



TAIWAN COMMUNIQUE

Published by:

International Committee for Human Rights in Taiwan

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

Canada : P.O. Box 487, Station "A", VANCOUVER, B.C., V6C 2N3

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

European edition, March 1986

Published 6 times a year

ISSN number: 1027-3999

24

Dutch submarines and Martial Law in Taiwan

After an intensive debate at the end of 1980 and the beginning of 1981 the Dutch government and parliament decided that in principle they were favorably inclined towards the sale of two submarines to Taiwan. It was agreed that in due time the export permits for the two "Seadragons" could be granted, subject to two conditions:

1. Taiwan should also place orders for civilian industrial products in the Netherlands to the approximate total value of at least 400 million Dutch guilders.
2. Delivery of the submarines should not contribute to an increase of tension in the area (between Taiwan and China).

In the following article it is argued that the Dutch government and parliament would contribute to a decrease of political tension in the area -- and in Taiwan itself -- if they delayed granting the export permit for the "Seadragons" until the Taiwan authorities end martial law and take firm steps towards the establishment of a fully democratic political system on the island.



"Whith this type of submarines, we can defend Taiwan even better"!!

Have the conditions been met ?

Since the submarines are presently nearing completion -- the first one should be ready by October 1986 and the second one by January 1987 -- the Dutch government and parliament will have to decide during the coming months whether the two conditions have been met, and whether the export permits can actually be granted.

We have no doubt that the civil servants at the “Bezuidenhoutseweg” (Ministry of Economic Affairs) in The Hague have been keeping scrupulous count of all industrial orders from Taiwan for Dutch machinery and other pieces of hardware, in order to see to it that the first condition is met.

The second condition, however, is a more complex one. The Dutch government and parliament will have to examine under what conditions delivery of the submarines will contribute to tension in the area. In order to answer this question, it is necessary for the Dutch authorities to evaluate the political situation in Taiwan and China, and determine which factors may contribute to instability and political tension.

In our view, there are two major factors:

- * The claims by the Kuomintang authorities that they will “recover” the mainland, and their persistence in maintaining martial law on Taiwan (in force since May 19, 1949);
- * The continued threats by the leaders in Peking_ that they will “reunify” Taiwan and China, using force if necessary;

It is of course possible for the Dutch government and parliament to close their collective eyes and say that at the present time there apparently is no tension in the area. In our view this would be a short-sighted approach. Below, we briefly examine both factors:

“Recover the mainland”, and martial law in Taiwan

With , great frequency, prominent members of the Taipei government proclaim that they will “recover” the mainland. On the next page are some recent samples.

The Taipei authorities have been able to keep their dream-world in place for so long because they perpetuated an undemocratic political system on Taiwan by maintaining martial law -- which has been in force since 1949. Since the great majority of the people on Taiwan (85 %) are native Taiwanese, they do not share the Nationalist Chinese mainlanders’ desire to “recover” the mainland.



The Kuomintang's outdated claim that they are the government of all of China is thus a major factor contributing to tension in the area. As long as the authorities in Taipei continue this claim, and proclaim that they will "recover" the mainland, and as long as they perpetuate an undemocratic political system on Taiwan by maintaining martial law, the delivery of the "Seadragon" submarines will certainly lead to an increase of political tension. The present "stability" on Taiwan is merely an artificial one, enforced by the barrel of a gun and the threat of imprisonment.

Taiwan Communiqué emphasizes that it is in favor of the delivery of the two submarines to Taiwan, since the people on the island should have adequate means to defend themselves against any possible aggression by the PRC. However, we believe that the submarines should be delivered to a responsible, democratically-elected government, and not to a minority-regime that still plans to "recover" the mainland. The Dutch government and parliament would contribute to a decrease of political tension in the area -and in Taiwan itself- -- if they delayed granting the export permit for the "Seadragons" until the Taiwan authorities end martial law and take firm steps towards the establishment of a fully democratic political system on the island.

We strongly believe that an end to martial law on Taiwan would contribute to stability and peace in East Asia. At the same time it would also diminish the divisions which martial law and the lack of democracy have created on the island itself, between mainlanders and Taiwanese.

“Reunify, or else”

For their part, the authorities in Peking have not helped peace and stability in the area either: they continue to claim that they will “liberate” Taiwan, and have repeatedly stated that they don’t exclude the use of force.

The best option for the Peking authorities would be to adopt a “peaceful resolution” approach and to work towards a peaceful co-existence between Taiwan and China.

The Philippines: Lessons for Taiwan

The election of Mrs. Corazon Aquino as President of the Philippines must be considered a major breakthrough for human rights and democracy in the Far East. We congratulate Mrs. Aquino and the people of the Philippines for their dedication and courage. Many people lost their lives in the process, including Mrs. Aquino’s husband Benigno, and -- only on 11 February 1986 -- Mr. Evelio Javier, a prominent supporter of Mrs. Aquino.

The lessons for Taiwan are clear:

- * For the Kuomintang it is a signal that they must move speedily towards a democratic political system. A continuation of martial law and of the present undemocratic structure will undoubtedly lead to the same type of instability which paved the way for the end of the Marcos regime.
- * For the Taiwanese people, and for the *tangwai* opposition in particular -- it is a sign of hope: it shows that the tide of democracy cannot be stopped, and their perseverance will pay off in the end. Their sacrifices will not be in vain, and will sow the seeds of democracy; just like Mr. Aquino’s and Mr. Javier’s deaths laid the foundation for a new day in the Philippines.
- * For the Reagan Administration, the Philippine experience must be a lesson that support of authoritarian dictators doesn’t pay off. If the United States wishes to be a beacon for democracy in the region, it should send a clear signal to other repressive regimes which depend upon U. S. support -- particularly the ones in Taiwan and South Korea -- that continued U.S. support depends upon true democracy and *full* respect for human rights. It shouldn’t be too difficult to make clear that these are the best weapons against Communism.

