking line, and hardly takes the views of the Taiwanese majority of the island into consideration. In our next issue, we will present an in-depth response to the **Foreign Affairs** articles.

The new "Hoodlum Law"

On July 10, 1985 the KMT-controlled Legislative Yuan passed a new law to control "hoodlums," or -- as the law is officially called: "Statutes for the reporting and elimination of hoodlums during the period of mobilization and suppression of rebellion." The bill replaces an outdated Executive Order promulgated in 1955. However, as the title reflects, the Kuomintang authorities still consider Taiwan to be

engaged in the Chinese civil war: the “rebellion” referred to in the title is the communist rebellion, which swept Mao Tse-tung to power way back in 1949 (!!).

Although the new law has a small positive side to it -- in that it moves “hoodlum control” away from the jurisdiction of military courts to civil courts -- it violates human rights in a variety of ways:

1. The bill gives the police broad powers to arrest anyone who they consider to fall within the “hoodlum” category. Some of the “characteristics” mentioned in the bill are so vague, that they are bound to be abused by the police when they need to trump up charges against “undesirable elements.” A few examples:
 - Anyone who organizes or participates in a group or organization formed to disrupt social order or to threaten or harm the life, freedom or property of others;
 - anyone who is by nature evil;
 - a vagrant with no visible means of support who has habitually engaged in disruptive acts or threatened the life or property of others;

***Taiwan Communiqué comment:** particularly the first definition mentioned above applies -- in our view -- very well to organizations such as the Taiwan Garrison Command, Investigation Bureau of the Ministry of Justice, and the Military Intelligence Bureau. They ‘have -- more than any other organization in Taiwan -- disrupted social order and threatened and harmed the lives, freedom and property of the Taiwanese people.*

2. The bill provides for the establishment of ad hoc courts, which can mete out reformatory education sentences of up to five years imprisonment [source: “Anti Gangster Bill approved”, **Free China Journal**, July 14, 1985].
3. The rights of the accused to defense counsel are very meager: a defendant can request a lawyer to represent him in court -- but presumably he/she can also be induced not to request a lawyer.
4. The right to appeal to a higher agency than the one filing the charges was added to the bill -- almost as an afterthought --only at the insistence of a number of legislators.

A final interesting aspect of this law is that it applies, retroactively, to persons arrested in the “Clean Sweep” campaign, which started in November 1984 [source: **China Post**, June 21, 1985].

Prison Report

1. **Lai Wen-liang follow-up.** On 29 May 1985, the Taiwan High Court sentenced eight prison guards to sentences ranging from six months to three years in the case of Mr. Lai Wen-liang, who died in prison in June 1984 under suspicious circumstances (see Taiwan Communiqué no. 16, p. 17). There were strong indications that Mr. Lai died as a result of severe beatings. The NT\$ 2 million compensation suit filed by Mr. Lai's widow will be heard "at a later date."

However, the High Court did not specify when.

*Communiqué comment: it is to be hoped that the Taiwan authorities indeed send the torturers of Mr. Lai to prison in order to show that these practices are not condoned in Taiwan. In an earlier case, that of taxi driver Wang Ying-hsien, who died on May 6, 1982 in police custody after having been tortured), five police officials were similarly sentenced to **pro forma** sentences, but never served a single day in prison.*

2. **Ch'en Ming-chung's continued ill-health.** Mr. Ch'en is a political prisoner, who has been jailed in Green Island Military Prison since 1976. After his arrest he was reportedly tortured, leading to a continued ill-health since then. As we reported in Taiwan Communiqué no. 19 (pp. 28-29) he is suffering from a severe case of hemorrhoids, complicated by anemia. A recent report from Taiwan indicates that he is still bleeding a few times a day. His wife has requested the authorities to allow him to be released on medical bail, so he can be treated in a hospital, but to no avail.
3. **Arrested for trying to form a party.** On July 12, 1985 the Taiwan Garrison Command announced that a wealthy Taiwanese businessman, Mr. HSU Chao-hung (age 44), had been arrested and would face "treason" charges after he allegedly had tried to form a "Taiwan Democratic Party." The TGC added that a military court would try Mr. Hsu and that he would face the death penalty if found guilty.

Little is known about Mr. Hsu, except that he is from Miaoli County, and apparently studied business administration at Waseda University in Japan. In the early seventies he served a brief prison sentence for writing an article suggesting that then-President Chiang Kai-shek resign and that his son Chiang Ching-kuo succeed him. Opposition sources in Taiwan emphasize that Hsu was not involved in *tangwai* activities at all. They also indicate that he was considered slightly unstable by those around him.

