

The Kaohsiung Tapes



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Foreword

On December 10, 1979 the staff of *Formosa Magazine* organized a rally in Kaohsiung to commemorate International Human Rights Day. The gathering was marred by fights between persons in the crowd and riot police. The fighting broke out after the police had surrounded the crowd and released tear gas. Two days after the incident the authorities arrested virtually all active opposition members and staff of the magazine, whether they had attended the meeting or not. They were interrogated for at least a month; during that period they were not allowed to see family, friends or lawyers. Subsequent reports and the defendants' statement during the trials indicated that most were beaten severely and otherwise mistreated during this period.

They were held incommunicado until the end of February, when they were allowed to see relatives and lawyers. The eight most prominent opposition leaders went on trial during the second half of March. They were accused of "trying to overthrow the government" by "inciting" the crowd to "violence." The Nationalist Chinese (Kuomintang) government claimed to have tape recordings proving that at the rally many of the defendants had advocated the violent overthrow of the government. The defendants denied the charges, and urged that the tapes be played at the trial. The government refused to do so.

This booklet presents a complete transcript of tape recordings made at the Kaohsiung rally. Readers can judge for themselves whether the "Kaohsiung Eight" and others now serving long prison sentences are in fact "lawless elements" the government portrays them to be, or peaceful advocates of a democratic political system. The transcript also reveals much about who was responsible for the violence which broke out at the rally.

The tape transcript was prepared for publication by the Society of the Protection of East Asians' Human Rights (SPEAHR) and by the International Committee for Human Rights in Taiwan (ICHRT) jointly. Editorial responsibility for the remainder of this booklet rests with the International Committee. We thank those who contributed with their insights and information.

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Historical Background

The Nationalist Chinese government on Taiwan still considers itself the government of all of China. When in the late 1940's the Communist armies advanced towards the coast, Chiang Kai-shek and the remnants of his defeated armies found their last refuge across the Straits in Taiwan.

The island had been under Japanese rule from 1895 to 1945, but at the Cairo Conference of 1943 the Allied leaders—Roosevelt, Churchill and Chiang himself—had agreed that after the war Taiwan should be “returned” to China. The Taiwanese people were not consulted in any way in this decision. Furthermore, this part of the Cairo agreement was not ratified in the official peace treaty with Japan: in the 1951 treaty Japan formally gave up its rights over the island, but it was never decided to whom the sovereignty over Taiwan was ceded. In other words, Taiwan's legal status is undetermined.

Lu Hsiu-lien: I would like to ask whether “the Chinese on both sides of the Taiwan Straits” includes us here. If it does, then by what body or organization, and through what channel has our opinion been consulted?

The crowd: None at all! None at all!

--Kaohsiung rally, December 10, 1979

The people who have most at stake in the decision on the future status of the island are the Taiwanese themselves.

However, over the past 32 years the National Chinese authorities have allowed little Taiwanese participation in the government. The national legislative bodies still purportedly represent the 35 provinces of China. Elections are held only for those legislative seats representing “Taiwan Province.” The remaining legislators have held

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their seats since the last general elections in Kuomintang-controlled regions of China in 1947. In 1949 Taiwan came under martial law, and the Taiwanese people have lived in a police-state ever since.

The Constitution of the “Republic of China” (adopted by its National Assembly in December 1946) guarantees fundamental human rights, such as freedom of speech, freedom of assembly and association, and freedom of the press. However, the state of siege and the martial law proclaimed by the Taiwan Garrison Command in May 1949 suspended all provisions for individual rights and freedoms guaranteed by this Constitution.

A Thirst for Democracy

Under the Kuomintang’s tight control of political life on Taiwan it has traditionally been very difficult for any dissenting voices to make themselves heard on the island: true opposition parties have never been allowed, and any magazines which contained criticism of the government were quickly banned — and the writers and editors were shipped off to jail. However, the government did allow individuals to run for office as “non-Party” candidates. For the December 1978 elections — which were suspended when the United States normalized relations with China — a number of the “non-Party” people formed a loose coalition; these people later became the founders of the now well known *Formosa Magazine*. The publication was started in August 1979, and immediately became immensely popular: the circulation increased from 45,000 in August to 110,000 in December 1979.

We devote our columns to the discussion of the affairs of our country and our society, regardless of whether these are major issues of national policy, or small and mundane matters of everyday life. We are concerned about these issues since they affect the interests of the majority. We believe that in a just society the interests of the majority certainly must be protected.

Editorial in *Formosa*
No. 4, November 1979

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Formosa Magazine was increasingly vocal in urging the Nationalist Chinese authorities to end the 30-year old martial law, to allow greater press freedom (during 1979 approximately a dozen opposition-minded publications had been banned), to release political prisoners, and to allow the opposition movement to form a party. The magazine's staff also organized discussion groups and rallies to explain the ideas of the democratic movement to a larger audience. They set up offices in all major cities on the island, and thus became "an opposition party in everything but in name."



Chang Ch'un-nan addressing a *Formosa Magazine* editorial meeting prior to the December 10 incident. The sign says: "Democracy, Unity, Love Taiwan."

Prelude to the Kaohsiung Incident

During the second half of 1979 a number of rallies were held. They attracted large audiences, but they were also increasingly marred by violence: with increasing frequency a group of "anti-communist heroes" (radical right-wing mainlanders with connection with the various secret police agencies) sought to disturb the rallies and provoke fights.

Invariably the police and riot troops — which were always present in force — failed to constrain the "heroes" and often tried to disperse the crowds attending the rallies. On one occasion — on July 28, 1979 in Taichung — the police used water cannons to disperse a peaceful crowd attending an Opposition gathering.

From September through November 1979 the "heroes" grew more violent. On September 8 the editorial staff of *Formosa Magazine* organized a reception in a plush hotel near Taipei's airport. A group of 70 to 80 "heroes" gathered near the entrance, shouting obscenities and throwing rocks and batteries at persons attending the reception. The police force at the scene — estimated to be more than 1,000 men strong — did not act to restrain the group.

On November 6 a group of six or seven "heroes" rushed into the Kaohsiung branch

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office of *Formosa*, armed with axes and Japanese swords, and destroyed the furniture and broke all windows. The magazine's staff immediately went to the police to ask for an investigation and for police protection against further attacks. The response of the chief of police was: "This must be a feud between you and some other people . . . we will not interfere."

On November 29th the second attack came: this time some ten people invaded the Kaohsiung office in a similar fashion as the earlier attack, while simultaneously some twenty people broke into the Taipei home of *Formosa Magazine* publisher and Legislative Yuan member Huang Hsin-chieh. They destroyed furniture and smashed windows. Again the police did not make any attempts to find the attackers. The staff of *Formosa* suspected that the vigilante attacks were condoned — if not actively encouraged — by Taiwan's secret police agencies (the Taiwan Garrison Command and the Investigation Bureau of the Ministry of Justice.)

On December 7th yet another attack against a *Formosa* branch office took place: this time in Pintung, at the southern tip of Taiwan. By now the people in the Opposition were becoming angered by the attacks and frustrated by the in-action of the police. On December 8th some 5,000 people attended a meeting in Pintung to protest the attacks and to demand police action against the vigilante groups.

Final Preparations for Human Rights Day

To celebrate International Human Rights Day on December 10, 1979 the leadership of the Democratic Opposition and the staff of *Formosa* planned a large rally in Kaohsiung. In November several applications were filed for indoor rallies, but after the applications had been filed the authorities "suddenly" discovered that some other activities had been scheduled for the locations. Finally, on December 3 legislator Huang Hsin-chieh formally submitted an application for a permit to hold an outdoor rally at Kaohsiung Rotary Park (Fulun Park.) The permit was initially not granted, but the organizers proceeded with preparations for the gathering on the assumption that a permit would be granted at the last minute—as had happened on previous occasions when they had held rallies in other cities.

On December 9 sound trucks went around town to announce the rally. In the evening two *Formosa* staff members who were driving one truck were arrested by the police. When they were released six hours later, they were found to have been severely beaten up by police officers of the Kushan police station (see account below.)

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Exhausted from the long night vigil in front of the Kushan Police Station most *Formosa* staffers slept until noon of December 10th. During the afternoon they made the final preparations: banners and posters were put together. One three-colored banner—brick-red, grass-green, and golden yellow — heralded the observance of International Human Rights Day. A white banner announced the establishment of the Taiwan Human Rights Action Center. Posters describing the Kushan incident of the previous evening were pasted up on the wall along the sidewalk in front of the office. As the afternoon progressed the knot of people reading the posters grew to several hundred. On Ta-t'ung Road in front of the office the cars of the secret police agents assigned to trailing the various opposition leaders caused a veritable traffic jam.



Formosa Magazine staff, August 1979

Two long white banners protesting the November vigilante attacks hung down the front of the building. The opposition leaders believed that without public pressure there would be no efforts by the authorities to stop the attacks and no prosecution of the police officers responsible for beating the two *Formosa* staffers.

By late afternoon opposition members and supporters from other parts of the island started to arrive. Staff members put on sashes and armbands — in the three colors of the first three issues of *Formosa Magazine*. They also prepared the torches, which were approximately three feet long and two inches in diameter. The top joint of the thin bamboo formed a small natural cup, which could hold kerosine and be corked with a tight wad of porous nonflammable paper. At about 3:00 p.m. one staff member Chou P'ing-teh, went out to check Rotary Park, the planned rally site. He came back thoroughly alarmed: police and riot troops had fully blocked off the site. On previous

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occasions the police had threatened and harassed people attending the Opposition's gatherings, but had never sealed off the assembly sites.

At approximately 6:00 p.m. *Formosa* publisher and National legislator Huang Hsin-chieh arrived at the Kaohsiung train station and had a brief meeting with major-general Chang Mo-ling, deputy commander of the Southern Taiwan Garrison Command. The two men agreed that a rally could be held, but there would be no torchlight parade. However, by the time Huang reached the *Formosa* office the torches had already been lit and a core group of some 200 persons was moving towards Kaohsiung Circle: Shih Ming-teh had decided to steer the gathering away from the heavy concentration of police and riot troops near the Ta-t'ung Department Store in order to avoid a confrontation, and hoped that the gathering could be held at the Circle.



Sound Truck at the
Kaohsiung rally

The group came to a halt at the Kaohsiung Circle in front of the Number One Police Station, where Huang Hsin-chieh convinced the crowd to extinguish the torches. The tape recording starts with several brief speeches which were made immediately after Huang's announcement. The crowd grew to several thousand and, at the same time, police and riot troops started to surround the gathering. At approximately 8:00 pm opposition leaders Yao Chia-wen and Shih Ming-teh entered the police station to urge the police officials to lift the police cordon in order to allow a large crowd, which had gathered near the Rotary Park and Ta-t'ung Department Store, to attend the gathering at the Circle. The police officials refused, but Huang Chi-kun, chief inspector of the Kaohsiung Municipal Police Bureau, agreed that a meeting could be held at the intersection in front of the *Formosa* office.

The two opposition leaders felt that it would be difficult to get the whole crowd back to the office and requested permission to continue the rally at Kaohsiung Circle. At this point in the negotiations several men from the gathering outside ran into the police station and said that the police and riot troops were closing in on the crowd and had released teargas.

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*This transcript contains the remarks made at speeches during a rally held in the southern Taiwan city of Kaohsiung on December 10, 1979 (World Human Rights Day). The event was one in a series of demonstrations sponsored by Taiwan's non-partisans (i.e., those opposed to the ruling Kuomintang). As usual, the sponsors went ahead with their plans in spite of the authorities' reluctance to grant permission. In this case, last-minute approval was given for a rally, but only if held outside the local offices of the non-partisans' magazine, **Formosa**. The public, however, was expecting the event to take place either to the south, in the area of Ta-t'ung Department Store, or in the huge Kaohsiung Circle to the north (see map, overleaf). The government continued to deny permission for a march, and police generally obstructed the routes, thus preventing the demonstrators from reaching the approved site.*

Although Taiwan's Chinese Nationalist rulers have promoted the use of Mandarin and discouraged the use of the Taiwanese language, the evening's speeches were almost entirely in Taiwanese. There were occasional exceptions. For example, in the first paragraph below, Yao Chia-wen spoke partly in Mandarin and partly in Taiwanese. Speakers sometimes repeated their main points in translation. We have not indicated such repetitions in the transcript.

Before the tape recording of the speeches began, there were some remarks by Legislator Huang Hsin-chieh and Formosa Manager Shih Ming-teh on the subject of maintaining order and avoiding confrontation with others. Then, at about 7:00 p.m., the first addresses were delivered.

Yao Chia-wen (at Kaohsiung Circle): Speaking on behalf of the Taiwan Human Rights Committee, I want to state three demands [to the authorities]. These arise out of yesterday's incident at Kushan [a neighborhood within Kaohsiung Municipality.]. Two of our [*Formosa*] workers, who had been going around announcing today's human rights rally, were beaten up by the police. The two are still in the hospital.