State Department Human Rights Report 1985

Human rights practices in Taiwan: “an uneven course”

In the beginning of February 1986, the U.S. Department of State issued its annual “Country Report on Human Rights Practices.” The report analyzes the human rights record of some 167 countries, based on information gathered from Congressional studies, U.S. embassies, the press in the United States and human rights groups.

The 14-page section about the developments in Taiwan presents a detailed look at the lack of civil and political rights on the island. Its main conclusion is that “human rights practices in Taiwan chartered an uneven course.” The report also accurately describes the archaic political structure in Taiwan. Some quotes:

“Taiwan’s polity is dominated by the Nationalist Party (Kuomintang or KMT) in an essentially one-party authoritarian system.

The small and aging leadership group whose members came to Taiwan from the China mainland after World War II runs the KMT, the military, the security apparatus, and the executive bureaucracy. Political control is exercised through these bodies under a Constitution whose major democratic provisions have been circumscribed by the martial law provisions enacted in 1949

Political evolution has occurred on Taiwan, but it has not kept pace with economic development. Human rights are publicly endorsed but incompletely realized. Although tolerated, opposition activity is restricted

Dissatisfaction of many in Taiwan with mainlander domination has resulted in demands for more representative government.

Section 1: Respect for the integrity of the person

In this section the State Department describes violations of basic human rights. In our view, the report still understates the severity of the restrictive actions by the secret police, and also contains a number of factual inaccuracies. Below we present the main ones:

Torture and cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment. The report states that “...individual members of the police or security forces are known to resort at times to

physical violence in interrogating suspects.” The State Department would have been more accurate to say that the police and security forces often resort to violence during interrogations. During the past year there have been frequent reports of such cases in Taiwan’s press.

“Anti-hoodlum” law. The State Department writes that “... civil courts confirm or deny police requests to remand hoodlums for reformatory education... “, and that there is no evidence to suggest that the “Anti-hoodlum” law is being used to repress dissent. *Taiwan Communiqué* wishes to point out that:

- a. “Hoodlum” cases are _not brought before the regular civil courts. On December 1, 1985 (when the Anti-hoodlum Law went into effect) the Taiwan authorities created special “Public Security Courts” which try hoodlums -- even those who were arrested before the law went into effect.
- b. There is significant evidence that the “Anti-Hoodlum Law” is being used to repress dissent: the most well-known case is that of Mr. Wu Chen-ming, an opposition supporter who was arrested on December 1984 during the first wave of the “Clean Sweep Campaign.” Mr. Wu was classified as a hoodlum and was held incommunicado for several months. On April 24, 1985, without a trial, he was moved to Green Island for imprisonment” (see our reports in Communiqué’s no. 18, 19 and 20).

Denial of fair public trial. In this section the State Department discusses, among other things, the number of political prisoners in Taiwan and the prison-conditions of the “Kaohsiung” prisoners. It also refers to the retraction of Hung Chih-liang’s testimony against opposition-leader Huang Hsin-chieh:

“... A key prosecution witness in the 1980 trial of the eight Kaohsiung prisoners revealed in a book published in July 1985 and banned in Taiwan that his testimony was a fabrication of the Investigation Bureau of the Ministry of Justice. The witness, Hung Chih-liang, disclosed that Investigation Bureau agents forced him to implicate opposition leader Huang Hsin-chieh and other members of the opposition. The authorities have so far refused either to review the case of the “Kaohsiung Eight” or to release those Kaohsiung prisoners still in prison, despite these charges.”

Section 2: Respect for civil rights

Freedom of speech and press. In this section the State Department gives a reasonably accurate description of the tight controls on freedom of speech and press in Taiwan. However, at one point it states: “Although the limits of acceptable criticism are not clear cut, opposition publishers generally know when an issue of their magazine is courting a ban.”

In *Taiwan Communiqué*'s view, this is not correct. It may have been the case in 1983 and 1984, but in 1985 the authorities started to issue blanket banning orders, and virtually none of the opposition publishers had any idea what the specific reasons for the banning orders were.

Section 3: Respect for political rights

... The most important elective bodies at the central level are the National Assembly, which convenes every six years to elect the President and the Vice-President, and the Legislative Yuan, which is the Parliament. *There have been no general elections to these two bodies since 1948* [emphasis added -- Ed]. Surviving mainland representatives elected in 1948 continue to hold their seats and to form the bulk of these bodies' memberships.

Since 1969, periodic “supplementary elections” have been held to choose additional representatives from Taiwan and the offshore islands. Nevertheless, only 989 out of 2,691 seats of the National Assembly are currently filled, including 75 supplemental members. Of the Legislative Yuan's current membership of 760, the supplemental legislators number 71 and constitute the most active group, due largely to the advanced age and incapacity of those elected 37 years ago on the mainland.”

Taiwan Communiqué: the above section calls for two comments:

- a. The State Department should have mentioned that not all supplemental members are elected: 27 out of the 75 National Assembly members were appointed by the Taiwan authorities from overseas and professional groups. The same was the case with some 16 out of the 71 Legislative Yuan members.
- b. The total membership of the Legislative Yuan is presently 332 and not 760. The number mentioned by the State Department refers to the original number of members, who came over from the China mainland in 1949.