Taiwan Communiqué comment: *The timing of the announcement by the TGC was quite interesting: Mr. Hsu had apparently been arrested already on March 8, 1985, and his arrest was kept secret until mid July. As they have done in the past, the Taiwan authorities waited with announcing the arrest until they could “use” Mr. Hsu in some way: this opportunity came at the beginning of July, when imprisoned opposition leader Shih Ming-teh intensified his hunger strike and appealed to the democratic opposition in Taiwan to set up a new party, to be named “Taiwan Democratic Party.”*

*This was the first time ever that this name was proposed. It was therefore quite a coincidence (or was it ???) that the TGC announced the arrest of Mr. Hsu for trying to form a party with precisely the same name. Could it be that the TGC is “killing the chicken (Mr. Hsu) to warn the monkey (the **tangwai** opposition)” ? -- just like they did in the case of Mr. Wu Tai-an, who was executed in May 1979, after he had been used by the authorities to implicate elderly opposition leader Yu Teng-fa.*

Freedom of the press?

The beginning of the month of July marked another sharp attack against freedom of the press in Taiwan. During the first four days of the month, three opposition magazine officials and one employee of the Government Information Office (GIO) were detained on charges of leaking a “military secret.” The document contained the minutes of the -- by now well-known -- meeting of 17 October 1984, at which high level government officials planned a more “active” approach in silencing opposition magazines. Meanwhile, the island’s secret police continued the “Chung Hsing” (141 J0,1) crackdown on opposition magazines, and entered more offices of opposition politicians and magazines in search of “illegal publications.” **Taiwan Communiqué** statistics show that the Taiwan authorities are breaking all their previous records in banning and confiscating opposition magazines.

Minutes of censorship meeting a “military secret”?

On July 4, 1985, at 11.30 a.m., Mr. Huang T’ien-fu -- the publisher of Neo-Formosa magazine and younger brother of prominent imprisoned opposition leader Huang Hsin-chieh -- was returning home from a press conference regarding the arrest of three persons earlier in the week, when he was stopped by agents of the Investigation Bureau of the Ministry of Justice. They said they were taking him in for questioning “for leaking

a military secret.” The agents did not have a formal arrest warrant, but they showed him what was described as a “detention warrant.”

During the previous two days, the authorities had also arrested three other persons in the case:

- Mr. CHEN Pai-ling, age 27, a young mainlander working at the Government Information Office;
- Ms. SHIH Chia-yin, age 28, a former editor of opposition-magazine **Taiwan Panorama**;
- Mr. CHIU Yi-jen, age 35, the former president of the **Tangwai Editors and Writers Association**;

Mr. Huang said that he first wanted to let his family know that he was being taken in for questioning. The Investigation Bureau agents denied his request, and took him to the Investigation Bureau office right away. There they interrogated him about his source for the minutes of the October 17, 1984 meeting. At this meeting, high-level military, police, and civilian officials planned a more “active” approach in silencing opposition magazines.

At the end of January 1985, Mr. Huang had disclosed the existence of these minutes, and published them in his Neo-Formosa magazine. They received wide publicity in Taiwan and overseas: the London-based **Index on Censorship** published a full translation of the text in a cover-article in its June 1985 issue. In its August 1985 issue, Index is publishing a follow-up article, containing an “action-chart” worked out by the censorship authorities during their October 17 meeting, and presenting additional statistics regarding press censorship in Taiwan.

The Investigation Bureau officials subsequently took Mr. Huang for further questioning to a Detention Center of the Taiwan Garrison Command on Po-Ai road. The TGC agents accused him of “leaking a military secret.” Mr. Huang responded that the minutes dealt with suppression of press freedom, and that he -- himself being the defendant in a libel suit which was filed only 10 days after the famed meeting -- had felt it necessary to bring out into the open that the libel suit was not a “private” matter brought by an individual, but an act of planned government action, endangering press freedom.

The interrogation continued until 8:30 p.m. At that point he requested food, and was given something to eat. An hour later, at 9:30 p.m., Mr. Huang’s wife -- who had learned about his arrest at 3:00 p.m. and had been searching for him since then -- arrived at the prison. Mr. Huang was then allowed to go home with his wife. They found

their home totally ransacked: at 2:00 p.m. some 20 agents had come to the home and had thoroughly searched it, taking away a number of Mr. Huang's personal documents.

Just like Mr. Huang, Ms. Shih Chia-yin and Mr. Chiu Yi-jen were released after posting bail, but Mr. Chen continues to be detained. The authorities said he was instrumental in leaking the minutes of the October 17 meeting, and that they would try him in civil court. On July 18, 1985 the Prosecutor's office of Taipei District Court brought charges against Mr. Chen Pai-ling "for divulging secret documents." On August 9, he was sentenced to 10 months imprisonment. The Prosecutor's Office said that the other three (Ms. Shih Chia-yin, Mr. Chiu Yi-jen, and Mr. Huang T'ien-fu) were not civil servants, and -- since they did not obtain the documents through their employment connections -- would not be prosecuted.

Confiscations and bannings continue undiminished

Meanwhile, the "Chung Hsing" crackdown on opposition magazines, which started at the end of April, continued undiminished. As reported earlier in Taiwan Communiqué (no. 20, pages 12-14) this campaign involved more than 1,000 plain-cloth and uniformed policemen (some press reports even spoke of 3,000 policemen), who were assigned to perform frequent searches of printing shops, distribution centers, and newsstands.