Therefore, our first demand tonight is that the Chief of Police, K'ung Ling-ch'eng, take responsibility for this incident and show his regret by resigning from office. Our second demand is that Kaohsiung Police Chief Li Wei-ch'iao and the chief of the

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Kushan police station, Sung Kuo-shan be dismissed and brought to trial. Our third demand is that the Police Security Unit, in particular the Kaohsiung office of the Investigation Bureau of the Ministry of Justice, immediately start legal proceedings against the policemen who beat up our workers.

At this moment there are some 20,000 or 30,000 people outside the Ta-t'ung Department Store, waiting to hear our speeches. However, none of these people can get here because we are completely surrounded by riot police. If the police continue to surround Kaohsiung Circle and block off all the streets, then we will ask that we be allowed to go and join up with the others.

Wang T'o: Dear brothers and sisters, I am Wang T'o. I will give the security police one more chance—we appeal to them to clear the riot police trucks from this area! We have heard that those 20,000 or 30,000 people are still waiting at the Tat'ung Department Store, so we have decided that we will light our torches and march over there. We are going.

Now I will ask Chou P'ing-teh, who is a candidate for the Kaoshiung Legislative Assembly, to report to us about yesterday's police beating of our two workers of the Human Rights Committee.

Now wait just a moment. The police are still refusing to remove their cordon around us to let other people in, so we will march.

Chou P'ing-teh: Dear brothers and sisters, all those who are concerned about human rights in Taiwan, and those who are participating in this rally to commemorate Human Rights Day today: Good evening to you all. Before I make a report about how the two workers of our *Formosa Magazine* were beaten up at the Kushan District police station last night, I want to make two points clear. Today, December 10, is International Human Rights Day.' In this 'democratic, free China,' which is supposed to be governed by the rule of law, the occasion *ought* to be a joyful celebration. However, on the very eve of Human Rights Day an incident occurred, which proves that there are no human rights here in Taiwan.

Secondly, there are actually two human rights committees in Taiwan; one is real, the other is fake. The real human rights committee [i.e., the Taiwan Human Rights Committee] is headed by Huang Hsin-chieh; Han Lih-wu heads a fake committee [the Chinese Association for Human Rights].

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Formosa Magazine decided to sponsor this rally today to make a most important appeal to you. The people on the mainland under the communist Government certainly have no human rights or freedom. Of course, we would like to help them wrest their human rights and freedom from the Communist Party. But here in Taiwan the Nationalist Chinese government keeps repeating that this is a “democratic, free government.” They say that they oppose the authoritarian way in which the Communist Party rules China; they say that on the mainland there is a lack of human rights and concern for the individual person. However, while they say that they themselves hold these principles high, the Nationalist Government in fact keeps on deceiving us. If they really mean what they say, then incidents like this one— twenty or thirty policemen beating up two of our workers— would not happen.



Huang Hsin-chieh addressing the crowd

Furthermore, if this rally today cannot proceed because of the fact that a riot police cordon is surrounding us, then this will simply confirm that there are no human rights in Taiwan. So I hope that this Human Rights Day rally here in Kaohsiung will demonstrate that our people are determined to attain their human rights.

The Kushan Incident

Now I want to describe to you what happened yesterday. The General Office of *Formosa Magazine* in Taipei having decided to hold this Human Rights Day rally here in Kachsiung, the Kaohsiung Branch Office of *Formosa Magazine* prepared two trucks with loudspeakers to go around the streets to announce this rally. These two trucks drove through the center of town yesterday afternoon and evening to tell the people of Kaohsiung that the non-Party candidates are concerned about human rights, and at the same time to urge the Nationalist Government to make serious efforts to put their human rights policy into practice.

Yesterday evening, at approximately six o'clock, these two trucks were just about to start up in front of the Kaohsiung Branch Office and Service Center of *Formosa*

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Magazine, when suddenly twenty or thirty policemen from the Number One Police Station, and some thirty policemen from Number Two Station arrived and surrounded the trucks. However, soon a crowd gathered and pushed the police away, so the first truck was able to leave. Then two or three policemen lay down in front of the second truck to prevent it from leaving. Two of them got up again, and tried to push the truck back, but this didn't work either. They tried to do this several times, but finally the second truck left also.

We should not really blame those policemen personally for their behavior they were just obeying orders from their superiors, and did not really behave excessively badly. From their perspective they were just acting in the interest of public safety. The policemen themselves would really like to be friendly to us and cooperate with us in the democratic movement. However, they haven't been ordered to work closely with us; in fact, they have been ordered *not* to cooperate with us. The policemen themselves feel very badly about this. I myself have talked with them about it, and I have expressed my regret to the Taiwanese policemen that, because of the orders from their superiors, we cannot work more closely. They have had difficulties forced on them. We have repeatedly expressed our regret, but there is no way that we can respect their orders. It we respected the directives of the security agencies, there would be no human rights worth talking about. I wanted to explain these points first.

So, under these conditions, the trucks left. Within the security forces they had set it all up. The truck had not been disturbed passing the busy streets. But then, as they were passing a police sub-station in the Kushan District, about thirty policemen rushed out, surrounded the trucks, and started arresting our people. They tried to arrest them all, but the people resisted. In the end the police managed to grab only two persons [Ch'iu Ah-she and Yao Kuo-chien]. These two were set upon by five or six policemen and dragged off. Bystanders in shops and on the sidewalks of Second Avenue could hear them call out for help. The two were then taken to the main police station in the Kushan District.

At about nine in the evening we at the *Formosa Magazine* office received-the news of this incident. Ch'en Chu² and I immediately went to the Kushan police station to find out what crime these two men were supposed to have committed, and what they were going to be charged with. The policemen there denied that they had made the arrests, and said that the incident must have happened at the police sub-station in the same district. So we went immediately to the other station, but the police officers at that station, as well as the bystanders in the street, insisted that the two men had been taken to the main station in the Kushan District. So we returned to the Kushan District station.

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Now, however, they had closed and bolted the doors, and refused to speak with us. They would not explain why the two had been arrested. We all stood outside, not wanting to leave.

Many witnesses said that they had seen these two being beaten, and insisted that we stay there, so we did. We remained outside the police station, singing Taiwanese folksongs and calling to the policemen inside, demanding that the two arrested men be released. We said that, unless they set them free, we would not leave. We decided to stay there on hunger strike until they let them out. We kept telling them that, if midnight passed and the next day came (December, 10, Human Rights Day), then they would be in conflict with the spirit of World Human Rights Day.

We will always remember that night! Finally, Police Chief Li Wei-ch'iao came out and told us that the matter would be resolved. Later, at two o'clock, he came out again, and told us that the two men had been taken to the local Headquarters of the Taiwan Garrison Command. However, we did not believe him. [It turned out, though, that the two men were indeed there.] So we sent two of our representatives with Li to the Taiwan Garrison Command office to bring the two arrested men back. However, the Taiwan Garrison Command refused to release them unless they signed a document saying that they had not been beaten by the police, and that the injuries which they had sustained were "self-inflicted." They also set another condition, which was that these two should not return to the [area of the] Kushan police station. The purpose of this condition was apparently to prevent the crowd of two or three hundred people waiting there from seeing the injuries which they had suffered at the hands of the police. It was stated that they should return to the office of *Formosa Magazine*.

One of our representatives returned to the Kushan police station with Police Chief Li Wei-ch'iao, and told the waiting crowd of two or three hundred people that the two arrested men had been released and returned to the office of *Formosa Magazine*. So we all returned there. When we got there, however, we found that the two men could hardly move because of their injuries. They had been beaten so severely that their faces were swollen; they had marks of being kicked on their bodies, and they had welts and bruises on their chests, throats, heads and especially on their shoulders.

1. The date was the thirty-first anniversary of the proclamation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by the United Nations General Assembly.

2. Ch'en Chu was active in organizing the Human Rights Rally held the next day (though she was not a speaker) and was subsequently sentenced to twelve years imprisonment. She is a member of the Board of Directors of SPEAHR International.

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By now it was three o'clock in the morning of the 10th. First we had thought of returning to the police sub-station in Kushan to press charges against the policemen there, but the two injured men told us that it was the policemen in the main police station in the Kushan District who had beaten them. They said that some twenty or thirty policemen had attacked them in the police station. They had been held up and dragged by the legs and swung around, bashing their heads on the ground. So we really felt that the most important thing to do was to get medical care for the two injured people, and they were taken to the hospital.

Having been up all night, most of those involved had slept through the morning of December 10. Mr. Chou next discussed what happened in the afternoon.

Lawyer Yao Chia-wen and an investigator went to the hospital to interview the two injured men. The latter said that the orders to have their vehicle rushed and seized, and themselves arrested and tortured, had been issued by the chief of the Kushan police station [Sung Kuo-shan]. This is what the two men said.

I feel that even though you people were not affected directly in this particular incident, nonetheless until the government grants all the people their human rights, the next victims could be you or your loved ones. Therefore, this is a matter of deep concern for everyone.

I feel that, although this particular incident did not happen in front of the victims' friends, relatives, or families, yet if we allow this kind of infringement of human rights to continue, then one day people will be beaten up in front of their families. So I urge you to be all very concerned about this.

One of the two men, Ch'iu Ah-she, said that after he was at the Taiwan Garrison Command office, he was again beaten up, this time by three policemen. The other man, Yao Kuochien, said that he had not been beaten at the Taiwan Garrison Command office, but that he had been severely beaten at the Kushan police station, losing one tooth. This concludes my report of what happened last night.

Wang T'o: Brothers and sisters, now I ask Mr. Shih Ming-teh, the General Secretary of the non-Party and chief director of tonight's rally, to report to you.

Shih Ming-teh: What I am saying now is not directed at you, my beloved fellow Taiwanese. Rather, I address the security police over there, and I warn them seriously. I will now go with lawyer Yao Chia-wen to the Number One Police Station to meet with

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the chief of the police. All of us hope that you [policemen] will not make an incorrect judgment. You must not think that we are afraid to die. We hope that you security police will be sensible when we meet you. If you are not reasonable, then we, the Taiwanese people, to whom this beautiful island belongs, will march — we shall march.

Now I am going with lawyer Yao Chia-wen directly to the Number One Police Station. I hope that everyone here will remain and listen to the speeches.

Wang T'o: Dear brothers and sisters, we will stay here and wait while Yao Chia-wen and Shih Ming-teh go to talk with the police at the police station. If the security police don't remove their cordon around us, then we will take up our torches and start marching through the streets. We will meet up with those 20,000 or 30,000 friends who are waiting outside the Ta-t'ung Department Store, and start our demonstration for human rights.

Shih Ming-teh: Dear friends, this is Shih Ming-teh again. If I do not return within half an hour, then the general organization of tonight's rally will be in

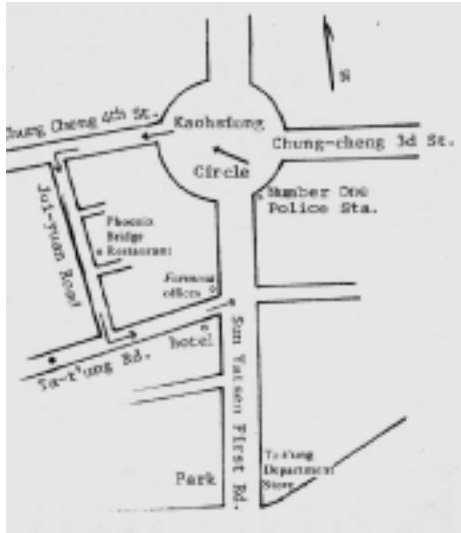
the hands of Mr. Chang Chun-hung, who is a member of the Provincial Assembly, and Mr. Chang Ch'un-nan, a member of the National Assembly.

Ts'ai Yu-ch'uan: I ask everybody to stay here. Nobody needs to go with them. Please raise your hand. *The crowd is led in various cheers, sometimes repeated in Mandarin:*

Oppose arbitrary arrests!
Oppose torture and violence!

Oppose one-party dictatorship! Oppose one-party dictatorship!

Yang Ch'ing-ch'u: Dear brothers and sisters, I am the representative of the Workers' Organization and a candidate for the National Assembly. My name is Yang Ch'ing-



Downtown Kaohsiung

Arrows indicate direction of the march.

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ch'u. I want to introduce someone to you who took part in the elections for Provincial Assembly—more than ten years ago. His name is Hung Chuan-ch'i. After running in that election he was arrested and imprisoned for over ten years.

Hung Ch'uan-ch'i: Friends, citizens of Kaohsiung, and fellow Taiwanese: I have missed you! Seventeen years ago I took part in the third election for the Taiwan Provincial Assembly. After that election I was arrested. They accused me of being a member of the Taiwan independence movement. I was sentenced to twelve years' imprisonment, and I was deprived of my civil rights for fifteen years; so I have been away from Kaohsiung for seventeen years. I want to thank my fellow citizens of Kaohsiung for their love and support for me. I cannot thank you all individually, but I am very grateful to have this opportunity now to express my appreciation to you all.