The State Department report continues with a brief description of local elections in Taiwan:

“The central authorities appoint the Taiwan Provincial Governor and the mayors of Taipei and Kaohsiung. Elections for the Provincial Assembly and county and municipal level offices have been held regularly since 1950. The November 16, 1985 election for county and city offices and the Taiwan Provincial Assembly was, in general, considered fair, within the strictures laid down by the authorities for the conduct of election in Taiwan.”

Taiwan Communiqué: with regard to the last sentence we disagree sharply with the State Department Report. As we documented extensively in our Communiqué no. 23, these elections were neither free nor fair, and they were marred by extensive harassment, intimidation and fraud by the Kuomintang authorities, directed against the tangwai opposition.

The Hsin-chu Incident

As we reported in Taiwan Communiqué no. 23, the local elections held in November 1985 were marred by extensive harassment, intimidation and fraud by the Kuomintang authorities. In the Northwestern industrial center of Hsin-chu this led to a five-hour demonstration by supporters of the opposition candidate for the seat of Hsin-chu City mayor, Mr. Shih Hsing-Jung

Standing in for his brother

Mr. Shih, age 50, a dentist, is the older brother of former mayor Shih Hsing-chung -- imprisoned in July 1985 on false charges. According to the official results he was not successful in his bid to be elected to his brother's seat. However, there were strong indications of election fraud by the Kuomintang: busloads of teachers and military personnel were brought in from neighboring counties to ensure that the KMT-candidate won. Mr. Shih lost by a slim margin of 4246 votes, and asked for a recount of the votes in order to dispel suspicion of fraud. The request was rejected.

Mr. Shih pointed out discrepancies between the number of ballots issued and cast for mayor in certain polling stations, also between the number of ballots cast for mayor and

those for members of the provincial assembly. He also pointed out discrepancies in the number of registered voters in Hsin-chu: he noted a sharp increase in comparison to previous years, and believed that this could only be explained by the fact that voters from other counties were transported to Hsin-chu to cast their votes. He said that his aides had taken photographs of 17 tour buses transporting voters to polling station No. 64 on November 16.

Anger about election fraud

At around 9:30 p.m. on the night of the election, a crowd of approximately 2,000 -- angered by reports of election fraud -- gathered in front of the Hsin-chu Government Office. Later on in the evening, between 2:00 and 3:00 a.m., there was some pushing and shoving and three government cars were overturned, but no persons were hurt. Police used teargas to disperse the crowd.

Torture and fetters

Eight persons were arrested on the night of the fracas, while six more were arrested on the following day. Four of these persons were subsequently released on bail for lack of evidence. On December 9, 1985 the ten remaining ones were indicted on charges of "disturbing the peace and obstruction of official duties." When they appeared in Hsin-chu District Court on 27 December 1985 they said they had been tortured by the police during interrogations.

The **Independence Evening Post** reported on January 13, 1986 that the 10 defendants had been treated as "extreme criminals" and that their legs were fettered with leg irons for nearly two months. Members of the legal profession pointed out that such treatment violated the defendants' human rights. Requests made by the defendants' lawyers in a court hearing that the fetters be removed were initially rejected, but the fetters were later removed.

The lawyers for the defense said that one defendant was denied family visits after he requested his family to bring some medicine for internal injuries. The other nine defendants said they obtained medicine for internal injuries from others inside the prison.

Also indicted in the case was an eleventh man, Mr. Chen Wen-hui, a local politician who served as a campaign aide to Mr. Shih. The authorities charged Mr. Chen with "masterminding" the melee. Mr. Chen has stated that on the evening of 16 November

1985 he only briefly visited the municipal government building at around 10:00 p.m., but went to the home of Shih Hsing-Jung soon afterwards. The fracas occurred between 2:00 and 3:00 a.m. Mr. Chen argued that he thus could not have been the “mastermind” of the event.

At the end of January Mr. Chen ran for election in a local election in Miaoli County, and -- even though he was in prison -- won a seat in the County Council.

The trial took place on February 3, 1986 at 9:00 a.m., when Chen Wen-hui and the ten other defendants appeared in Court to answer questions. The “debate” stage started at 12:10 p.m. and ended at 1:25 p.m. During this time two lawyers for the defense presented their arguments. On February 7, 1985 the judge handed down the sentences: Mr. Chen received a jail term of two years, while eight of the ten were sentenced to prison terms ranging from 6 months to sixteen months. Two men were acquitted.

Prison Report

New list of prisoners at Green Island

In *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 13 (August 1983) we published lists of prisoners being held in two prisons in Taiwan: The Military prison on Green Island, where mostly political prisoners are sent who have been sentenced to long-term sentences. And the prison at Jen Ai, where people are held when they are sentenced to short-term reformatory education (generally three years) or where people from other prisons are transferred before they are released. Recently, CARE magazine (no. 45, October 1985) published a new list of names of persons held at both prisons. The Taiwan Garrison Command immediately banned the issue.

We will publish the Jen-ai list in a future issue of *Taiwan Communiqué*. Below you find the new Green Island list. From this list it becomes clear that a considerable number of changes have taken place. The “flow through” is as follows:

Of the 74 persons on the “Green Island” list of 1983, 13 long-term prisoners -- who had been imprisoned for more than 30 years -- were released, while 11 others were transferred to Jen Ai, because the end of their respective sentences is coming up within the next two or three years. A further 9 persons imprisoned on Green Island were among

a group of 14 who were released on February 4, 1986. This reduces the number of people known to be held there to 41. However several new names were added to the list, so the total number of persons on this list is 48.