Opposition offices searched

Secret police agents even entered the offices of opposition politicians, and confiscated any magazines they could find: In mid-June, agents of the Taiwan Garrison Command raided the Taichung joint-office of opposition-legislator Mrs. Hsu Jung-shu and Control Yuan-member Y'ou Ching, and confiscated the opposition-magazines they found there. During the same period the office of Pintung county magistrate Chiu Lien-hui, also a *tangwai* member, was likewise searched. In neither occasion did the agents show search warrants. The forced entry into the offices of opposition politicians, and into the offices of the magazines themselves, represents an unprecedented step.

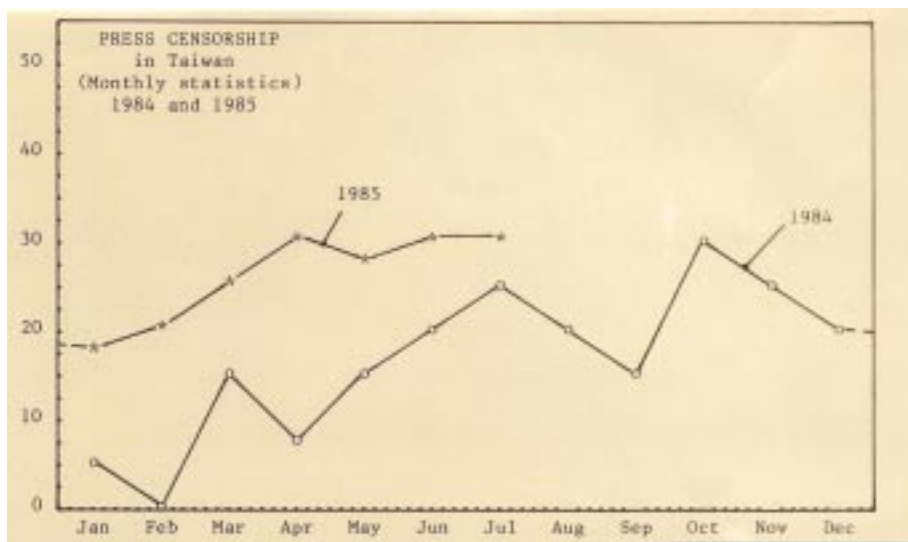
Statistics of press censorship in Taiwan

Preliminary statistics show that, during the months leading up to the "active censorship" campaign which started at the end of April 1985, on the average approximately 70 percent of all individual issues published by the opposition press were banned or confiscated. During the campaign itself this increased to between 85 and 90 percent.

According to our Taiwan Communiqué statistics, between January 1st 1985 and the middle of July, the Taiwan authorities issued a total of at least 168 banning-, confiscation-, or suspension-orders. This covers the approximately dozen major opposition publications in Taiwan, which -- together -- publish about 35 issues per month. Our figure does *not* include foreign publications, which also fall victim to Taiwan's censors every once in a while.

In a recent article about Taiwan's press censorship, Newsweek quotes the "League of Opposition" in Taiwan as having documented 207 acts of confiscation, banning and suspensions of magazines this year ("Taipei thought-police", August 5, 1985). Possibly this figure also includes smaller magazines in the center and south of the island, or it may include the censorship of foreign publications, such as the South China Morning Post, and TIME, Newsweek, or the International Herald Tribune. On the top of the list of foreign publications censored by the Taiwan authorities is the Hong Kong-based South China Morning Post, which was censored a total of 42 times during the period January 1984 through April 1985. Nine of these consisted of confiscations, while in 33 instances offending articles were either blackened out or pages were torn out.

The graph below shows the data for the monthly totals of bannings, confiscations, and suspensions of Taiwan's opposition publications for 1985 as compared to 1984.



Press censorship in Taiwan, 1984 and 1985

Magazine executives deliver petition

On July 18, 1985 more than 50 representatives of 11 opposition magazines in Taiwan went to the Executive Yuan to deliver a petition in protest against the censorship campaign. The petition mentioned that during the first six months of 1985, approximately 400,000 copies of the various opposition magazines had been confiscated, resulting in a combined loss of NT\$ 20 million (U.S.\$ 500,000) to their publishers.

The eleven magazines represented were: **Neo-Formosa Taiwan Weekly**, **Care**, **Progress Taiwan Nien-tai**, **Ming Chu Tien-ti**, **New Tide**, **Check & Balance**, **New Route**, **Globe News Agency**, and **Torch** .

At 9.00 a.m. the group gathered at the gate of the Control Yuan. There they donned white robes with inscriptions such as “protest illegal confiscations”, “protect freedom of speech.” They had wanted to move across the street towards the Executive Yuan, but approximately 300 policemen, armed with batons, formed a multi-layered human wall around them, and prevented them from going anywhere.

Finally, at 11.00 a.m., a 6-person delegation was allowed into the Executive Yuan building to deliver the petition. The group consisted of Legislative Yuan-member Mrs. Hsu Jung-shu, **CARE**-editor Huang Chung-wen, **Progress** editor Wu Hsiang-hui, Editors and Writers Association (EWA) President Wu Nai-jen, former EWA-President Chiu Yi-jen, and **Freedom Times**-editor Cheng Nan-Jung.