Today is Human Rights Day, International Human Rights Day! I want to take this opportunity to say one or two things to you. First, I ask you, what has the Nationalist Chinese government given us in 37 years? In fact, for 37 years *we* have kept *them* going! We have really fulfilled all our duties towards them—we have paid all our taxes, we have really done more than our duty. But where were our human rights in all these thirty-odd years? During the Ch'in (Qin) Dynasty in China they used to arrest scholars and burn their books. What does the Kuomintang do now? We can be arrested for saying one word. We cannot say one sentence of criticism without risking arrest and three, four, or even ten year's imprisonment! My Taiwanese brothers, where are our human rights'? The readers and staff of *Formosa Magazine*, nonpartisans and political activists—they are all Taiwanese people, just like us.

Human rights! We want our rights back!

I take this opportunity to thank you all, and I hope that we will all stand together.

Ts'ai Yu-chuan: People, don't leave. Please don't run away; stay here. Don't be afraid. Let us all be united.

For three centuries we have been under the rule of other people. We don't want to be ruled by others any longer: we want our human rights. Let's look at the times which we are in now. In what direction is the world going? It is going in the direction of freedom and democracy!

I thank you all.

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Shouts from the crowd: They don't let anyone in. We are surrounded. We are completely surrounded!

Wang T'o: Dear brothers and sisters, we cannot see what is happening at the outer fringes of the crowd. I want to ask one of our friends there to come over here to tell us what is happening, so we can react in an appropriate manner.

Shouts from the crowd: We are surrounded. We are surrounded. Don't waste time. Don't waste time.

Wang T'o: Now, we are still waiting for Mr. Yao Chia-wen and Mr. Shih Ming-teh to return from their discussion at the Number One Police Station. Please, will everybody stay here. Don't start any arguments with the police. Please, everybody come over here. We should wait until Mr. Yao Chia-wen and Mr. Shih Ming-teh return, and then we will decide what to do.

Shouts from the crowd: They can't get in. I hey can't get in! The! [meaning unclear] arc going to push in over there!

Wang T'o: Now I want to ask the man who received the highest number of votes in the Provincial Assembly election, Mr. Ch'iu Lien-hui, to speak to us.

Ch'iu Lien-hui: Brothers and sisters, please, everybody should keep calm. We will wait until Mr. Yao Chia-wen and Mr. Shih Ming-teh return from their negotiations.



The offices of Formosa Magazine. This picture was taken shortly before the Kaohsiung Rally. The two white banners protest earlier acts of violence by pro-KMT elements against various *Formosa* facilities. The government invariably takes no action with regard to such perpetrators, even when they commit murder.

Originally the army was supposed to counterattack the mainland. Now it is not doing that, it is beating up our own people. My former colleague in the Provincial

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Assembly, Mr. Chang Chun-hung, told me that the police once surrounded the Provincial Assembly building while the Assembly was meeting. The same thing is happening now. I appeal to you, fellow Formosans in the police and military, we are all

Taiwanese together. Please stop this indiscriminate action against your own people! The Kuomintang [Nationalist Party; hereafter “KMT”] has always accused us non-Party people of being extremists, but what they are doing tonight is far more extreme than anything we have ever done. The army is supposed to be used for counterattacking the mainland, but they are attacking us—they are attacking their own people! This is what I would really call extremist behavior. If they insist on doing such things on International Human Rights Day, then anyone with a conscience, whether they are a member of the KMT or a member of the non-Party, will be utterly outraged. Do you agree?

The crowd: That’s right! That’s right!

Ch’iu Lien-hui: Not only is the government supposed to respect our human rights; it should actually *defend* these rights.

As Mr. Ch’iu continued to speak, police riot trucks became visible off to the east, slowly approaching along Chung-cheng Third Street. Some in the crowd began arguing with the riot police, who had been encircling the assemblage.

The Nuclear Power Issue

There is one problem in particular to which I want to draw your attention today: The matter of nuclear power stations. Once I made an appeal to the Provincial Assembly, urging very careful consideration in the issue of nuclear power development in Taiwan. On July 20 I went to see the Chinshan Nuclear Power Station, and I was told by the Taiwan Power Supply Company that they had plans to build twenty, no fewer than twenty, nuclear power stations! I found this extremely disturbing news, because power generation with nuclear energy brings with it real problems.

(Mr. Ch’iu is interrupted by shouts that some fights are breaking out.) Keep calm. Don’t fight! It is all right. Don’t fight one another! Keep calm.

Back to the question of nuclear power stations: If you read the accounts in the newspapers about what is happening in certain other countries, then you realize that there are certain problems associated with these nuclear power stations. Recently the

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President of the United States appointed a special committee to take a thorough look at the whole question of nuclear power stations. The conclusion of this investigation was that there were serious design errors, and that there were serious weaknesses in the safety measures. After hearing this, I urged [Taiwan's governor] Lin Yang-kang to take special note of this matter.

Scientists have calculated that, if things go wrong with a nuclear power station, there could be harmful effects on human beings for as long as 250,000 years. Exactly how serious would these effects be? If only a very small quantity of contaminated air were to be inhaled by anyone, then that person could be dead within four hours. Nonetheless, they are still building these unsafe nuclear power stations! I appeal to our government to reconsider this decision. If the Americans—who themselves invented this dangerous, complicated, and highly sophisticated technology—do not have confidence in their own designs, then how much more should our own scientists think seriously about this?

Wang T'o: "There are some KMT supporters out there. Don't let these troublemakers stir up violence among you. If you find anyone with an egg in his hand, remove him. These people are thugs. They are disgusting."

(More shouts from the crowd that disturbances were breaking out.)

Last month there was trouble in one of the nuclear power stations in Japan. What happened was that there was a dangerous discharge of waste. This shows that it is indeed a serious matter. I hope that the government will pay close attention to our concerns. We should value the life and happiness of our people. Considering the kind of environment we have [Taiwan is small and earthquake-prone], why should we use such dangerous, high-risk technology? Another aspect which we must consider is that it costs NT\$500 billion to build one nuclear power station. Of course we need electricity, but we must wait until our level of scientific skills has reached the point where we can use this technology safely and without problems.

This is, in a sense, an example of what I am talking about when I say that our government is neglecting the whole question of human rights for our people. I am

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raising this question here, because I hope that everyone will take note of it, and will help keep up the pressure on our government in this matter. I hope that the government will reconsider the decision to build these six new nuclear power stations. Taiwan is a very small and densely populated island, in fact it is the world's most densely populated area.

If there were to be any accident in a nuclear power station here, then there would be no place to which to escape. Several days ago I wrote a letter to the newspapers about this, pleading with the government to value life and safety more highly. There is much corruption in just about any large project which the government undertakes, and personally I think we should fight against the individuals involved.



Riot trucks arrive. These are the first of dozens of these intimidating vehicles which were sent to control the crowd. This photograph was taken at Kaohsiung Circle between 7:00 and 8:00. The crowd appears to be still quite peaceful.

It would be very easy for something to go wrong in the construction or operation of a

nuclear power plant. We must not simply copy this yet-to-be-perfected technology. These are matters which affect not only the present generation, but also future generations. We must never forget Hiroshima, which was destroyed by an atomic bomb, and where the people are still suffering the effects. That is the reason why I raise this matter again and again. I hope that you all will really show your concern about this issue. We must urge the government to reconsider their decision and urge our scientists to be concerned about it too. Thank you.

Wang T'ao: Brothers and sisters, ~ noticed just now that some people standing over there, in front of our truck, are wearing armbands with the Nationalist Chinese flag on them. Watch out for them! We want to prevent all violence! Don't let those troublemakers stir up violence among you.

Voices from the crowd: Yes! Yes! Yes! Watch out for them!

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Wang T'o: Those of us who love peace must be particularly on our guard against these people. We must really watch out for them.

Now we ask the Tainan Shepherds' Choir to sing a song for us.

Ts'ai Yu-ch'uan: I now ask the Shepherd Choir to sing for us. (*The crowd applauds and whistles. The choir then sings.*)

Fan Cheng-yu: I am Fan Cheng-yu from Taichung. I have two messages for you. In any battle between the sword and the fist [i.e., between the armed and the unarmed], it is always the fist that wins. [*Note: The raised fist is the symbol of the Taiwanese human rights movement.*] I hope that we will use the fist of righteousness to overcome. We must develop our democratic muscle; then we shall surely be victorious!

(The crowd is becoming increasingly restless. Troublemakers, perhaps the government supporters mention above, throw eggs. Someone in the crowd shouts "Get him! Get him!" The meeting becomes disorderly.)

Wang T'o: Please keep calm! Get those people out of here! We do not want anyone to get killed. If someone is killed, we won't be responsible. If you find anyone with an egg in his hand, remove him. Those people are thugs. They are disgusting.

*The police turned on intense lights. In fear, much of the crowd began to shift away from the eastern side of the circle. However, they discovered that the circle was surrounded on all sides by military police. The riot trucks seemed to pause outside the police cordon, apparently blocking the junction between the circle and Chung-cheng Third Street. A murmur of Tear gas! could be heard going around the crowd.***Ts'ai Yu-ch'uan:** Dear brothers and sisters, let us first sing "We shall overcome." I will tell you the words: We shall overcome, we shall overcome, we shall overcome some day. I will sing it once first, and then those who know the words can sing it after me. (*They sing it once.*) Brothers and sisters, let us clap our hands as we sing. (*They sing it again, a third time and a fourth time. Then they change the words and sing:*) We shall have victory. We shall have victory. (*Then they sing "We Shall Overcome" twice more. Finally, the whole crowd shouts:*) We shall overcome....We shall overcome one day. (*Much shouting.*)

Wang T'o: Dear friends, I see the riot trucks over there. We do not have any guns, but we have our spirit. Let us all clap our hands, let us clap our hands so loudly that the noise overwhelms the riot trucks. Everyone clap and shout after me: Long live the Taiwanese

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people! Long live democracy! Long live righteousness! (*The crowd shouts, claps, and repeats the words of Wang T'ao.*) Now I ask Miss Lu Hsiu-lien to speak to us.

Voices from the crowd: Here come the riot trucks! The riot trucks are coming towards us! What can we say? What speeches can we make now? We can't have any more speeches!

Instead of Ms. Lu, who had been introduced, the next speaker was one Tung Ts'ung-ling. There is some mystery about this individual, who was the only speaker at the rally to advocate any kind of violence (overturning the approaching riot trucks). He had not been closely associated with the organizers of the event. Curiously, he was almost the only speaker not to be subsequently arrested and given a long prison sentence. There is circumstantial evidence that Mr. Tung may have been a secret informer for the KMT, but this cannot be confirmed.

Tung Ts'ung-ling: Dear brothers and sisters—unarmed people, please listen. Shih Ming-teh has already been at the Number One Police Station for nearly thirty minutes, so now we are going to raise our voices in protest. If Shih Ming-teh doesn't return when the thirty minutes are up, then we are going to protest, we are going to start marching, OK? Let us sing again, while we are waiting for them, OK? Let us sing again "We shall overcome." We are going to be the masters. The Taiwanese shall be in charge.

Will those in the back please come closer to the front? All come to the front please.

The Crowd: The riot trucks are coming. The riot trucks are coming! (*The meeting seems to be breaking up and turning chaotic. Tung tells the people who have torches to light them.*)

Tung Ts'ung-ling: If the riot trucks come any closer, or if the riot troops come any nearer, overturn them! Would that be good or bad'?

Voices from the crowd: Good.

Tung Ts'ung-ling: Shall we do it?

Some voices from the crowd: Yes. OK.

They are shooting tear gas! They are shooting tear gas! There is already tear gas!

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Tung Ts'ung-ling: Be calm. Everybody be calm, please. Let us save our own lives. Don't be afraid. Don't be afraid. Be fearless. (*Further disturbances from the crowd. Tung to the police:*) All Taiwan is watching your violent methods. You had better be careful! (*To the crowd:*) I appeal to you, my fellow Taiwanese: Please remain orderly and follow our vehicles out of here, please follow our vehicles out of here.

Now we have seen what kind of violence the troops are using against us today. We have all seen it, we have all seen it. Dear friends, although we have no weapons, we are armed with our spirit. As we follow the trucks out, let us join hands, let us join our hands together, and let us join together in our hearts. Will the first truck drive a little slower, please! Brothers and sisters of Kaohsiung, today we have really seen how unjust the KMT is to the people of Taiwan, so please shout after me this cheer, OK?

The crowd shouts: OK!

Long live the people of Taiwan.

Long live democracy! (*Repeated several times.*)

Because the police were moving in from the east and detonating tear gas, the decision was made to have the crowd, which had been facing east, turn. form a procession, and march out the western exit of the Kaohsiung Circle.

Early-evening Speakers

Yao Chia-wen: Lawyer, legal scholar, and leading figure of *Formosa Magazine*. See *SPEAHRhead* 9, page 4.

Wang T'o: Popular author, of the "Nativist" school. See *SPEAHRhead* 6/7, page 5.

Chou Ping-teh: Judicial clerk and local judge; candidate for Provincial Assembly (1977) and Legislative Yuan (1978). Famous for his oratory.