Persons being held on Green Island

NAME	AGE	FROM BIRTHDATE	SENTENCE & DATE OF ARREST CHARGE & OTHER DATA.
1. Wang Hsing-man (王幸男)	44	Tainan 1941	Life. Taiwanese businessman from the U.S. Arrested Jan. 1977 on false charges of sending a letter-bomb to vice-pres. Hsieh Tung-min.
2. Huang-hua (黃華)	46	Keelung Aug. 16 1939	10 Writer/editor, Taiwan Political Review. Arrested in July '76. Sentenced in October '76. To be released in June '86.
3. Kao Hao-yuan (高浩遠)	32	Yuanlin	13 Sailor. Arrested Oct. 1980, prior to elections. Accused of participation in Overseas Alliance for Democratic Rule in Taiwan. Release date: Oct '93.
4. Pai Ya-ts'an (白雅燦)	40	Changhua	Life. Politician; Candidate in '75 elections. Arrested Oct. 1975.
5. Ch'en Shen-ching (陳深景)	45	Pintung	15 Musician, on charge of "contacting Taiwan Independence Movement during visit to U.S. Arrested appr. 1974.

NAME	AGE	FROM BIRTHDATE	SENTENCE & DATE OF ARREST CHARGE & OTHER DATA.
6. Lin Chien-chung (林見中)	?	Taiwan	15 Arrested in 1976.
7. Hung Wei-ho (洪維和)	?	?	15 Arrested June 1976. Case of "Taitu Revolutionary Army", ring-leader: Cheng Yan.
8. Huang K'un-meng (黃坤能)	?	Taiwan	15 Arrested June 1974. "Taitu Revolutionary Army" case.
<u>Wu Tai-an case.</u>			
9. Lin Jung-hsiao (林榮曉)	56	Pintung 1930	Life. Arrested in 78/79. Wu Tai-an case. Cooperated with the secret police. Even his mother's land was confiscated.
10. Huang Chung-li (黃宗禮)	62	Kaohsiung	12 Arrested Sept 26 1978. Wu Tai-an case. His wife died of breast cancer in 1982, and his second son in a car accident in 1984.
11. Ch'en Wen-hsiung (陳文雄)	50	Taitung Apr. 13 1936	10 Wu Tai-an case. To be released Oct. '88.
12. P'an Sung-hsiung (潘松雄)	?	?	10 Arrested October 1978. Wu Tai-an case.
<u>Yen Ming-sheng case.</u>			
13. Yen Ming-sheng (嚴明聖)	50	Kaohsiung Jan. 29 1936	12 Arrested in May 1976. Opposition candidate in 1975 elections.
14. Yang Chin-hai (楊金海)	54	Kaohsiung July 11 1932	Life. Arrested May 3 1976. Campaign aide to Yen Ming-shen in 1975 elections.
15. Kao Chin-ts'ai (高金財)	45	Kaohsiung 1940	12 Arrested May 31 1976. Yen Ming-shen case.
16. Chen Chin-huo (陳金火)	67	Kaohsiung 1922	15 Arrested in 1976. Supporter of Yen Ming-shen's election campaign.
<u>Several individual cases accused of opposition or pro-independence activities.</u>			
17. Wu Chen-ming (吳振明)	30	Tainan Nov. 23 1955	? Arrested Dec. 26 1984. Taxi driver, supporter of opposition. Detained in "Clean Sweep" campaign. Not given trial.

NAME	AGE	FROM BIRTHDATE	SENTENCE & DATE OF ARREST CHARGE & OTHER DATA.
18. Kao Chung-Chien (高忠堅)	51	Tainan Oct 31 1934	15 Arrested June 1976. Taitu activities.
19. Ch'en Teh-sung (陈德松)	28	Chiayi	12 Arrested in 1978 while in the military service, for showing dissatisfaction with government and showing "Taitu inclination."
20. Chen Ming-chung (陈明忠)	58	Kaohsiung Jan. 2 1929	15 Arrested July 4 '76. First sentenced to life. Campaign aide of Huang Shun-hsing.
<u>"People's Liberation Front" case.</u>			
21. Tai Hua-kuang (戴華光)	35	Hopei 1951	Life. Arrested on Nov. 1 1977.
22. Liu Kuo-chi (刘国基)	?	Taichung	12 Arrested in 1977.
23. Lai Ming-lieh (赖明烈)	33	Taiwan	15 Arrested in 1977.
<u>1980 sedition case.</u>			
24. Liu Chung-yi (刘重义)	?	?	Life. Arrested in 1980, together with some 30 others. Accused of advocating peaceful reunification. Charged with sedition.
25. Wang Ching-shui (王清水)	?	?	12 Same.
26. Chen Lan-shing (陈兰兴)	?	?	10 Same.
<u>Other long-term detainees.</u>			
27. Kuo Yüeh-wen (郭越文)	?	?	Life. ?
28. Chou Chin-sheng (周金聲)	?	?	15 ?
29. Chiang Chien-chi (江建基)	37	Hualien	6 Arrested Sept. 1983. Baby eel trade with China.
30. Lin Chia-t'ien (林家田)	35	Chiayi 1950	7 In 1979 sentenced to reform. educ. in Jen Ai. Escaped twice. On March 4, 1980 sen- tenced to 7 years for "propaganda for the communists."