In the Executive Yuan building the group submitted its petition, but they were not allowed to meet with anyone. Interestingly, at the same time, reporters from the relatively neutral **Independence Evening Post**, who were attempting to elicit a response regarding the censorship campaign from the Government Information Office (GIO) next door, were told by GIO-officials that the agency was “not involved” in censorship of political magazines, but that -- under martial law regulations -- this came under the jurisdiction of the Taiwan Garrison Command. However, during the October 17, 1984 meeting referred to earlier, GIO-Director Chang King-yuh played a very prominent role in the planning of the censorship campaign.

* * * * *

A sample of censorship in Taiwan

Below we present a number of examples of press censorship in Taiwan during the past few months. We first give some details on Mr. Huang T'ien-fu's Neo-Formosa magazine, which has been hit most severely by the Kuomintang's "thought police." We then present some background information on three recent suspensions. Then follows -- as a comic interlude -- an example of inverse censorship. We continue with some information on the several libel suits against opposition magazines.

Huang T'ien-fu: a profile of courage

Mr. Huang is the younger brother of imprisoned opposition leader Huang Hsin-chieh, who was one of only two *tangwai* members of the Legislative Yuan at the time of his arrest, on December 14, 1979. The elder Huang was also publisher of **Formosa** magazine, which organized the December 10, 1979 Human Rights Day demonstration in Kaohsiung, after which virtually all leading opposition figures were arrested and sentenced to long prison sentences.

Since the arrest and imprisonment of his elder brother, Huang T'ien-fu has been in the forefront of the democratic movement in Taiwan. In December 1980 he ran as an "outside-the-party" candidate in the elections for a seat in the Legislative Yuan, and was elected with an overwhelming majority. In the beginning of 1983 he started his own monthly magazine, **Political Monitor**, which was frequently confiscated by the secret police. On November 10, 1983, after ten issues, its publication license was suspended for a year.

In June 1984, Mr. Huang started a new weekly magazine, which received (in English) the name **Neo Formosa Weekly**, but which was known during the past year under a whole series of Chinese names, because the authorities suspended the successive licenses of the magazine, each time forcing Mr. Huang to apply for a new license for the same magazine. In between licenses, Mr. Huang issued so-called "special issues" or "bookazines", which were published as "books", and thus presumably did not need a publishing license. However, the Taiwan Garrison Command thought otherwise and banned every one of those too. This led to the (chronological) sequence of names on the next page:

Neo-Formosa has borne the brunt of the government's censorship campaign. Of the 52 issues published by Mr. Huang from June 1984 through July 1985, every single issue of the magazine was banned or confiscated, except one which caused him more

problems than all the rest combined: the June 19, 1984 issue -- which contained an article about Tunghai University and Mr. Fung Hu-hsiang (see below) -was the only issue not banned by the Taiwan Garrison Command.

MAGAZINE NAME	"MASTER" NUMBERS	SUB-PENDED
Neo-Formosa Weekly (P'eng Lai Tao, 蓬萊島)	1 - 4	1
Neo-Formosa bookazine (蓬萊島叢刊)	5 - 13	
North-West Rain (Hsi Pei Yu, 西北雨)	14 - 17	1
Neo-Formosa bookazine (蓬萊島叢刊)	18 - 22	
North-West Rain bookazine (西北雨叢刊)	23	
Political Monitor (Chung Ku Lo, 鐘鼓鐃)	24 - 30	1
North-East Wind (Tung Pei Fung, 東北風)	31 - 35	1
Neo-Formosa bookazine (蓬萊島叢刊)	36 - 41	
Beautiful People (P'eng Lai Jen, 蓬萊人)	42 - 46	1
Neo-Formosa bookazine (蓬萊島叢刊)	47 - 50	
Neo Formosa Weekly (P'eng Lai Tao, 蓬萊島)	51 - 52	1
TOTAL # OF ISSUES: 52		6

In mid-July 1985 - just after yet another suspension of his Neo Formosa publishing license by the authorities -- Mr. Huang decided to a change of policy: during the past year his publication had functioned as a news magazine, focusing mainly on the undemocratic nature of the Kuomintang's martial law rule over the island. Starting in August 1985 his publication would come out on a -monthly basis, and would focus more on the issue of the future of Taiwan. Mr. Huang said that it would carry in-depth articles on the international legal status of the island, ways of democratization, national defense, and international diplomacy. He said it would emphasize the right of the Taiwanese people -- under Article 1 (2) of the Charter of the United Nations -- to determine the future of the island. The purpose of the new approach is to develop a blueprint for a free and democratic political future for the island's 19 million people.