Shih Ming-teh: Manager of *Formosa Magazine*; former political prisoner (1962-1977).

Ts'ai Yu-ch'uan: Theologian associated with Tainan Theological College.

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The police make their move. Here a contingent maneuvers among the torch-bearing demonstrators. Sign at right says “Stop the exploitation of farmers.”

Unidentified voice: Now, everybody please follow the vehicles and show support. One day, the Taiwanese will be the masters. Now shout after me: “Long live the people!”
(*The crowd repeats the words.*)

Mr. Yang Ch’ing-ch’u, will you please come forward? Quickly!

General Secretary Shih Ming-teh and Lawyer Yao Chia-wen, please come out quickly. (*The two men are about to depart from the Number One Police Station, their negotiations having been unsuccessful*)

Will [Ts’ai] Yu-chuan please come forward quickly?

Voices from the crowd: Where are we going? Where are we going?

Unidentified voice: Dear brothers and sisters, we are going to the [*Formosa*] headquarters. Please remain quiet. Mr. Shih Ming-teh and Mr. Yao Chia-wen, please get on the back of the truck. Friends: Shih Ming-teh and Yao Chia-wen have just come out of the police station, so let us all quietly go down the street. Will those carrying torches please come back here, and follow the trucks? Follow the trucks! We Taiwanese must protect each other! Please will those people with torches kindly walk in the front? Long live the Taiwanese people!

Another unidentified voice: Dear brothers and sisters, will you kindly walk in orderly procession behind the vehicles. Don’t spread out. We must keep together. If we keep

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together, then we shall overcome. Please everybody, follow behind the trucks. I will lead you in a cheer. Please everybody shout after me, OK? “Long live the Taiwanese people!” (*The crowd responds several times: Long live the Taiwanese people.*)

The crowd gradually turned, massed under the flickering glow of re-lit torches, and very slowly moved toward the western exit of the circle. However, the police were blocking even this route. A relatively unarmed detachment of them formed a triple line at the junction, standing with truncheons as links. (See photograph, opposite page.) Part of the crowd rushed forward in advance of the marchers, confronting the police. Shih Ming-teh, riding on the back of the smaller of the organizers’ two trucks, rode across the circle toward the western exit, stopping just short of the cordon. (This maneuver later became the basis of the government’s claim that he had led the charge against the police. The organizers’ apparent intention, however, was to keep people in line and slow down the faster marchers.) The unidentified speaker continues:

Will those in front kindly walk slower? Follow behind, please all follow behind! Those who are in front with torches keep in front, please. Will everybody follow behind. Let us shout another cheer, all right? “Long live the Taiwanese people.”

The crowd: Long live the Taiwanese people; we want democratic freedom!

As had happened at similar rallies around the island when surrounded by police, the crowd attempted to push through the cordon, and was eventually successful. It required, however, some young men jabbing their bamboo sticks (otherwise used for torches) to make the police drop their truncheons. After the police line finally broke, the crowd began to pour through. (Four or five rowdies pursued some of the fleeing police. A young MP was pushed against the grill of a store and punched. He escaped only when a friend of the rally organizers intervened.) The march continued.

Tung Ts’ung-ling: (*addressing the people on the sidelines*): Will you all come out, please? I ask all of you who are watching from your houses, and those of you who are standing there on the sidewalk, will all of you come out and join us, come out and fight for our rights? Everybody please follow behind us. Please, everybody, call out, let us hear your voices.

The crowd continues to shout: Democracy and freedom for the people of Taiwan! Down with militaristic cliques! [*Alternative translation: Down with the militaristic clique!*] We want justice!

Oppose one-party dictatorship! Long live the Taiwanese!

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Lu Hsiu-lien: My dear fellow Taiwanese: Today is International Human Rights Day. We are privileged to be Taiwanese. We are the first ones in our history to carry the torch of democracy. Today, as our voices cry out in our struggle for freedom, we are crying out to the whole world. Please, all of you, come out and join in our struggle for a democratic political system. If you are Taiwanese, and you are not with us here today, you will not have a clear conscience later.

Considerable time elapsed between the time that the first contingent of marchers broke out of Kaohsiung Circle, and the final departure of the sound truck and rear-end demonstrators. During this period, there was fear that the people filing out ahead were not moving fast enough to permit everyone to escape before the riot trucks closed in from the east.

Voices in the background: The riot trucks are coming! The riot trucks are coming!

Tung Ts'ung-ling (*grabbing the microphone*): Please, everyone, for the sake of the future of Taiwan, please don't go and hide yourselves. Come out and stand here with us. Great citizens of Kaohsiung, dear brothers and sisters, please all of you, come out of your houses, and join our march. Please, all come out, come out. Today is the first day of the Taiwanese people's struggle for victory. Please don't go and hide again. Don't go on sleeping. With conscience and devotion we must fight for our democracy.

Now I will shout another cheer. Please repeat after me, all right? Yes, all right! Long live the Taiwanese people! (*The crowd repeats the cheer several times.*) The Taiwanese people are to be pitied. They've been oppressed for more than thirty years, and yet they are still sleeping! More than thirty years of oppression and yet they still don't understand the misery of their lives: Our future is very grim! Do you realize that? We must come out and struggle! We must come out and march. We must come out and stand up for our rights.

A voice: Will you do something about the situation up front there? Do something about the front! The riot trucks are coming at us!

Lu Hsiu-lien: Dear—Pastor—Hi! The guys who are hiding in their closets, it is time to come out! We have been oppressed for so long!

At this point, Ms. Lu twice shouted the phrase "Ch'ungah," which could be rendered "We must push ahead." "It is not altogether clear what she meant. Taken in

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the context of what she had just stated, she might have intended to say that the Taiwanese must work to end oppression. Taken in the context of the situation of the moment, she might have been urging the marchers literally to push ahead. The government later put the most militant possible construction on her words, claiming that she had incited the crowd to violence. Perhaps, as is suggested by the following sentence, she was treating the immediate situation as a metaphor for the general situation on Taiwan.



Attempting to leave Kaohsiung Circle. Unlike the other photographs which appear on these pages, the above is taken directly from the official *Free China Review* (February 1980). The original caption read: “Rioters assault unarmed security forces with clubs, torches and other weapons in the Kaohsiung Incident Dec. 10.” The “clubs” are the bamboo sticks which were used as torches, and are flimsy compared to the truncheons which the police are holding. Although the demonstrators do eventually break through the cordon, at the moment they are relatively passive. Note that the picture appears on an angle, giving a false impression of a leftward thrust.

This photograph has been widely published by the government. Presumably it is the most incriminating of the 139 it claims to possess.

Mid-evening Speakers

Yang Ch'ing-ch'u: Factory worker and writer; candidate for Legislative Yuan elections in 1978. See *SPEAHRhead* 4/5, page 11.

Hung Ch'uan-ch'i: Candidate in the 1963 Provincial Assembly elections; political prisoner for twelve years.

Chiu Lien-hui: Former Provincial Assemblyman; anti-nuclear activist.

Tung Ts'ung-ling: Pastor of Taku Church, Tainan County.

Chang Chun-hung: Provincial Assemblyman; leading intellectual and author of many books.

Fan Cheng-yu: Candidate in aborted 1978 Legislative Yuan elections; *Formosa* activist in Taichung.

Our people—our brothers, sisters and elders—are behind us, but before us we are confronted by the forces of violence. Fellow Taiwanese, repeat after me—*But Ms. Lu was interrupted by calls from the crowd: Ta-t'ung! Ta-t'ung! On to Tat'ung! She continued: Taiwanese soldiers, please withdraw. Please withdraw!*

In the meantime, perhaps a hundred unidentified young men slipped along a dark side street and circled south. So far as we know, they had no connection to the organizers of the rally. It has been reported that they stopped at a lumber shop and helped themselves to some poles. Also, some other young men came out of Phoenix Bridge Restaurant, and they may have joined the first group. The newer participants are rumored to have had links to the pro-KMT mayor of Kaohsiung. (For additional information on this subject see newsletter no. 10 of the International Committee for the Defense of Human Rights in Taiwan.) Although the above developments are a bit murky, it is undisputed that at about this time these rowdies discovered two mainlander policemen with walkie-talkies, and at a point some distance to the west of the Formosa offices (e on map) the policemen were set upon and beaten severely. Although the government later claimed that during the course of the evening 183 policemen were injured, these two are among the very few documented cases.

The same band or bands of youths then moved to the northeast along the street (called Ta-t'ung, but not to be confused with the department store). They first

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encountered a cadre of military police surrounding a hotel across the street from the Formosa offices, and then two tight rows of fully armored riot police in the middle of the intersection. Altogether, there were between a hundred and two hundred military police, backed by several riot trucks. When the first of these police detachments was encountered, there was a brief pitched battle, during which the policemen's spark guns exploded like fireworks. The MPs then retreated up the stairs of the hotel, which in fact housed the government's secret command post.

Now more people arrived, sweeping past the scene and into the intersection in front of the Formosa offices. On the east side of the intersection, a few dozen troops were surrounded by some youths. (It was never possible to determine the identity of these youths, who scattered when approached by Formosa personnel.) The other lines of riot police disintegrated almost immediately, and an approaching group of young non-armored police turned and left the scene when they saw the situation. More serious, one military policeman was found lying unconscious on the ground in the intersection. He was quickly transported to safety. At least one civilian was also found injured

Shih Ming-teh: Dear friends, this is Shih Ming-teh speaking. I am the chief director of today's event. I hope that you will all come out. We have now arrived at the office of *Formosa Magazine*, which is sacred ground for the Taiwanese people. Will the first vehicle please stop. Kindly stop in front of the offices of *Formosa Magazine*. All armed troops: You are the sons and brothers of Taiwanese. You are the troops of the Taiwanese. Please do not misunderstand. Taiwanese must not fight Taiwanese. Withdraw! Everybody calm down. The Taiwanese are to be pitied; do not fight them. Taiwan soldiers' withdraw! Taiwan soldiers go!

Organizers Plea for Non-violence

Taiwanese soldiers, move back! Taiwanese soldiers go! They have their own problems. Let them get away. Don't fight the Taiwanese soldiers. Don't fight the Taiwanese soldiers! Don't fight the Taiwanese people! Don't fight the Taiwanese people. Taiwanese people, move back a bit. Move to the side. Taiwanese people don't fight each other. Sweet potato must not fight against sweet potatoes³.

Voices in the background: **Attack, Attack!**

3. Sweet potatoes are traditionally eaten by the poor and lower classes. The term "sweet potato" became a term of abuse used by mainland Chinese to denote Taiwanese people, but it is now used affectionately among the Taiwanese themselves.

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Shih Ming-teh (*blowing his whistle*): Please, will all vehicles stop. This of rice of *Formosa Magazine* is the sacred ground of the Taiwanese people. Please stop here. Taiwanese soldiers, lay down your arms! You Taiwanese soldiers are all our brothers and sisters.

Within fifteen minutes of the clash in front of the hotel, the sound trucks and the remainder of the marchers arrived at the Formosa intersection. By now, the people who had been waiting so long in the neighborhood of the Ta-t'ung Department Store were also here. Altogether, it was estimated that there might have been as many as twenty thousand demonstrators present.

Now, there was a widespread feeling among the people that a victory had been achieved. An almost festive air prevailed.

Shouts from the crowd: Victory, victory!

Chang Chun-hung: All of you here, my fellow Taiwanese, please listen: This is Chang Chun-hung speaking. Tonight, all of us here have won a victory.

Crowd: Hurray! Hurray!

Chang Chun-hung: Sixty billion Taiwanese dollars worth of military equipment has tonight been rendered useless. We have gained a victory today. Raise your torches. Shout after me: Long live human rights! Long live democratic politics! (*The crowd repeats these lines.*) Our proceedings tonight are now at an end. We have already gained a victory. Please put out your torches. Please everybody, extinguish your torches.

At about 9:00, Chang Chun-hung had tried to adjourn the rally (see above), but without success. Shortly thereafter, two groups of riot police, about thirty men in each, began pushing through the crowd, flailing their truncheons in an attempt to reach the podium. For a time there was shouting and chaos here and there. Because there was such a dense crowd, many people could not tell what was going on. One of the detachments was blocked by the crowd some distance from the truck, while another got within thirty yards before it was halted. Both groups of soldiers then simply stood in formation.

Shih Ming-teh: I hope the security police will constrain themselves and will not trample on the Taiwanese people. I warn the security police not to trample on the Taiwanese people. Take your weapons home, take your equipment home. This NT\$ 60

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billion worth of equipment of yours is meant to fight our enemies, not to fight your fellow Taiwanese. I hope that tonight's events are finished now.

Chang Chun-hung: Please will the riot squads withdraw. Please will the squads retreat. We have already extinguished our torches. We have already put out our torches. Please don't take up your riot shields again. Our torches are already out. Don't raise your riot shields again. Please retreat, please make an orderly withdrawal. Do not charge again. If you charge again, then you must be responsible for the consequences.

Voices from the crowd: Light the torches, light the torches.