NAME		AGE FROM BIRTHDATE	SENTENCE & DATE OF ARREST CHARGE & OTHER DATA.
Mainlanders, most of these are accused of favoring improvement of relations with the PRC.			
31. Hsiung Chieh	(熊傑)?	Chekiang	15 Spying for PRC.
32. Chu Tzu-chao	(朱子超)?	Mainland	15 Arrested in 1976.
33. Chiang Ch'ing-yao	(蔣慶堯)?	Mainland	12 Arrested appr. 1976/77 Reporter of Taiwan TV Station.
34. Chen Wei-chi	(陳偉琪)?	Fukien	12 Arrested appr. 1976/77
35. Chen Shui-ch'ing	(陳水清)	61 Hunan	15 ?
36. Teng Wen-hua	(鄧文華)?	?	12 "Sedition." + 3 years reformatory edu- cation.
37. Chang Lan-t'ing	(張蘭亭)	70 Shantung	12 Arrested in 1975. Sedition.
38. Cheng Chen-t'ung	(鄭復通)	26 Kwantung	14 Arrested June 26, 1981 Defected to Taiwan. Charged with working for the PRC.
39. Wang Ching-hsiung	(王競雄)	50+ Shantung	10 Professor. First arrested in 1972 for writing letters to CCK suggesting peaceful solution. Again arres- ted in March 1981 and sentenced to 7 years imprisonment.
40. Lien Chin-ch'eng	(連金城)?	?	12 ?
41. Chang Hua-min	(張化民)	58 Shanshi	10 Arrested Sept 4, 1979. Writer, who favored talks with China.
42. Ts'ao Yi-wu	(曹一梧)?	?	15 ?
43. Su Chih-ch'eng	(蘇志誠)?	?	10 Anti-communist hero.
44. Hsu Nan-ku	(許南古)	37 Mainland	15 A fisherman from the mainland, who wanted to return. He is mentally ill.
45. Hou Teh-fu	(侯德富)?	Mainland	12 Leftist.
46. Chiang Han-yin	(江漢英)	60 Mainland	7 Retired general.
47. Hsu Teh-liang	(徐德量)?	?	10 ?
48. Lin Kuo-ts'ai	(林國才)	61 Kwantung	12 He has a Portugese passport and a daughter in Canada.

Female opposition leader released

On February 4, 1986 Ms. Chen Chu, one of Taiwan's most prominent female opposition leaders, was released on parole. Thirteen other political prisoners -- who had been arrested in unrelated cases, and who were serving sentences ranging from 10 years to life imprisonment -- were also released on parole.

Ms. Chen (36), who was imprisoned after the "Kaohsiung Incident" of December 1979, served six years and fifty days of a 12-year prison sentence. She was bureau chief of the Kaohsiung office of **Formosa Magazine** when on 10 December 1979 the magazine organized a Human Rights Day Rally, which ended in chaos when police broke up the large demonstration by releasing teargas into a peaceful crowd.

Right after the incident the authorities grossly exaggerated the number of police injured during the incident, and used the event as a pretext to arrest virtually all leading members of the opposition. They were accused of "inciting a riot" and "attempting to overthrow the government." However, tape recordings made at the rally showed that the opposition leaders had attempted to calm the crowd and had appealed to the police to remain at a distance so as to avoid clashes (see "The Kaohsiung Tapes", published jointly by Taiwan Communiqué and by the New York-based Society for the Protection of East Asians' Human Rights in February 1981).



Lü Hsiu-lien (L) and Chen Chü (R)

Ms. Chen and seven other major opposition leaders -- together “the Kaohsiung Eight” -- were subsequently tried in military court and were sentenced to prison terms ranging from 12 years to life. Thirty-three others were tried in civil court and were given jail terms of up to six years. A third group -- ten persons associated with the Presbyterian Church (including its General Secretary Dr. Kao Chun-ming) -- was tried in military court on charges of hiding Formosa general manager Shih Ming-teh from police.

After the sentences were handed down in the spring of 1980, Ms. Chen and fellow “Kaohsiung” defendant Ms. Lü Hsiu-lien were transferred to Jen-ai prison, southwest of Taipei, where they shared a cell until the end of March 1985, when Ms. Lii was released on medical bail. On the previous page is a picture of the two women, taken in jail in February 1984.

* * * * *

Chang Chün-hung

Profile of an imprisoned editor

Chang Chun-hung, age 47, political scientist and intellectual, has been languishing in prison since 1979. When he was arrested in the wake of the well-known Kaohsiung Incident of 10 December 1979, he was a member of the Taiwan Provincial Assembly, and served as chief-editor of *Formosa* magazine. A military court sentenced him to 12 years in prison on charges of sedition. Seven other prominent opposition leaders received sentences ranging from 12 years to life. Mr. Chang is married to Hsu Jung-shu who ran for a seat in the national legislature the year after Mr. Chang was imprisoned. She won by a landslide and has been one of Taiwan’s most outspoken opposition leaders. The couple has four children.

Mr. Chang became well-known in Taiwan in the early seventies, when he served as the editor of **The Intellectual** (*Ta Hsueh*). In 1975 he became the editor of another prominent opposition magazine, the **Taiwan Political Review**. Mr. Chang’s firm belief in democratic values and his lucid and critical writings of Taiwan’s political crisis earned him respect at home and abroad. But it also got him into trouble with KMT authorities and led to his eventual incarceration in 1979.

Mr. Chang was born in 1938 into a prominent family in Nan-tou, a farming community in the central Taiwan. After receiving a master’s degree from the political science department of National Taiwan University, he worked briefly for the KMT Archive of

Historical Documents. In 1967, he joined the prestigious Academy Sinica's Institute of Modern Chinese History, working on their oral history project. In 1969, he joined the Department of Cultural Affairs of the KMT Central Committee as an assistant.