North American professors speak out on libel suit

In January 1985, Mr. Huang and two other executives of the magazine were sentenced in Taipei District Court to one year imprisonment and payment of NT\$ 2 million (approximately U.S.\$ 50,000.--) compensation (see *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 18, pp. 12-14, and no. 19, pp. 30-31). The libel suit against the magazine was filed by the strongly pro-KMT dean of the College of Philosophy of Tunghai University, Mr. Fung Fu-hsiang. In a broad-ranging article about the University in its June 19, 1984 issue, **Neo-Formosa** had reported that in his book "A Critique of New Marxism", Mr. Fung had plagiarized foreign publications, and had presented this as his own scholarly work.

As has become clear in the intervening months, the libel suit was not an individual action by Mr. Fung, but was filed ten days after the October 17, 1984 “thought-police” meeting of high officials, and was part of a concerted effort by the Taiwan authorities to silence opposition magazines (see “Minutes”, p. 10).

On June 25, 1985, the North American Taiwanese Professors Association (NATPA) published a report, drafted by a committee of seven well-known Taiwanese scholars in the United States and Canada. The Committee concluded that **Neo-Formosa** was right, and that Mr. Fung did in fact commit extensive plagiarization in his book.

On July 11, the 77-page report was submitted to Taiwan’s unofficial representation in the United States, the Coordination Council for North American Affairs (CCNAA). NATPA officials intend to submit it to the High Court in Taiwan, which is reviewing the case. An English-language summary of the report was published in the **NATPA Bulletin**, July 1985. Single copies are available for U.S.\$ 5.-- from: NATPA, no. 5632 South Woodlawn Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60637, U.S.A.

Taiwan Nien-tai suspended

On June 25, the Taiwan authorities suspended the publishing license of opposition magazine Taiwan N’ien-tai for one year. The apparent reason for the government-action was that issue no. 9 carried a reprint of an article from the Hong Kong-based magazine Pai Shing, which contained an interview with PRC Communist Party leader Hu Yao-bang, who recently stated that “in seven to ten years time” China might consider a military attack against Taiwan to “liberate” the island (see story on page 6). **Taiwan N’ien-tai** is a relatively new magazine. It was just started in April of this year by a group of young editors and writers from other opposition-magazines, as well as relatives of imprisoned opposition leaders. At the time of the suspension it had published a total of twelve issues, ten of which were banned or confiscated.

Min Chung Daily News suspended for seven days

The front page of the June 7, 1985 issue of the **Min Chung Daily News** -- published in the Southern port-city of Kaohsiung -- carried eight news items. Six of these concerned the People’s Republic of China, and had been translated from the international newswire services. The major headline was a statement by PRC Prime Minister Zhao Zi-yang -made during his visit to Great Britain -- that the PRC will continue to pursue an “open door” economic policy towards the West.

On the following day (Saturday, June 8, 1985), the president of the newspaper, Mr. Lee Che-lang, received a phone call from the Taiwan Garrison Command in Taipei, ordering him to come to Taipei for a “talk.” He went immediately, and was questioned by a high-level TGC officer, who asked him why “80 % of the front page news centered on China, and why these articles had such prominent headlines.”

On Sunday, June 9, Mr. Lee returned to his office in Kaohsiung. Right after he arrived, a messenger from the Kaohsiung City Government delivered an order, prohibiting the newspaper to publish during one week. The document was signed by the newly appointed-mayor of Kaohsiung, Mr. Su Nan-chen. Mr. Su, who was until recently the mayor of Tainan, is known for his ardent support of the Kuomintang. The banning order said that “the headlines and contents of the major front-page news of the June 7 issue carried propaganda for the Communists, and therefore violated national policy.” Based on Article 40 of the Publication Law, the order said, the newspaper had to suspend its operations for seven days, beginning on June 10, 1985.

Interestingly, the offensive news item was also carried by two other local newspapers in Taiwan, and by the English-language **China Post**, but no action was taken against these publications. The suspension reportedly cost the newspaper -- which has a circulation of 160,000 -roughly U.S.\$ 250,000.-- in lost revenue.

Observers in Taiwan believe that another article on the same front page may also have irked the authorities: in exclusive story, the **Min Chung Daily News** correspondent in San Francisco reported that a number of former high military officers of Chiang Kai-shek’s armies in mainland China, had met in San Francisco with the KMT-official in charge of “Overseas Chinese Affairs.”

During the meeting they urged the Taiwan authorities to lift martial law, and to “pay close attention to the underlying causes which triggered the recent resignation of the 14 opposition-members of the Taiwan Provincial Assembly” (see story on page 26).

The former officers had been captured by the advancing Communist armies in the late 1940’s and had been held prisoner by the PRC until a few years ago. When they were released by the PRC, the Taiwan authorities did not allow them into Taiwan, so they eventually went to the United States and have been living there since then.

Globe News agency's license suspended

On May 21, the publication license of the Huan Ch'iu ("Globe") News Agency was suspended for one year. The agency published a daily news bulletin called Globe News, which mainly contained business news. Since the beginning of May it had started to devote more attention to *tangwai* activities, and had highlighted opposition interpellations in the Legislative Yuan and the Provincial Assembly. This daily publication was not available to the public, but was distributed to news desks of regular newspapers and magazines. Because of its increased attention to the *tangwai* it had in a very 'short time become a very popular source of information in central and southern Taiwan.