Chang Chun-hung: Put your weapons down, put your weapons down. Police squads, don't attack. Don't attack our people Don't fight, don't fight, we are all Taiwanese, don't fight, we must not fight each other.

Voices in the background: Surround the squad! Surround the Squad! Attack! Soldiers, don't run!

Chang Chun-hung: Police squad, run away. Go away. Go away quickly! I give the security police and riot squads a clear warning: Withdraw, withdraw!

Taiwanese people shout after me: "Long live the Taiwanese people. Long live the Taiwanese people."

Dear fellow Taiwanese, now I ask the founder of the newly formed Women's Movement, Ms. Lu Hsiu-lien, to speak to us. She is going to talk about the future of Taiwan. Will you please applaud her.

Ts'ai Yu chuan: Dear fellow Taiwanese, let us first sing a song. We shall sing: "We shall overcome." I will say the words first. One, two, three, now altogether, everybody sing. (*They sing the song several times.*)



Anti-riot police advance toward the demonstrators. Notwithstanding government claims to the contrary, they clearly arrived well prepared for combat.

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Some voices from the crowd: Can we beat up those people over there, those so-called “anti-communist heroes?” They are singing *another* song. they are singing a Chinese Nationalist song! (A song called “*Meihua* “*is faintly audible.*)

Calls from the crowd: K’ung Ling-ch’eng resign! Police Chief Li Wei-ch’iao resign! Chief of the Kushan police station Sung Kuo-shan resign! You three police officers resign.

Lu Hsiu-lien: Dear fellow Taiwanese, my fellow Taiwanese, all you people with a conscience and with compassion: My name is Lu Hsiu-lien, and I am from Taoyuan. Today, December 10, is International Human Rights Day. For thousands of years Taiwanese have never had a chance like they have today. Today we have a chance to give resounding expression to our burning desire for justice, to cry out our demand for human rights. Today is a great day. I ask you to applaud loudly and enthusiastically to show your support for our cause. The founder of our nation, Sun Yat-sen once said: “People’s rights don’t fall from heaven, you have to fight for them.” Human rights don’t come automatically, they don’t come by themselves, they have to be achieved with our sweat with our blood, and with all the strength we have in our beings.

Dear members of the security police, be not deceived. You are human beings too. You are Taiwanese. You have blood, you have tears. Don’t you feel ashamed of what you are doing today? It is extremely clear what you are doing: Today you have already gone against many of President Chiang Ching-kuo’s own teachings. Your behavior today has been very violent. You have brought disgrace to Prime Minister Sun’s words [to the Chinese Communists]: “In politics learn from Taipei” This is what Prime Minister Sun said, and you have. made him lose face. If you continue this disgraceful behavior now you will make the people on the other side of the Taiwan Straits laugh until all their teeth fall out. You are not counterattacking the mainland. Rather, you are providing the communists with good propaganda!

Dear members of the security forces, I know that you are wearing helmets, you are wearing uniforms. But without your helmets, without your uniforms, your hearts are the same as ours, your blood is the same as ours. Please, before you leave, remove your helmets, forget your uniforms, and be Taiwanese too. I can see inside your hearts today,

4. “Anti-communist heroes” (*fan-kung i-shih*) are supporters of the Chinese Nationalists who often engage in acts of violence against democratic activists. The government takes a benign view of their conduct, and never prosecutes them.

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perhaps you are doing this willingly, perhaps you are doing what you do not want to do. Perhaps you are being deceived. It doesn't matter. The taxes of eighteen million Taiwanese people should not be used to trample our Taiwanese people, but rather against those on the other side of the Taiwan Straits.

(There is much disturbance in the crowd.)

Su Chih-fen: Dear brothers and sisters of Kaohsiung: All of you who have a sense of justice, please, all of you, keep calm! My name is Su Chih-fen. Now I will lead you in singing a Taiwanese folksong. The name of the song is "May You Come Back Soon." It is my hope that all our political prisoners may soon be able to come back home. Please, you people in the front, be quiet. *(They all sing.)*

The crowd: Release the political prisoners! Release the political prisoners!

Unidentified voice: I would like to invite Ms. Su to sing another Taiwanese folksong, "Waiting for the Spring Wind." The song reflects the hope of our Taiwanese people; we are waiting for the spring wind. This will be the Taiwanese people's victory, this is the Taiwanese people's hope. *(All sing the song.)*

A voice in the crowd: We made a big mistake; we ought to have gone straight to the Ta-tung Department Store.

Another unidentified speaker: For three centuries the Taiwanese people have not been united; now we must unite. Let us sing a song of human rights. The song is: "Love Taiwan, Fight for Democracy."

Now I ask Mr. Chang Ch'un-nan, who is a [former] member of the National Assembly, to speak.-

Chang Ch'un-nan: Dear fellow Taiwanese, just now a most unfortunate thing happened. All of us here saw it occur. It so happened that I was pushed to the fringe of the crowd a few minutes ago and I saw it, so I want to tell you what happened: I saw people beating up some members of the riot police, and one of the policemen had to be taken away by ambulance. This is a most unfortunate thing to have happened. Another two riot policemen have also been slightly injured. I rescued them, because they were surrounded by the crowd. I told the police to stay away from the crowd, lest such a thing happen again. So they are now standing a bit further away from us, and I would urge them to remain there. I ask them to stay there quietly and not pick any fights with the crowd.

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Chang Ch'un-nan then proceeded to recount what had happened earlier at Kaohsiung Circle. (His first words were unintelligible on the tape recording.) The police kept pushing forward. It was very tight. Because they released tear gas from the riot trucks, we had to get out of there. We had no other choice. They had detonated their poisonous tear gas. We *had* to leave. What else could we do? But the riot trucks blocked the roads on one side to prevent us from retreating. So we were forced away from the tear gas on one side, but at the same time the other side was blocked. What could we do? We had no choice but to break through the police blockade. This is how it happened. (*Applause*) Thank you, thank you. That is how it happened. We certainly don't want it to happen again, and it is very likely that they want it even less. So I give warning to the riot troops and the secret police not to behave so stupid again.

In the old days, when an army was attacking a fort, they only attacked one gate, leaving the other three gates as escape routes for the people inside the fort. However, the riot squads have all these weapons and all these police batons—which in fact have been purchased with our money—and they are surrounding us and won't let us escape. They even detonated tear gas against us. That is indefensible. They trapped us here. Obviously we were not pleased, but I think that it is all over now. They are behaving better now, and they are being more sensible. They are standing over there, a bit further off. They are not obstructing us, and I believe that from now on they will not obstruct us. (*Applause.*)

Chi Wan-sheng: Dear friends, the Chinese Nationalists have ruled Taiwan for three decades. They keep on telling us that we must all love our country, but what about the KMT people themselves? They only love themselves, but they tell us that we must love their country. For thirty years they have taken our taxes, but we have no one to oversee their spending. The KMT Provincial Chairman wrote a book entitled *What the People Should Know in Everyday Life*. He tells us how we should eat, how we should walk. And what happened? He ran off to the United States himself! The chairman of the Department of Social Services of Taipei city and the chairman of the Taipei section of the KMT are both living in North America! The KMT talks about counterattacking mainland China, but what they have in fact been doing is invading mainland America!

Now I want to introduce Mr. Li, who has just contributed NT\$1,000 to our human rights cause. Will you all applaud, please, and welcome Mr. Li.

The KMT retreated from mainland China and came over to Taiwan. But here none of their decisions have been made in a democratic manner. They left the United Nations; they left the Olympic Games, and each time they collected money from us in

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their mandatory national fundraising campaigns. We have been subject to so much of their propaganda, but have they acted according to it themselves? Many of their Foreign Service Officers have left the country and have not returned. The Chairman of the Fourth Section of the KMT Central Committee went abroad and did not want to return.

Dear fellow Taiwanese, the KMT tells us that if it weren't for them, Taiwan would never have been liberated—and they even expect our gratitude. True, in 1945 Taiwan returned to the bosom of China, but in 1949 the KMT officials of all the 35 provinces of China returned to the bosom of Taiwan. (*Loud applause from the crowd.*) The people who handed Taiwan over to Japan in 1895 were not our Taiwanese ancestors: it was a Chinese named Li Hung-chang. The KMT's war against Japan was not on behalf of the Taiwanese people. It was a war they could not avoid. They say that to get Taiwan back to China was the duty of the Chinese people. Every year on Liberation Day, the KMT asks for our gratitude, but we know that if it weren't for Taiwan, it would have been all over for them in 1949. We know that Taiwan is our homeland. We certainly should not have the mentality of being slaves to the KMT. We must fight for our home ground. We are certainly not going to become boat people, as Prime Minister Sun said we would. Thank you all.

Unidentified voice: Lin Chui-hung, please go to the *Formosa* office.

Yao Chia-wen: Ladies and gentlemen, I am lawyer Yao Chia-wen. Will you please listen carefully. I want to say one or two important things. There are many friends here who, because they have been ill-treated by the KMT, are demanding that we continue our march. But, dear friends, we must trust the decision of our leadership. We are struggling for our human rights. We are struggling for our political rights, we are not afraid. But we cannot solve this in a brawl. Those people who are obstructing us are all Taiwanese. Why should Taiwanese be used to obstruct Taiwanese? What is the point of our fighting each other? Let us calm down and think it over. We must reflect on the political problems which exist between the KMT and those outside the Party. I understand you all. But we must demonstrate that we are calm and rational. We must show that we can do more than just fight. We must use peaceful means to struggle for our human rights and for our political rights. We must all calm down. I hope that those non-Party people there in the back will be quiet and listen to some exciting political speeches. Thank you for your cooperation.

I hope that the riot troops will not make any arbitrary moves against us. I ask the riot squads to withdraw, so we can have a peaceful meeting. Don't clash with us. Please, gradually withdraw.

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Wang T'ao: Dear friends, a friend here just donated NT\$ 1,000 for the two injured people and for political prisoners. I hope that we will all send our love to our fellow Taiwanese, to all those in prison and to their families.

The crowd: Yes! Right on!

Wang T'ao: I now ask Ms. Lu Hsiu-lien to speak to us.

Now Mr. Wu has contributed NT\$ 1,000. Ms. Lu. (*Applause.*)

Lu Hsiu-lien: My dear fellow Taiwanese; my dear fellow citizens of the Republic of China: Since December 16, 1978, when America and Taiwan broke off diplomatic relations and the United States recognized China, there has been a great change both in international relations and in the internal affairs of Taiwan. This year it has been very exciting on the international political stage: Dictators all over the world have fallen one by one. This is quite clear. We all know this.

A voice (*apparently from in front of the platform*): Tonight is going to be a real mess.

When early Portuguese sailors first saw Taiwan, they described it as *ilha formosa* (beautiful island). From this is derived the island's western appellation "Formosa," a term looked upon with favor by many Taiwanese, but eschewed by Chinese. The Taiwanese version of the expression, *Bi-le-do*, was adopted by the movement (and magazine) which came to life in 1979. The ideographs appear on these pages.

Lu Hsiu-lien: This happened in Africa, in Asia, in Central and South America, and also to President Park of South Korea, who was considered a good friend by the Government of Taiwan. (*Applause from the audience.*) One night his life was taken by the head of his own secret police. I believe this is something we all know. Possibly the authorities of Taiwan may feel that we outside the Party are a nuisance. But unlike them, we rely upon words, not guns. Does this not make us superior? (*Applause.*) On the international scene, many leaders have been toppled, exiled, or even assassinated. These are complex changes. It is an extremely sad thing that people die, but these people were all notorious tyrants. When they were in power they were all terribly cruel, so when they were removed from the scene people were not grief-stricken, but rather were thankful.

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Here on Taiwan, the Kuomintang has done many inappropriate things. But now the Taiwanese people have gained new understanding of the situation. They have come to know what democracy really is, what the rule of law is, and what is meant by human rights. So gradually, over the last thirty years, the Taiwanese have begun to express their dissatisfaction with the way in which the Kuomintang has had contempt for the people. During the past year the democratic movement, with the non-Party people at its center, began to gather strength like wild fire.

Thus, many friends, who were keenly interested in these things, began to cooperate with the non-Party movement.

Many people were startled by this new development, and some were unhappy with what they saw and could not understand. Just when the party in power was stressing the importance of having a “settled society,” there was this group of horrible non-Party mosquitos who did nothing but disturb their peace and quiet!

I want to take a little time to explain this situation to all of you. Why are there these foolish people all over the island who are not afraid of sweat or suffering, who don’t even take proper care of their wives and families? Some people say that the non-Party people are ambitious. Others say that the non-Party people are “fractious.” But I would like to ask, where is the ambition of the non-Party people? In what way have the non-Party people been fractious?

Today everyone has seen those who are driving the riot trucks that now surround us: they are all our own Taiwanese people. Those who use the Taiwanese people to attack us Taiwanese people’ they are the “fractious” ones. If the non-Party people have any ambition, their ambition is to repossess the political power which has been taken without the approval from the Taiwanese people, and return it to our eighteen million people. Doesn’t this kind of ambition deserve the support of everyone? (*Applause.*)

Crowd: That’s right! That’s right!