In early 1970's, Mr. Chang was in the forefront of a reform movement spearheaded by a group of intellectuals who deeply believed that Taiwan must gradually transformed from an authoritarian regime to democracy. The background which spurred this reform movement was Taiwan's continuous diplomatic setbacks in early 1970's. In 1971 the United Nations General Assembly voted to admit the People's Republic of China and expel Taiwan, represented under the name of "Republic of China." Taiwan's expulsion from the United Nations dealt a serious blow to the KMT authorities' claim to represent all of China and to the myth of recovering the mainland. President Nixon's subsequent visit to China in 1972 shook the island into the tumultuous awakening that rapprochement between U. S. and China was in the offing. Taiwan's deteriorating international status prompted calls for democratic reform. Ta Hsueh, edited by Mr. Chang and an editorial staff of young intellectuals, was the most vocal.



Mr. Chang Chün-hung

In late 1971 the magazine published a series of critical articles on national affairs, which drew national attention. In October 1971 an article entitled "Our Humble Views on National Affairs" proposing programs for political change touched a long-taboo subject: the legitimacy of the life-time members in the national parliament. For the first time this sensitive issue was brought to the open -- how can legislators who were elected more than 23 years ago represent the people today? The article was drafted by a group of 15 intellectuals headed by Mr. Chang.

Other issues such as an independent judiciary, reduced military spending, academic freedom and economic development were discussed. It also called for a national effort to build a prosperous economy and an open society with pluralistic values that protected human rights and respected the rule of law.

In January 1972 on its fourth anniversary, Ta Hsueh published a landmark article "Nine Issues on National Affairs" which proposed comprehensive reforms on the economy,

political structure, agriculture, social welfare and educational system. But publication of such views antagonized the KMT authorities and sowed the seeds of trouble to come.

In 1973 Mr. Chang was forced out of the KMT party over his decision to run for election 'in Taipei City Council. When he joined the KMT party as an assistant in the Central Committee in 1970, he had hoped to influence the KMT party in the direction of liberalization, but he was soon disillusioned, and left in frustration and disappointment.

At the end of 1973, he decided to run for public office in order to gain a political platform to advocate democratic reform. He entered the race for Taipei City Council and immediately received enthusiastic support from two opposition leaders, Huang Hsin-chieh and K'ang Ning-hsiang, both members of the Legislative Yuan. He introduced the American style fund-raising dinner parties and raised enough money to fill his empty campaign coffers. He also waged a successful publicity campaign with a series of eye-catching and well-designed campaign posters. His campaign rallies drew larger and more enthusiastic crowds than did those of his KMT opponents. But KMT authorities were determined to win by any means, fair or foul. The election was tainted by widespread fraud, and Mr. Chang lost by a very slight margin.

His troubles with the KMT authorities did not end with his defeat at the polls. Back in the editorial office of Ta Hsueh magazine, a smear-campaign orchestrated by KMT supporters was under way, accusing him of using the magazine as an instrument to further his political ambitions.

Some in the magazine staff, eager to curry favors with the authorities, demanded a change of ownership and wrested control of the magazine from him. After his departure, Ta Hsueh changed its political color and became a government mouthpiece.

His departure from Ta Hsueh was a traumatic experience. Mr. Chang later wrote: "The defeat in the election for Taipei City Council was painful. Political pressure from the authorities was sometimes unbearable, but none of these can compare with the deep agony I felt with my departure from Ta Hsueh." He single-handedly had raised the magazine from infancy to maturity. As he said, "Every issue of the magazine, from the color of the cover to every printed. word, contains my blood and my tears."

A series of setbacks followed his expulsion from Ta Hsueh. The journalism school in Taipei where he held a lecturer position refused to renew his contract. Attempts to start a small business foiled after friends received threats and intimidation.

In 1975, he was asked to edit the Taiwan Political Review after K'ang Ning-hsiang and Huang Hsin-chieh, two opposition members of Legislative Yuan, were able to obtain a publishing license. Mr. Huang Hsin-chieh was the publisher and Mr. Kang Ning-hsiang the director. The first issue appeared in August 1975 and was sold out within a week after it appeared on the newsstands. The first issue was so popular that it required four more printings, an unprecedented phenomenon in the publishing industry in Taiwan. Within five months, the circulation reached the height of 50,000 copies.

The **Taiwan Political Review** followed the example of Ta Hsueh by taking a strong stance on human rights and democratic reform. But the authorities could no longer accept the moderate voice of criticism. The iron hand finally clamped down on 28 December 1975 shortly after supplementary elections for the Legislative Yuan and the National Assembly. The magazine was suspended from operation just as it was about to publish a detailed account of fraud perpetrated by the authorities in the elections.

In the period following the closure of Taiwan Political Review, Mr. Chang and Mr. Huang Hua, the deputy editor, opened a noodle shop in the heart of downtown Taipei with funds borrowed from friends. It became a popular rendezvous place for friends and supporters. However, soon police harassment drove customers away, and after a few months the shop had to close down.

In July 1976, Huang Hua was arrested. He was accused of using the magazine as "an instrument to spread seditious thoughts." In the four articles Mr. Huang had written for the magazine, he advocated the use of love and non-violent means to build a world of peace and harmony [see our articles on Huang Hua in *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 15, 20 and 21].