The suspension order, issued by the Information Bureau of the Taipei City Government, mentioned a number of specific instances of articles which "distorted facts and undermined the morale of the public and the armed forces" (the standard phraseology used by the authorities in such cases of censorship). In an article on May 9, Globe News had criticized the military and security police for using illegal means in their operations (a reference to torture and other forms of mistreatment in prisons). On May 10, the magazine had given prominent coverage to the fate of the "Kaohsiung Incident" prisoners. On May 11, it had published an article, titled "Old soldiers never die."

Inverse censorship by pro-government press

We recently learned of a fascinating piece of "inverse censorship" by Taiwan's pro-government press, which took place over one year ago. In April 1984, prior to his inauguration as Vice-President of Taiwan, Mr. Lee Teng-hui, was invited to address the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church. In the speech Mr. Lee, himself a member of the Presbyterian Church, departed from the text which had been prepared for him, and *omitted* a number of sentences which were critical of the Presbyterian Church. However, these were the only bits of information which were reported extensively in the pro-government press ?!

Thunder magazine publisher sentenced in libel suit

During the month of March, **Thunder magazine**, in a series of articles, described how banker/businessman/legislator Tsai Chen-chou, who was on trial for fraud at that time -- had bribed Kuomintang Party officials in order to obtain the nomination for a seat in the Legislative Yuan. Thunder magazine mentioned in particular Mr. Kuan Chung, the chairman of the KMT's Taipei's Municipal Commission (who allegedly received

more than one million U.S. dollars), former KMT-Party Secretary Tsiang Yien-si (who allegedly received approximately U.S.\$ 500,000.--) and Mr. Liang Hsiao-huang, the Director of the KMT Central Committee's Department of Organization Affairs (U.S.\$ 250,000.--).

In April, Mr. Kuan Chung filed a U.S.\$ 250,000 libel suit against the publisher of the magazine, Mr. Lei Yu-chi, for "defamation of character." Mr. Lei is himself a former member of the Kuomintang, who broke away from the party, and ran as an independent -- and lost -- in the 1983 Legislative Yuan elections. However, he did not join the "outside-the-party" *tangwai*. His magazine is generally considered quite progressive. It has been banned and confiscated several times since the beginning of 1984.

On July 2nd Mr. Lei was sentenced to one year imprisonment and payment of a NT\$ 3 million (equivalent to U.S.\$ 75,000.--) fine.

Charges against Progress executives

On March 2, 1985 the Taiwan Garrison Command forcefully confiscated issue no. 100 of Progress magazine. As we reported in *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 20, (p. 14-18), during the 10-hour stand-off preceding the confiscation, a TGC-agent suffered a bruised lip during a scuffle with the three magazine-executives present at the scene, who themselves also suffered cuts and bruises.

On May 17th, the magazine's president, Ms. Yang Tzu-chun, was ordered to appear in an investigative hearing held at the Panchiao branch of Taipei District Court to explain the circumstances surrounding the seizure of the magazine and the injuries inflicted on the staff of Progress. On May 22, Progress received the formal indictment, stating that Ms. Yang's argument was "not credible", and charging the three magazine executives with "...obstructing officials from carrying out their duties and inflicting injuries."

The three defendants, refused to appear in a subsequent court hearing on June 12. In a press conference held at the same time as the court session, Mr. Lin explained the reasons why they refused to appear in court:

- * Firstly, the law suit is politically motivated. The authorities are abusing the courts to persecute political opponents. This was abundantly clear from the minutes of the secret meeting on October 17, 1984, attended by high-level military and police officers and two civilian officials.

- * Secondly, they wanted to protest the fact that censorship is carried out at gunpoint. The official Publication Law stipulates that the “information bureau’s” (censorship offices at the local level) are responsible for censorship. But in practice, the Taiwan Garrison Command, under martial law regulations, is using the barrel of a gun to enforce censorship.

Notes

In Memoriam Dr. Kuo Yu-hsin

On August 2, 1985 a prominent elderly statesman of the overseas Taiwanese community, Dr. **Kuo Yu-hsin**, age 77, passed away at his home in Fairfax, Virginia, where he had lived in exile since 1977. Between 1949 and 1975, he spent 25 years as a member of the Taiwan Provincial Assembly, where he was one of the very few who dared to speak out against the ruling Kuomintang. Already during the Japanese rule of Taiwan (1895 - 1945), he had become well-known for his outspoken opposition against the lack of democracy and violations of human rights on the island. Because of his political activities, he was forced to flee the island in 1941.

In 1960, Dr. Kuo was one of the leaders of an abortive effort to form an opposition party, the China Democratic Party, dedicated to free elections and civil liberties. The island’s rulers swiftly crushed this move, and jailed several of its leaders, most prominently elderly statesman Lei Chen, who languished in jail for ten years.

In 1975, Dr. Kuo ran for election to a seat in the Legislative Yuan, but lost due to widespread fraud - on the part of the Kuomintang. The details of this campaign were published in “The tiger came down from the mountain”, a book written by Dr. Kuo’s lawyers Lin Yi-hsiung and Yao Chia-wen, who themselves became political prisoners after the Kaohsiung Incident of December 1979.