Lu Hsiu-lien: In fact, the non-Party people have no personal ambition at all. You could almost say that they are therefore foolish. Do you think that any one of us, including Mr. Huang Hsin-chieh and Mr. Chang Chun-hung, or any of the other non-Party members, lead a soft life? Why do I ask this? Two years ago, I went to the United States. I could have stayed there to live a comfortable and easy life. But, because I heard that the United States and Communist China were about to come to an agreement, I realized that my native land, where I was born and where I grew up, was like a ship about

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to sink. I could not eat, I could not sleep. I gave up my work towards my Ph.D. and I gave up all the comforts of my American life, and returned to be with you all. Why? I will tell you.

A year ago today, we were just in the process of electing the members of the National Assembly, and I was a candidate. I shall always remember that December 10, 1978. There was a political meeting at which speeches were made. It was in the village of Tashi. At the temple there was a celebration of a great festival; in every household they killed pigs for this celebration. In front of the platform from which I was speaking, a sea of people stretched out in front of me. They had not come to hear my speech, they had come to eat pork. They were all watching the celebration in the temple. As I was standing there on the platform, I was speaking—and I was weeping. Why should Lu Hsiu-lien want to cry at such a time? Of course you realize that this was no gimmick. So why couldn't I stop weeping?

Before me I looked out upon an altar which had been built at the cost of NT\$400,000. Before it there were a great many pigs which had been slaughtered and taken there for an offering. Everyone was eating pork and getting fat! It was as if the people thought that by eating pork they could keep Taiwan safe, and they could save their own skins too. I thought, how can our Taiwanese people be so foolish? So there I was, speaking and weeping! Because I was crying, others there, who were listening to me, also started crying. Then I noticed something very interesting: the police in the two or three cars who were keeping an eye on the meeting were crying as well!

Truck from which speeches were made. Signs call for freedom of speech and economic justice.

You, security police in the back there, who have come here to act according to the orders from your superiors: I know that there is a great struggle going on in your hearts right now. I know that it is because you just follow orders that you have come here; but you should not forget that if the “law” is against the will of the people, if your orders actually contravene the law and the constitution, then the orders themselves are against the law and the constitution. So you must act as your conscience tells you. You ought to stand together with the people of Taiwan, to whom Taiwan belongs.

The crowd: Yes, yes!

Voice: The riot trucks are coming closer again!

Taiwan's International Status

Lu Hsiu-lien: Dear friends, I have written a book titled *The Past and Future of Taiwan*. I am sure that many of you have read it, and some of you have in fact discussed it with me. I want to take a few minutes to tell you about the type of democracy which we, the non-Party people, want. We know that our homeland, Taiwan, is in great danger. You all know that there is the so-called “problem of Taiwan.” Do you know the history of Taiwan? We are Taiwanese, and our ancestors have worked hard on this land, but have you heard about the history of our country? Have you heard people talk about the uncertain legal position of Taiwan? Do you know that Taiwan is an orphan on the world political scene? Are you not aware that Taiwan is an international orphan?

In 1895, eighty-four years ago, there was a civil war in Korea. The government of Korea was not able to defend itself, so they asked China to protect them. The Japanese government used this opportunity to attack China. According to the peace treaty which was agreed to at the end of this war, the Taiwanese people became “Japanese” people. Do you remember this bit of your history? What quarrel did we Taiwanese have with the Japanese, or with the Koreans, or with the Chinese? Why should our grandfathers, our uncles and our aunts become “Japanese” just because of a civil war in Korea and an act of the Chinese, who did not even consult the Taiwanese people? Later—51 years after Taiwan had been ceded to Japan—the Japanese abandoned Taiwan as a result of the outcome of the Second World War, and following this, we Taiwanese changed from being “Japanese” to being “Chinese.”

Here some legal questions arise, and I want to tell you about them. About two years before the defeat of Japan the United States, Britain, and China issued a joint statement [the Cairo Declaration of 1943] expressing the hope that after the surrender of Japan, Taiwan would be returned to China. However, after the Japanese surrender, the Korean war broke out. The United States then discovered that it could not withdraw from involvement in Asia, so President Truman made a statement emphasizing that Japan had merely *given up* its claim to Taiwan. Thus, by the terms of the peace treaty [of 1951] Japan relinquished Taiwan and the Pescadores but it was not specified to whom they were given.

So, according to international law, the legal position of Taiwan was not settled. In other words, the Taiwanese had been abandoned by their own parents, who handed them over to foster parents—the Japanese. But our foster parents lost the war and were powerless to nurture us any longer, so they abandoned us too. However, our own parents did not have the right or the strength to take us back and look after us. This is the Taiwan on which we are standing now!

Late-evening Speakers

Lu Hsiu-lien: Harvard-educated legal scholar and a leading feminist.

Chang Chbn-nan: Former member of National Assembly.

Chi Wan-sheng: Active with *Formosa Magazine*. From Puli, in Nantou County.

K'ang Ning-hsiang: Legislative Yuan member; the most moderate of the non-Party leaders.

Huang Hsin-chich: Legislative Yuan member. The “grand old man” of the *Formosa* group, but not involved with the magazine on a day-to-day basis.

In the Shanghai Communique [1972], and in the statement made at the end of last year by the Chinese Communists and the Americans, it was stated that the United States acknowledged that the Chinese on both sides of the Taiwan Straits hold the view that there is only one China, and that Taiwan is part of China. The United States expressed its hope that the Taiwan question could be settled peacefully.

Please note that the attitude of the Communist Chinese and the United States regarding the status of Taiwan had changed. First the American government had said that they felt that Taiwan was part of China. However, when the peace treaty with Japan was signed, the United States changed its attitude, and stated that Taiwan was to be taken from Japan, but could not be returned to China; they were of the opinion that it was to be left to the United Nations to settle that point, or that it was to be settled between Japan and China. More recently, the United States changed again: now they say that they realize that the Chinese on both sides of the Taiwan Straits hold the view that there is only one China, but that Taiwan is part of China. However, the Americans did not use the word “recognize.” They only said that they knew and “acknowledged” that both the Chinese Nationalists and the Chinese Communists hold this view. The U.S. did not say whether or not it agreed with this view. Furthermore, the U. S. now did not say that the Taiwan problem should be settled by the United Nations. It now said that the problem should be settled by the Chinese on both sides of the Taiwan Straits, and that

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it is not for any third party to settle this matter—nor should it be settled by force of arms. So this is the most recent position of the Americans on this matter.

However, there are two problems with regard to the American acknowledgement that the Chinese on both sides of the Taiwan Straits say this. I would like to ask whether the Chinese on both sides of the Taiwan Straits includes us here. If it does, then by what body or organization, and through what channel has our opinion been consulted?

The crowd: None at all! None at all!

Lu Hsiu-lien: May I ask whether our National Assembly, our five Yuan's, our Provincial government, or the authorities in the counties, cities, or rural and urban districts can fully represent us? I think we all know what the answer is! Secondly, the American statement said that the Taiwan problem should be settled peacefully by the Chinese people. I want to ask you all, in our present situation as an orphan in the international arena, what chance do we have of getting a peaceful settlement? When we want to compete in football or other sports in the Olympic Games, we are disqualified,

rejected. In this type of situation, how are we going to be able to talk about a peaceful solution? What capability do we have to discuss weighty matters of international affairs? I ask you, who is qualified to represent our eighteen million people and negotiate a peaceful solution? Who is qualified to represent us and fight for our rights?

Call from the crowd: We ourselves will fight for our rights.

Lu Hsiu-lien: Has the KMT government the full legal authority to represent the opinions of the eighteen million Taiwanese people? Please answer me! Can the present members of the National Assembly and of the Legislative Yuan represent us? Can the members of the Provincial Assembly and the five *wan* [branches of government] represent the eighteen million people of Taiwan?

The crowd: No!'No!

Lu Hsiu-lien: Under these conditions, when, on the one hand, we ourselves have no power to discuss conditions of peace, and, on the other hand, when those who would participate in discussions of peace for us do not represent our views, who is in a position to settle the problem of Taiwan?

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The crowd: We ourselves!

Lu Hsiu-lien: Look up at the sky, look down to the ground; isn't this heaven and this earth the place where our ancestors worked in pain and suffering in the hope that they could give it to us, so that we, and our children, and our grandchildren could live here forever in peace and prosperity? Have we ever had a time when we ourselves were masters in our own house? Isn't it true that we have always been slaves, subject to the whims of others? We have never overcome!

Now we are face to face with a great crisis. You all know that last year, on December 16, the United States announced that it was establishing diplomatic relations with Communist China, and that the security and defense agreement between the United States and the Republic of China [Taiwan; hereafter "ROC",¹ would be terminated at the end of this year. In other words, today being the 10th of December, in another three weeks the treaty will end.

"We cannot afford dissent."

—President Chiang Ching-kuo

What is this treaty of defense between the United States and the Republic of China? According to this treaty, the United States and the ROC both have the responsibility to protect each other. That is, each has the responsibility to help preserve the security of the other. During the period when this treaty was operative, the United States has made a very considerable contribution to the preservation of the security of Taiwan. The help which they gave us has been very great. However, the ROC had to observe one condition very care-fully: If, for any reason, the Republic of China should wish to make an armed attack against the mainland, then it must first get the United States' agreement. We have been very good about this. We have always observed this condition, and that is why we have not yet counterattacked the mainland!

On December 31 of this year this treaty will come to an end. The result is that the United States will have no further legal responsibility or be bound in any way to protect the security of Taiwan. If the people from the mainland are greedy and want to take our land, it will be very difficult for the United States to intervene. Seen from another angle, if there is any change in the security of Taiwan, this will affect our lives, and the happiness of our children. On the other hand, there has existed the possibility that the situation may improve, for, according to the treaty, the Republic of China has had the duty to refrain from counterattacking the mainland. As I see it, in 21 days the ROC will

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not be bound by the treaty any longer, and will be free, at whatever time, whenever they feel the time is ripe, whenever they have the strength, to attack the mainland.

Related to this, Prime Minister Sun said something very interesting. This is very significant, so I will take the opportunity to tell you about it. Prime Minister Sun said: “We must seize the present opportunity, and take our future in our own hands.” Prime Minister Sun also said: “If we are to unite with China, then in politics the mainland must follow the example of Taipei.” He has also said: “If today we do not become the champions of freedom, then tomorrow we will be like the boat people of Vietnam.”

All this is well and good. However, if we examine Premier Sun’s three statements closely, we find a few problems. First, to say that we must seize the present opportunity and take the future in our own hands sounds like fine, tough talk. However, it reminds one of the man who, not having eaten for a month, does not know whether he will survive the night—he had better not concern himself with the question of whether he will live to the age of 120! Now, just think of our situation: Of the more than one hundred nations in the world, there are now only twenty or so who maintain formal diplomatic relations with us. None of the others recognize us at all! And as for those who are still our “good friends,” they are either tiny friends, or bad friends⁵. In international affairs we have been driven out of one organization after another. Under these conditions, if we can’t even seize the present opportunity, how are we going to take the whole future into our hands?

Premier Sun said that in politics the mainland should learn from Taipei. We all understand quite clearly what *he* means by this. But when I think of this meeting here tonight, it seems to me that the Chinese Communists should not be learning from Taipei, but they should be learning from Kaohsiung! (*Applause.*)

The crowd: That’s right! That’s right!

Lu Hsiu-lien: I don’t think that the people on the mainland will be willing to learn from Taipei’s thirty years of martial law; I don’t think they will be willing to learn the way in which rich people evade taxation and become economic criminals, while the poor people must pay their taxes with great suffer-ing. I think that, if the Chinese Communists were to really learn from Taipei, then if one day, when the time of general elections comes for the one billion Chinese in Communist China, and if the Communist

5. Lu is referring to right-wing Latin American dictatorships, and to South Africa.

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Party believes that it couldn't win the election, it would simply announce that the elections were cancelled. (*Applause.*)

(The above remark is an apparent reference to the elections which were scheduled for 1978 in Taiwan. These were cancelled in the final days of the campaign. The ostensible reason for the cancellation was the American recognition of the People's Republic of China, placing US-ROC relations on an unofficial basis. However, many Taiwanese believe that the real reason for the cancellation was that the election prospects of the non-Kuomintang candidates had appeared to be fiery good.)

Some people say, if we compare the level of politics in Taipei with that in Peking, then Peking is the true example of an inferior man, whereas we are a fake of a princely man. The inferior man will tell you directly: "I am not democratic, I am a rogue." The fake princely man will say: "We are a democratically controlled country, I will uphold the constitution, I will put the 'Three People's Principles' into practice. " Now what is the result? You see it here tonight!

Article 11 of the Constitution of the Republic of China reads as follows: "The people shall have freedom of speech, teaching, . . . and publication." They have "freedom of assembly, and of association."⁶ But friends, today many newspapers reported that the [pro-KMT] Chinese Association for Human Rights is able to celebrate Human Rights Day in Seh-jen Hall, undisturbed. Why is it, then, that we Taiwanese are forbidden to hold a human rights meeting? Such a great number of people have come together here! It is not that in politics one should learn from Taipei. I think that it should be changed to read: "In politics we should learn from Kaohsiung."