The suspension of the Review was a serious blow to Taiwan's democratic movement -- the route to peaceful reform had hit a temporary dead end. The turning point came in 1977 when Mr. Chang and his wife returned to his hometown Nan-tou to run for election in the Provincial Assembly. The campaign had difficulty getting off the ground. The pressure from the authorities forced many supporters to withdraw their support. Then a former colleague from Ta Hsueh, wrote and distributed a little pamphlet entitled "A political fly's face", a personal vendetta intended to slander Mr. Chang. The smear campaign turned out to be blessing in disguise. This small pamphlet helped to make Mr. Chang's name a household word in Nan-tou. The public was anxious to have a glimpse of the political fly. Towards the end of the campaign, crowds

in the tens of thousands showed up at his campaign rallies. He eventually won the election with the highest number of votes cast.

For the next two years, Mr. Chang together with some 20 other opposition members played a crucial role in calling for democratic reforms in the Provincial Assembly.

In August 1979, Mr. Chang helped to set up **Formosa Magazine**, an opposition political journal, and became its chief-editor. Mr. Huang Hsin-chieh, the veteran opposition leader, was the publisher.

Formosa was critical of KMT's authoritarian rule, and demanded freedom of assembly, speech, the right to form an opposition political party, and an end to martial law. **Formosa** also took an activist role by sponsoring rallies and public meetings to discuss national and local issues. It opened branch offices in every major city. Within four months, its circulation reached 100,000 copies.

Formosa's popularity took the authorities by surprise. However, when a rally organized by Formosa's staff to celebrate Human Rights Day on December 10, 1979, ended in chaos after riot troops used teargas to disperse the peaceful gathering, the authorities seized this opportunity to crack down on the opposition and arrested virtually all prominent opposition leaders.

Mr. Chang was arrested in the early morning of December 13, 1979. During the two months that followed, his wife was not allowed to see him. During the trial of the eight major opposition leaders, which was held at the end of March 1980, Mr. Chang and the other defendants stated that during these two months of incommunicado agents of the secret police had interrogated them for days at a time, coerced them and threatened them in order to get them to "confess." Mr. Chang said that once he was kept without sleep and interrogated for 70 hours in a row. Several of the defendants also indicated they had been beaten, and that the interrogators had threatened them and their families with execution.

Mr. Chang was subsequently sentenced to 12 years imprisonment on "sedition" charges. The seven others received sentences ranging from 12 years to life imprisonment. For the first four years of imprisonment Mr. Chang was held under dismal circumstances in a small damp cell in the Hsintien Detention Center of the Taiwan Garrison Command, south of Taipei. The cell contained no chair, table or bed. During these years, Mr. Chang's health deteriorated considerably. He is suffering from high blood pressure, breathing problems, an irregular heartbeat, and water retention. At one point he was reported to weigh only 45 kg.

However, prison life did not diminish his concern for Taiwan's political predicament: on September 28, 1982 he and three other imprisoned opposition leaders issued a joint statement appealing to the Taiwan authorities to move towards a democratic political system (see Taiwan Communiqué no. 9, October 28, 1982). After this statement their families were not allowed to visit them for several weeks.

On May 4, 1984 Mr. Chang and three other imprisoned opposition leaders -- Mr. Huang Hsin-chieh, Mr. Yao Chia-wen, and Mr. Lin Hung-hsuan -- went on a hunger strike in protest against the lack of democracy on Taiwan. They called on the authorities to speed up the process of democratization and end martial law [see Taiwan Communiqué no. 16, August 1984].

After the hunger strike they were moved to a new prison, "Ming Teh New Village", a military prison in the town of An K'ang, south of Taipei, where three of them continue to be held today: Mr. Lin was released on December 21, 1985. At the new prison the living conditions are considerably better than at Hsintien. However, they are still subject to frequent harassment: Mrs. Chang reported recently that her husband's letters to his family are often confiscated by the prison authorities. Even the notes taken by one of their daughter's during a recent prison visit with her father were torn up by the guards.

Freedom of the Press?

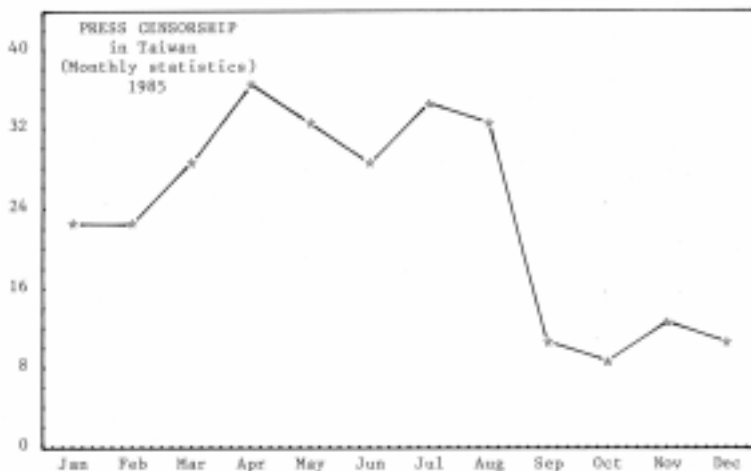
Strangling the opposition press

The intensive press censorship campaign of the past year amounted to a slow but certain strangulation of the opposition press in Taiwan. This is Taiwan Communiqué's conclusion after examining a small booklet, which we recently received from Taiwan. It contains an official listing of magazines and books banned by the Taipei government. The booklet is apparently used by library, custom and postal officials as a reference book for confiscating publications at libraries, airports and post offices. It covers the period January 1984 through August 1985. The press censorship statistics derived from this booklet show that our own earlier estimates (see Taiwan Communiqué no. 23, p. 19-20) were quite close. Below we present the totals derived from the booklet and our earlier estimates. We also present an update, making use of the additional censorship data in the booklet:

	Taiwan government booklet	Communiqué earlier estimate	Communiqué update
1984	201	188	214
1985			
Jan - Aug	231	230	237
Sept - Dec	--	30	42 (incomplete)
Total '85		260	279

Of the 1984 data, 24 are suspensions of the publication licenses for one year, while the remainder are bannings and confiscations of individual issues. The 1985 data includes at least 13 suspensions.