After moving to the United States in self-imposed exile in 1977, Dr. Kuo became active in organizing the overseas Taiwanese community in support of the establishment of democratic rule on Taiwan. For several years he played a key role in bringing the lack of democracy and human rights in Taiwan to the attention of Congressional leaders in Washington, D.C.

Hsin-chu mayor sentenced

On July 4, 1985, the Supreme Court in Taiwan upheld the conviction of the popularly elected mayor of Hsin-chu City, Mr. Shih Hsing-chung, and sentenced him to two years and six months imprisonment. On July 11, he went to jail.

Hsin-chu is an important industrial center, located some 60 km to the southwest of Taipei, and has a population of approximately 300,000. Mr. Shih, a maverick politician, was first elected mayor of Hsin-chu in 1981. He proved to be a popular mayor, but his use of combative tactics in resolving differences antagonized the city council which is controlled by the KMT majority.

Mr. Shih crusaded against the special privileges enjoyed by many KMT high officials. The most celebrated example, which drew considerable public attention, was his insistence in tearing down a building, belonging to an influential KMT member of the Provincial Assembly, which had been built without a building permit. He said he wanted to send a message to the people that he was a mayor who fought for the public interest and would not condone crime committed by high officials.

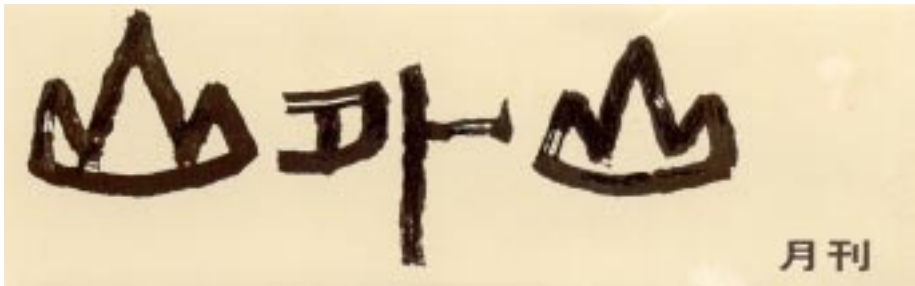
In October 1983, the KMT-controlled city council of Hsin-chu filed cooked-up charges against him of "embezzling public funds." On December 29, 1983, the District Court of Hsin-chu sentenced him to 17 months of imprisonment, and on December 31, 1983 he was removed from office. On May 2, 1984 the High Court rejected his appeal and increased the sentence to five years. Mr. Shih believed that he was a victim of political persecution and decided to run for re-election. In June 1984 he ran again in the by-election to fill his own vacated seat. His campaign rallies drew large crowds, and on June 23, 1984 he was re-elected mayor by an overwhelming majority.

Alliance of Taiwan aborigines founded

Taiwan's 300,000 aborigines -- a minority group of malay-polynesian stock -- are the poorest and least educated among Taiwan's 19 million population. There are 12 aboriginal tribes in Taiwan, each with its own distinct language, culture and customs, spreading among 214 villages, mostly in the remote east ~ and southeast part of Taiwan. In the past decades steady streams of aborigines have migrated from their ancestral villages in remote mountains to the urban areas in search of better lives. However, the lack of education and skills have relegated them to low-level jobs, selling their labor at the most hazardous working conditions such as in the coal mines, on the

fishing boats and at construction sites. These jobs offer them temporary employment and a meager income. Economic necessity and social prejudice drove them to settle down in shantytown or to live in back alleys. Traditionally looked down upon by the rest of the population as inferior, primitive and backward, the aborigines are shunned as neighbors.

The plight of the aborigines was highlighted by last year's coal-mine catastrophe, which took the lives of 270 miners in a span of two months time. Of the 270 killed, 180 were aborigines, who are the major labor force working underground in Taiwan's old and dangerous coal mines.



Logo of new aborigine magazine

The aborigines were the original inhabitants of Taiwan. When waves of settlers from the coastal provinces of the mainland emigrated to Taiwan in the mid-17 century, the fierce and warlike aborigines mounted strong resistance. But the better armed settlers eventually succeeded in taking over their land. The once-flourishing aboriginal villages on the fertile western plain of Taiwan were wiped out. The aborigines were driven inland to the mountains.

The Japanese, who ruled Taiwan from 1895 to 1945, found it difficult to contain the belligerent aborigines. Eager to tap the rich forest resources of Taiwan's mountains, the Japanese began to build roads and railways into the mountains. The aborigines rebelled against Japanese encroachment on their last enclave of ancestral land. It took the Japanese 10 years to bring the aborigines under their control.

The Japanese, in an effort to facilitate the task of administering the aborigines, designated reservation land for the aborigines, whose social and economic activities were confined within the reservation.

The advent of the KMT regime in 1945 brought a drastic change to the aborigine's social and economic life. The KMT regime took away a large part of the aboriginal reservation-land, to exploit its forest reserve, to build dams, to develop its mineral resources, or to turn it into tourist attractions.