People in the crowd call out: Yes! Yes! That's right!

Lu Hsiu-lien: They should learn about the courage of the people of Kaohsiung; they should learn about the determination of the people of Kaohsiung; they should learn about the political strength of the people of Kaohsiung! (*Applause.*)

Since the United States and Communist China established diplomatic relations, Prime Minister Sun has often said: "If today we do not become the champions of

6. The latter rights are specified in Article 14 of the constitution.

7. Chinese Nationalists who have prepared a contingency home in the United States or elsewhere, and supposedly have only to pack their toothbrushes, are popularly known as "toothbrush" people.

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Police detonate gas. In addition to tear gas, the police used another, even more noxious type. (This photograph was taken at the *Formosa* intersection at approximately 10:30.)

freedom, then tomorrow we will be like the boat of people of Vietnam.” He has said this over, and over, and over again! But, friends, Premier Sun said it to the wrong audience! This should not have been said to the people of Taiwan, it should have been said to the KMT government, to the military, to the police, and to the secret police! Why do I say this? Because the eighteen million people of Taiwan have been struggling for freedom from the time of their birth. If it weren’t for the sake of freedom, our ancestors would not have needed to leave their homes to come to Taiwan with such suffering. If it were not for the sake of freedom, then our two million mainlander friends would have had no need to follow the KMT government, leaving behind wives and children, to come to Taiwan. Thus, the eighteen million people of Taiwan were born to struggle for freedom. (*Applause.*)

All who identify themselves with Taiwan, all who are willing to live and die in Taiwan, are champions of freedom who will therefore never become like the boat people. It doesn’t matter whether you speak Chekiangese or Cantonese, or for that matter Uigur—inasmuch as we are all in the same boat, we should learn to love each other. Our bonds should be of the heart. Should we not take each other’s hand, and struggle together for the future of Taiwan? (*Applause*)Picture Tear gas

So today, it is not we Taiwanese who are exiles. The only “boat people” here are that small minority who do not regard Taiwan as their homeland, who do not treat the

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people of Taiwan as their brothers and sisters—the “toothbrush” people’ who are now in control of Taiwan! (*Loud applause.*) So, this line of Premier Sun should not have been addressed to the people of Taiwan; it should have been addressed to those who are meeting this very day in the Central Committee of the KMT. It should have been said to them, and it should have been emphasized to them, so that they could have repented their behavior. They should really learn what true freedom is; what real democracy is, what human rights are! On the one hand the KMT keeps saying “freedom, democracy, and human rights,” but on the other hand it sends a large number of troops to surround us here, to use fire hoses to attack us, and to hit us with electric cattle prods.

Friends, three weeks from now this country will be facing a deep crisis. The United States, which for thirty years helped us, has now abandoned us. Actually, we may have relied upon this imperial nation too much. This friend helped us for three decades, but then proved unreliable. So now we must put all of that behind us.

We are now thirty-five years old. Do we want to be independent or not? Do we want to protect this land or not? This land is ours! If we are not going to protect it ourselves, who is going to protect us? If we are to be happy and prosperous, then, three weeks from today we are all on our own! From now on, we must give this everything we’ve got! We should not think all day just of meeting girlfriends; we should not just think: “Next month our son is getting married. “ There is a saying: “If there is no skin, no hair can grow. “There is another saying which says: “It is no good looking for whole eggs in a nest which has fallen from the treetop.” If our country is destroyed, then our own individual happiness also ends. Friends, we know that our grandfathers and our great-uncles were changed from being “Chinese” to being “Japanese” without being consulted. Later, these “Japanese” became “Chinese” again. Perhaps in the future there will again be this or that change, but this would be in complete contravention of our human rights! We, who are here today struggling for human rights, must give our utmost for our homeland.

At this point disorder appears to be breaking out.

Shouts from the crowd: The riot troops are coming! The riot troops are coming!

Beginning around 9.30 a convoy of twenty-three riot trucks began moving north from the area of Ta-t’ung Department Store. The crowd in front of the Formosa offices could hear the rumble in the distance as they approached. By 10:00 the vehicles were beginning to press in on the southern fringe of the crowd in Sun Yat-sen First Road.

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Chang Chun-hung: Dear friends, dear fellow Taiwanese who are here tonight out of your concern for human rights: Our activities today are now finished. Please remain quietly where you are standing now. Dear Taiwanese soldiers, do not approach any closer. Although I know that you really love to hear our speeches, please do not come any closer, so as to avoid clashes. Dear friends—(*There are serious disturbances. People are shouting Sticks! Sticks! Prepare your materiel! Chang Chun-hung continues:*) Please remain quiet! (*Crowd:* Our sticks are ready!) Stop! Stop! (*The police squad apparently is closing in.*) No one move! No one move! (*This is repeated sixteen times.*)

Wang T'o: Please ignore the soldiers. Let us shout some cheers.

Mr. K'ang Ning-hsiang will now speak to us: he is the publisher of the magazine *The Eighties*. (*Applause.*)

K'ang Ning-hsiang: Long live Taiwanese democracy!

Various voices from the crowd: Long live Taiwan!

Long live Taiwan! Long live Taiwan!
Come on, K'ang Ning-hsiang! Come on!
Down with secret-police rule!
Oppose the secret police.

Wang T'o: I ask Provincial Assemblyman Lin Yi-hsiung to say a word of greeting to us. (*There are shouts from the crowd, but Lin does not speak.*)

Now Legislator K'ang Ning-hsiang is going to address us.

Please come a little nearer, people. Leave the soldiers alone. Leave the soldiers alone; they are mad!

K'ang Ning-hsiang: Will you all shout three times: “Long live Taiwanese democracy.”

It is most important for us here today not to clash with the riot troops, because that does not make sense!

The crowd: Right on!

K'ang Ning-hsiang: Remember, those riot shields which they are using, they were paid for by our taxes. Their vehicles were paid for by our taxes too. So what is the point of clashing with them? They are using the tax money that *we* paid to confront us! It does not make sense at all, it is completely useless. As I stand here tonight, I tell the commander of the riot troops, your behavior tonight is a black mark on the history of Taiwan.

The crowd shouts: We agree! Right on!

T'ao Pai-ch'uan Speaks Out

During the winter and spring of 1979-80, when the Chinese Nationalists were running roughshod over the rights of the Taiwanese, most members of the ruling Kuomintang remained silent. There was, however, at least one notable exception.

Elder statesman T'ao Pai-ch'uan is often called "the Conscience of Taiwan." He was for many years an outspoken member of the government's Control Yuan, a watchdog agency, and has since been officially designated a policy advisor to the president.

Last April, Mr. Tao urged that the sentences of those convicted in connection with the Kaohsiung human rights rally be carefully reviewed. Calling attention to the sensitiveness of the matter, he indicated that in general it would have been better if the defendants had been tried in civilian courts rather than in military courts. He said that in reviewing the sentences various factors should be taken into consideration, such as whether or not the defendants had had seditious intent, and whether their confessions had been authentic. The latter was a reference to assertions that the confessions (which were repudiated by the signers during the trial) had been extracted by torture or other forms of coercion.

Challenging the government's assertion that this was a criminal matter, T'ao Pai-ch'uan insisted that it was political in nature, and said that a little introspection was in order on the part of the government.

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K'ang Ning-hsiang: I want to ask the riot troop commander will you please remain there quietly? Now I say: will the squad please leave slowly. Dear Formosa, dear democratic people of Taiwan, I ask you all here to be brave in facing the K MT. I am here tonight to struggle with you for our life and happiness; to fight for our democracy, so that our political system can be more democratic. That is why I face you all with confidence tonight. I hope that you will all continue to work hard for the happiness of all, and for a democratic political system in Taiwan. I ask you now to keep calm. Let us use peaceful means to gain a greater victory, so that our democracy may grow and grow. We did not come here to clash with the police, so I hope that all of us here will now quietly disperse. Commander of the riot troops, please do not take any more unprovoked actions. If you do, then I can only repeat what I have said before: you will be the first in-the history of Taiwan—

Crowd: Long live Taiwanese democracy! Long live Taiwanese democracy!

Unidentified speaker: I know you are eager to hear Lin Yi-hsiung, whom I now invite to speak. (*But the shouts from the crowd drown them out.*)

Wang T'o: Dear friends, please keep calm. Fellow Taiwanese do not use force. Dear friends, do not disperse -

Some of the riot vehicles were now pushing into the crowd, and making slow forays back and forth. Each time they passed through, however, people closed in behind them. The crowd was becoming increasingly angry. Finally, some people uprooted short metal-loop fences from the traffic islands, and set them in the street to block the return route of the vehicles.

Huang Hsin-chieh (*apparently addressing the riot squad*): What are you doing? Don't move! Don't be disorderly! You must take responsibility for anything that happens. Riot squad commander: 1, Huang Hsin-chieh, am warning you: Don't do that! We are finishing our meeting. Riot squad commander, please cease your action immediately. If you continue, you will be held responsible! Please, all of you, come a little closer; let us sing a song, and be cheerful. Let us sing a song, and then we will all have a good night's rest. Let us all get some sleep; let us get some sleep.

Ts'ai Yu-chuan: Let us sing a human rights song. Human rights, human rights, we must all defend our human rights. Love Taiwan, love our Taiwan. (*Repeated three times, but fewer and fewer people are singing.*)

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Chang Chun-hung: Riot squad, please move back! Riot squad, I warn you, move back. Retreat, move back, squad commander, lead your squad back.

Huang Hsin-chieh: Now, on behalf of all the *Formosa Magazine* workers, I thank you for attending this meeting tonight. Thank you. Tonight's rally organized by *Formosa Magazine* is now over. Thank you. (*Singing in background.*) Thank you one and all. The *Formosa* meeting is now concluded. Thank you. We shall meet another day.

“The Kaohsiung incident involved nothing but a handful of radicals who acted beyond the bounds of democracy. Our handling of the incident will teach them the real meaning of democracy.”

—Premier Y. S. Sun

Voice from crowd: Let us sing the human rights song. (*They sing it twice.*)

Huang Hsin-chieh: I thank you all very much. Thank you everyone. Tonight's human rights meeting is over, over.

Riot squad, do not make any more unprovoked attacks. We're finished now. Don't attack our people any more. If you do, you will have to take responsibility. I will not assume responsibility. Riot squad, get back! Don't fire any more tear gas! (*This is repeated several times.*) Stop it! Desist! No more tear gas! If you don't stop, you must take the full responsibility. Squad commander, call off your action. Friends of *Formosa Magazine*, call off your action. Do not throw your torches, or you will lose them! Dear brothers and sisters, look at how shamefully the KMT behaves toward our Taiwanese people! We protest! Long live the Taiwanese! (*Repeated several times.*)

Wang T'o (*interrupting*): Pay attention to the direction of the wind. The tear gas only blows in that direction. Taiwanese people, face the right way, and all of you people will be all right. Commander of the riot troops, you must take full responsibility for this.

Here and there, fights had been going on between soldiers and bystanders. Then the struggle against the riot trucks intensified. Their mirrors were broken off, and some attempts were made to light fires under them. The rally leaders were asked for gasoline from their trucks, but they declined to provide it. At 10:30, the riot troops began to shoot beer-can-sized cannisters containing a new kind of gas—a type which burns the throat and nose. These were fired closer and closer to the speakers' truck, each time

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exploding with thick, noxious clouds of gas. Finally, Shih Ming-teh and others were forced to abandon the area of the sound truck.

There was a real danger that, in a panic to escape from the gas, people would be trampled. However, there was no actual stampede. SPEAHR/International Director Ch'en Chu was able to reach the Tung An Tang Clinic, in the same building as the Formosa offices, to be treated for nausea and burning caused by the gas. She was not seriously injured, but others were. Some faces with blood on them could be seen. (The next day, over thirty persons reported to the Formosa offices that they had been injured by the troops. This, of course, would not account for the total injuries.)

Various voices from the crowd: Go on with the speeches, go on with the speeches. If there are no speeches then the meeting will break up.

Sweet potatoes arise! KMT, you are, using Taiwanese to attack Taiwanese.

Bring gasoline! Bring gasoline!

Wang T'o: Commander, do you remember the burning of Changsha? If you make such a mistake tonight, you will be shot. The KMT will shoot you! The KMT government will hold you responsible!

Various voices from the crowd: Don't stop talking. Don't stop the speeches.

Wait until after the fighting; then we will have speeches again.

Wang T'o: The KMT is disgusting: we demand that the squad commander come out. The eyes of the Taiwanese people are watching you! Please, squad commander—

Voices in the background: Forward at them, forward! Strike back at them!
(*Screams.*)

Wang T'o: Don't discharge any more gas! Just let the squad commander come out and talk! That will be enough! Police, go away! Riot squad, your parents are here, your brothers, your sisters—you must not attack your parents! Let us all shout: "Squad commander, go away; squad commander, go away; squad commander, go away." KMT, do you want to make world headlines? Squad commander, do not attack us. For our people's sake, do not attack us!