During the period January 1984 through April 1985 there were approximately a dozen opposition publications in Taiwan, which jointly put out some 35 issues per month. Though they were often banned and/or confiscated -- they were still openly sold at newsstands. However, in the beginning of May 1985, the Taiwan Garrison Command intensified its press censorship: the "Chung Hsing" campaign went into full swing, and more than 1,000 plain-clothes and uniformed policemen systematically raided printing shops, distribution points, and newsstands to confiscate magazines.



PRESS Censorship in Taiwan, 1985

During the period May through September 1985 the authorities banned or confiscated -- on the average -- 90 percent of the opposition publications. Of some magazines every issue was confiscated or banned. By the beginning of September most magazines were in serious financial difficulties, and one after the other they were forced to suspend their operations. Only three or four weekly magazines and one monthly survived, but they continued to be subjected to frequent confiscations. The graph below clearly reflects this "September collapse."

During the crucial period before the November elections, hardly any opposition magazines were available at the newsstands anymore. Three tangwai magazines, which survived - just barely -- are:

1. CARE magazine, published by human rights advocate Ms. Yao Chou Ching-yu. However, by January 1986 there were signs that CARE might be folding too.
2. The Eighties, published by former opposition legislator K'ang Ning-hsiang, and edited by the dean of the opposition editors, Mr. Antonio Chiang.
3. Hsien Fung Shih Tai, published by Cheng Nan-Jung, a former editor of Mrs. Hsu Jung-shu's Cultivate magazine.

In the beginning of 1986, two opposition magazines started publishing again. They are:

4. Sheng Ken, published by Mrs. Hsu Jung-shu, a prominent opposition-member of the Legislative Yuan, and wife of imprisoned opposition leader Chang Chun-hung (see page 15);
5. Front Line (Ti Yi Hsien), published by former Progress editor Mr. Wu Hsiang-hui.

These five magazines presently continue to publish, but they are under immense pressure from the Taiwan Garrison Command: searches of the publications' offices and confiscations of the magazines are occurring almost daily.

Secret police raids magazine offices

Just as this issue of Communiqué was going to press, we received word that on 12 March 1986, agents of Taiwan's secret police raided the office of Sheng Ken magazine.

On the morning of March 12th, police and agents of the notorious Taiwan Garrison Command arrived at the Shen Ken office, and demanded to search the office. However,

they could not produce a search warrant, so the staff refused to let them enter the premises. In the evening, at around 8:30 p.m., the men returned with a warrant. They searched the office and confiscated more than 10,000 copies of the magazine.

After the staff had gone home, the secret police returned again: at around 11:30 p.m. the office was broken into, and a number of items disappeared. When Mrs. Hsu went to the police station the next morning to report the “burglary”, the police showed her a list of things taken from the office, and said they had conducted a midnight search and had confiscated an additional 20,000 copies of the magazine.

Three days later, in the evening of 14 March 1986, secret police agents conducted a raid on a storage center of The Eighties magazine, and confiscated virtually the full supply of back-issues of the magazine, in total some 150,000 copies.

Notes

Senator Hart urges end to Martial Law in Taiwan

In a speech to the Washington-based Formosan Association for Public Affairs (FAPA) on 27 February 1986, U.S. Senator Gary Hart expressed his opposition to the continued martial law in Taiwan. Mr. Hart’s speech to this Taiwanese-American organization marks an important foreign policy statement by the Democratic frontrunner for the presidential elections in 1988. Some excerpts:

“For most Americans ... there is a cloud which hangs over our relations with the people of Taiwan. The issues are fundamentally political. The perception is widespread that Taiwan’s political development has not kept pace with its economic progress. Despite the near universal economic enfranchisement of the Taiwanese population, the perception is strong in the United States that the people on Taiwan have not had access to adequate political participation. Thirty-seven years of martial law, even during times of challenge to external security, cannot be sanctioned by Americans

... I and most Americans strongly support the efforts of those in Taiwan working through legal channels to increase political participation, respect for human rights and freedom of expression. I and most Americans are opposed to martial law – not just for its pernicious effect on individuals, but because of our conviction that this kind of repression ultimately leads to instability.”

No to US arms sales to Peking

At the end of January 1986, the Reagan Administration announced that it was planning to go ahead with a U.S.\$ 500 million sale of advanced avionic equipment to China. With the equipment some 50 Chinese-built F-8 fighter aircraft would be upgraded to all-weather flying capability. The rationale behind the sale was that it would provide the Peking authorities with a means to head off any threat by bombers from the Soviet Union. The sale could still be blocked by Congress.

Taiwan Communiqué suggests that Congress should indeed block this sale, because it would contribute to a significant increase of tension between China and Taiwan. Already, some U.S. senators who are sympathetic to the Kuomintang-government in Taipei are clamoring that the U.S. make the same capability available to Taiwan. By providing sophisticated arms to both sides in a conflict the U.S. would only play the role of “merchant of death.”

* * * * *