As life in their tribal villages became increasingly difficult, many aborigines began to migrate to the cities. An estimated 200,000 aborigines presently live and work in urban areas. The men work as laborers and many aboriginal women have become prostitutes. The press in Taiwan has reported that aboriginal women as young as 13 years old are found working in brothels in Taipei and Kaohsiung.

The exodus of young women from aboriginal villages has threatened to break down the aborigines' matriarchal society, where the mother is the center of the household. The young aborigines who choose to stay in the tribal villages encounter marital problems.

But the greatest danger facing Taiwan's aborigines is the threat of extinction of their culture, according to Mr. Hu Te-fu age 35, a member of the Pei-nan tribe, who organized an outdoor concert in Taipei's New Park last June to raise funds for the families of deceased coal-miners. Mr. Hu is the founder of an organization called Alliance of Taiwan Aborigines (ATA), which is spearheading a movement to promote the rights of the aborigines.

Mr. Hu said that the children of aborigines who live in urban areas attend schools where they are taught the superiority of the Chinese culture. They are given Chinese names and learn to speak and write only the Chinese language. They become ashamed of themselves and their culture. The government prohibits the aborigines to use their mother tongue, even in church services and large social gatherings. If this pattern continues, Mr. Hu fears that the aboriginal culture, customs and tradition will eventually disappear.

The Alliance of Taiwan Aborigines was founded in 1984 by a group of young aborigines. It aims to focus public attention on the plight of the aborigines, and to raise the consciousness of aborigines that self-help is the beginning of self-salvation. Its headquarter is in Taipei and it publishes a monthly newsletter. It functions as a mutual-help center for the aborigines, and offers an array of services, including legal advice, job counseling, and medical assistance. But its ultimate goal is to push for legislation to protect the rights and the indigenous culture of the aboriginal minority.

The address of the Alliance is: Alliance of Taiwan Aborigines no. 142 - 1 Hoping West Road, Section 2 Taipei, TAIWAN

The resignation of 14 Provincial Assembly members

In mid-May -- in an unprecedented move -- 14 *tangwai* members of the Taiwan Provincial Assembly resigned to focus attention on the fact that constitutionally-guaranteed rights have been suspended in Taiwan since 1949 -- the year martial law went into effect. The direct issue was the inclusion of funds for 23 "provincial commissioners" in the Provincial Budget. During earlier budget discussions the Assembly had opposed these funds, since the Provincial Organizations Act provided only for 11 commissioners. However in 1949, the Kuomintang authorities -- who had just fled the mainland -- declared martial law. One of the many executive orders, issued since then, brought the number of provincial commissioners to 23.

In the following weeks only one of the fourteen assembly-members, Mrs. Su Hung Yueh-chiao, returned to the Assembly, but the other 13 stayed away. Mrs. Su is the wife of a former well-known political prisoner, Mr. Su Tung-chi. Recently there have been signs that she is becoming increasingly co-opted by the Kuomintang. Her moves disappointed her supporters, and opposition sources in Taiwan expect that, because of her wishy-washy attitude, she will not be re-elected in the upcoming Provincial Assembly elections, which will be held on November 16, 1985.

The three most prominent of the 14 Assembly-members, Messrs. Su Cheng-chang, Yu Shyi-kun, and Hsieh San-sheng did actually resign. The others simply stayed away. Since their election in November 1981, the three above-mentioned persons have performed as an effective team, nick-named "The Iron Triangle" (after their seating arrangement in the Assembly, and the persistence of their questioning). They conducted joint interpellations of Provincial officials on a wide variety of issues, ranging from the use of the native Taiwanese language in schools, and fairness of the elections laws, to the release of political prisoners.

Messrs. Yu and Hsieh have indicated that they will run again for a seat in the Provincial Assembly in the upcoming elections. Mr. Su is presently visiting the United States, and will decide when he returns to Taiwan.

Congress passes “democracy on Taiwan” amendment

On July 31, 1985 the U.S. Senate passed the Foreign Relations Authorization Act for the fiscal year 1986. It included an amendment calling for democracy on Taiwan, which had been introduced by Senator Claiborne Pell (D - Rhode Island). On August 1, the Act was passed by the House of Representatives. The final text of the amendment differs only slightly from the one we presented *in Taiwan Communiqué* no. 20 (p. 22). Some text was added to article no. A.2, so that the full text of the article became:

- 2) the United States expects the future of Taiwan to be settled peacefully and considers a secure Taiwan free from external threat an, indispensable element for the island’s further democratization and a goal set forth in the Taiwan Relations Act;

Other articles refer to martial law, and to the lack of democracy and human rights in Taiwan. The main conclusions of the Amendment are:

- 1) one important element of a peaceful future for Taiwan is greater participation in the political process by all the people on Taiwan and,
- 2) accordingly, the United States should encourage the authorities on Taiwan, in the spirit of the Taiwan Relations Act, to work vigorously toward this end.

* * * * *