Voices from the crowd: Long live the Taiwanese people. (*Repeated five times.*) We shall protest! We shall protest!

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In a pincer action, riot police converged from both north and south, firing gas as they advanced. Around 11:40, the last remaining civilians slipped away into doorways and alleys.

During the course of the disturbances, a few police and an unknown number of civilians were injured. (On this subject, see SPEAHRhead 6/7, pp. 4-5). The government soon tightened the already strict control of the press, and issued a false report that 183 police and no civilians had been injured. On the basis of this, they arrested many of the leaders of the democratic movement. Among the major figures involved in the rally, all except K'ang Ning-hsiang and Tung Ts'ung-ling were taken into custody. Those who were given the longer prison terms are listed below.

Shih Ming-teh	life sentence
Huang Hsin-chieh	14 years
Yao Chia-wen	12 years
Chang Chun-hung	12 years
Lu Hsiu-lien	12 years
Fan Cheng-yu	6 1/2 years <small>On appeal, reduce to 4 years</small>
Chou Ping-teh	6 years
Wang T'o	6 years
Yang Ching-chtu	6 years <small>On appeal, reduced to 4 years, 2 month'</small>
Ts'ai Yu-ch'uan	5 years
Chi Wan-sheng	5 Years <small>On appeal, reduced to 4 years, 6 months</small>

The above includes only those who gave speeches. Altogether, perhaps a hundred people were arrested in the wake of the rally. (See list—which contains some inaccuracies—in *SPEAHRhead* no. 4/ 5, p. 7.) Approximately half of these were released. The remainder were given prison sentences, including three who allegedly had some responsibility for the rally: Lin Yi-hsiung (see *SPED HRhead* no. 6/7 p. 27), Chten Chu (see *SPED HRhead* no. 4/ 5, p. 14; no. 6/ 7, p. 3; no. 8, p. 3; and no. 10, p. 3), and Lin Hung-hsuan (see *SPEAHRhead* no. 9, p. 6). All three received twelve-year sentences.

**Chang Ch'un-nan was not detained until the summer of 1980. After his release, he was an unsuccessful candidate for Legislative Yuan. Mr. Chang was rearrested in January 1981.*

After the Incident

The day after the rally the office of *Formosa Magazine* in Kaohsiung was found to have been completely destroyed by the riot troops. On December 12 the opposition leaders tried to hold a press conference in Taipei to present their view of the Kaohsiung events, but they were physically attacked by reporters of the government-controlled media.

On the morning of December 13 virtually all opposition leaders were arrested, whether they had attended the Kaohsiung event or not.

The defendants were held incommunicado for approximately two and a half months: they were not allowed to see their relatives or lawyers, nor were they allowed to receive any letters or read papers. Almost immediately disturbing reports of ill-treatment and outright torture started to filter out. The prisoners were deprived of sleep for long periods and interrogation often lasted several days at a time. Lu Hsiu-lien, a Harvard-educated lawyer and women's rights leader said at her trial that she had been subjected to questioning for at least 400 hours in fifty days. Others said that they had been questioned for as long as 70 hours at a time. The methods of intimidation used by the interrogators were beatings and death threats against the defendants and their families. Ms. Lu was shown photographs of an executed "communist spy" as a warning of what would be likely to happen to her if she did not confess to be guilty of "sedition".

The Murder of Lin Yi-Hsiung's Family

On February 28, 1980 Lin Yi-hsiung's mother, who had visited her son in jail the day before, passed on the news that her son had been tortured by telephone to Japan. A few hours later her house was broken into and she and her sevenyears old twin granddaughters were stabbed to death. An older granddaughter was seriously injured. The date of February 28 was already deeply engraved in the memories of the Taiwanese people, because on that date in 1947 a spontaneous protest started against the corruption and repressive practices of the Nationalist Chinese. After the island-wide protests Chiang Kai-shek's government secretly moved troops from the mainland to Taiwan. These troops then massacred thousands of Taiwanese — many of whom were intellectuals or in a position of leadership. To the Taiwanese the 1980 murders are thus a grim and painful reminder of the Kuomintang's continued repressiveness.

Attempts to Prejudge the Trials

During the period between the arrests and the trials the authorities mobilized the government-controlled media in a propaganda campaign against the arrested opposition leaders. The press, radio, television, and even some non-Presbyterian Churches joined in an orchestrated chorus of

義薄雲天氣貫日月
血淚生命承先烈

Tribute to
Lin Yi-hsiang

Your righteousness
reaches the heavens,
Your spirit transcends
the sun and the moon;
Descendant from
martyrs, Blood and tears
are your heritage.

“If the investigators weren’t satisfied with an answer, they would keep hitting me until I couldn’t bear it any longer.

I shall never forget the verbal intimidation, and what some of the interrogators said to me

‘If you do not talk and give us the evidence, we will beat you. If you get beaten to death, we will just say that you committed suicide out of fear or guilt.’

‘If you don’t talk, - we will knock all your teeth out.’

The nameless man who beat me was fierce an evil looking. One look at him and I would shiver. His modus operandi was punches and kicks. To scare and intimidate me, he often threatened to have me dragged down to the basement. For about ten days he punched my chest, back and abdomen. He kicked me in the shins and in the stomach. Sometimes he used a lit cigarette to burn my face whiskers.”

“My Detention”, by **Lin Yi-hsiang**.

SPEAHRhead. Summer-Autumn, 1980.

condemnation. The defendants were described as guilty of having tried to overthrow the government by scores of officials—from the Vice-President on down. The Director-General of the Government Information Office distributed a report in which he claimed that the organizers of the rally had told the people over the loudspeakers “to beat the police to death.” The tape recordings actually show that there was only one incidence of incitement by a particular speaker at the rally—and this person was never arrested.

The “Open” Trials

A series of three trials was held in connection with the Kaohsiung incident. From March 18 to March 28, 1980 eight major opposition leaders—the “Kaohsiung Eight”—stood trial in military court in Taipei. As the trial progressed it became increasingly clear that the Taiwan Garrison Command and the Investigation Bureau of the Ministry of Justice had used brutal methods to force the defendants to sign “confessions” prepared by the interrogators. The authorities failed to conduct any impartial investigation into the mistreatment.

During the trial the prosecution maintained that it had evidence on tape that the opposition leaders had shouted “beat the policeman to death,” but the judge and prosecutor refused requests by the defense that the tapes be played in court. A semi-comic high point of the trial was the government’s charge against Legislative Yuan member Huang Hsin-chieh that Huang had planned to make an “extraordinary profit” off importing baby eels from China, that he intended to “subvert the government and was prepared to use the profits for seditious activities” (Indictment, February 19, 1980.)

雄蓋寶島氣壯山河
母、女、天、倫、付、東、流

Your heroism hovers
Over the treasure that is Taiwan;
Your spirit strengthens Our
mountains and waters;
But irreparably broken are the
natural bonds
To your mother and daughters.

by Yu Wen-yun

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Kaohsiung rally coordinator Shih Ming-teh was sentenced to life imprisonment. Mr. Huang Hsin-chieh received a fourteen years sentence, while the remaining six opposition leaders were sentenced to twelve years imprisonment.

The three sets of Kaohsiung incident trials and subsequent appeals brought to the surface claims of severe mistreatment...

No evidence was produced before the courts however, that a complete and impartial investigation of the testimony alleging mistreatment had been conducted [by the authorities] as the defense lawyers said was customarily required.

U.S. Department of State
Human Rights Report, February 1981

The trial of 33 persons accused of lesser charges took place in civil court in Taipei from April 16-19, and from May 21-24, 1980. The main accusation against virtually all of them was that they "... wore a red cloth belt bearing their name, and a tri-colored sash, and carried a torch in the march. . ." The indictments against two of the 33, Chou P'ing-teh (a local judge) and Yang Ch'ing-ch'u (a well-known writer) contained the following fascinating piece of "evidence":

"The fact that he shouted 'beat the military and civilian policemen to death' was corroborated by . . . photos taken at the scene."

We commented at the time that lipreading from still photographs is apparently a highly developed art in Taiwan.

The third trial related to the Kaohsiung incident was held on May 16, 1980. Ten persons including Reverend Kao Chun-ming, the General Secretary of Taiwan's Presbyterian Church, were accused of harboring Shih Ming-teh who had escaped arrest after the rally. Nine of the ten were detained when Shih was arrested on January 8, 1980. The nine included Reverend Kao's personal secretary Shi Jui-yuen (no relation to Mr. Shih.) They were held *incommunicado* by the police authorities for **more than four months**. In March and April reports of severe mistreatment of these persons filtered out

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of the detention center. The government-controlled media also started a campaign of accusations against Dr. Kao. The China Reporter of February 3-9, 1980 had as headline: "The secret confession of Shih Jui-yuen could lead to the arrest of important religious leaders."

In the beginning of April the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church voted to rejoin the World Council of Churches. In 1970, it had been forced to leave this organization by the government. This vote apparently prompted the April 24 arrest of Reverend Kao. He and the other nine were accused of "failing to report" Shih Ming-teh. At the May 16 trial Dr. Kao stated that Shih had not used or advocated violence, and that turning Shih in to the authorities would have been similar to Judas' betrayal of Jesus.

Reverend Kao was sentenced to seven years imprisonment, while his nine fellow defendants received lesser sentences.

Epilogue

The Taiwan authorities claimed that because the trials were "open", they were therefore also "legal" and "fair". However, by the imposition of martial law thirty years earlier the Kuomintang had itself destroyed the framework for true legality and justice. The interrogation and severe beatings of the prominent opposition leaders, the extensive distortions of the facts of the Kaohsiung incident itself, and the massive propaganda campaign preceding the trials together added up to a grave violation of basic human rights of the members of the Democratic Opposition.

On the other hand, the fact that the trials were not totally behind closed doors and the almost verbatim accounts in the newspapers made it possible for men and women in the streets of Taiwan to follow a discussion of hitherto forbidden topics such as Taiwan Independence and self-determination.

The words spoken at Kaohsiung in the evening of December 10, 1979 and during the three trials clearly represent the Taiwanese people's longing for justice, freedom and democracy. These voices cannot be stifled now; nor can anyone any longer ask: "What are the Taiwanese people themselves saying?"

ㄅ
你們會認識真理，
真理會使你們得到自由。
ㄅ

聖經(約翰 8-32)

You will see the truth, and the truth
will set you free. (John 8:32.)

Mrs. Yao Chia-wen's campaign flier.

我們不相信：
黑夜永遠沉沉，
苦難永無止境。
展望民主前程，
我們堅信：
逐流不可久，
潮流終浩蕩。

We do not believe:

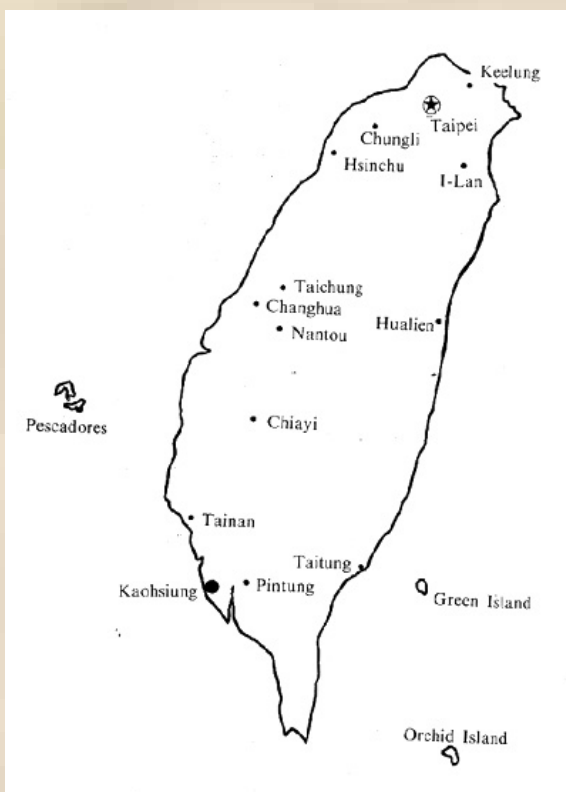
that the dark night will last forever and
that our hardship will be endless.
We look forward to a democratic
future.

We believe:

that this adverse tide will turn one day,
and that the tide of democracy will
sweep over our land.

Mrs. Chang Chun-hung's
campaign flier.

In parliamentary elections held on December 6, 1980 relatives of the *Kaohsiung Eight* scored impressive victories. Huang Hsin-chieh's brother, Huang Tien-fu, and Chang Chun-hung's wife, Hsu Jung-shu, were elected to the Legislative Yuan. Yao Chia-wen's wife, Chou Ching-yu, was elected to the National Assembly with the highest number of votes in the entire election.



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Remarks in bold-face type, enclosed in square brackets, or in the footnotes are supplied by the editors. The same is true of remarks in italics except where the original speakers' remarks obviously call for italics.
