

12 November 1979

In this issue we present a report on the events around **Meili Tao** (, Formosa Magazine), the new publication out of the democratic opposition movement in Taiwan. Its first issue appeared on 16 August 1979. A reception given by the editors and staff at a hotel near Taipei's airport, did not turn out to be what one would call a quiet gathering. The second issue, which appeared at the end of September, contained an article on the economic development of South Korea (the Republic of Korea, ROK). This article triggered a protest by the ROK embassy in Taipei to the ruling authorities in Taiwan, which in turn led to an almost-ban of Meili Tao. On page two you will find the text of the response of **Meili Tao** publisher Huang Hsin-chieh () to the ROK embassy in Taipei.

On page four we give a listing of English-language publications which present up-to-date news and background information on political, social, and economic developments in Taiwan, while on page five we start our new **Political Prisoner Focus PPF**: in this column we call attention to the plight of individual political prisoners, whether they have been imprisoned recently, or have languished on Green Island - or somewhere else in the prison system - for twenty five years or more.

On being an opposition magazine in Taiwan.

Given the KMT's tight control of the news media in Taiwan, it has been difficult for any dissenting voices to let themselves be heard by a wider audience. Opinions which deviate from official policy are certainly not heard on radio and TV, while government censorship ensures that articles published in major newspapers are also in line with what the government wants to hear. A former reporter of the **Taiwan Daily News** () - a newspaper which in September 1978 was taken over by pro-KMT interests after it had paid "too much" attention to non-KMT political activities - commented: "We were allowed to print only 60 - 70 % of the news" (**Far Eastern Economic Review**, 22 September 1978, p. 22 , where one also finds the cartoon reprinted here).

TAIWAN



In view of this lid on freedom of the press, it has been the tradition of opposition groups to express their opinions in magazines with a limited circulation. This tradition dates back to Lei Chen's **Free China Fortnightly** () in 1960, and runs via the **Taiwan Political Review** () of 1975 to the more recent **Chao Liu** () and **New Generation** (). These publications had in common that they were run by a small group of people, that they were banned after a few issues, and that the editors or writers were arrested.

The publication of the two most recent magazines, **The Eighties** () and **Meili Tao** () is remarkable in more than one respect: a much larger number of people is involved in the editorial staffs of both magazines than was the case ever before, and the circulation in Taiwan is several times as large as that of earlier publications: the present circulation of **The Eighties** is approximately 40,000, while **Meili Tao** reported printing 110,000 copies of their issue number two.

The listing of the editorial board of **Meili Tao** reads like the who-is-who of the democratic opposition in Taiwan. not unexpectedly the subtitle of the publication is: *The Magazine of Taiwan's Democratic Movement.*

A stormy birth.....

The first issue was published in the middle of August 1979. The circulation reached a respectable level of 45,000. In the beginning of September - with issue no. 1 in the newsstands and in the mail to subscribers - the editors decided to celebrate. They made reservations for a reception at a hotel near Taipei's airport for September 8, and invited some 500 prominent guests.

The guests, including several liberal KMT officials such as Kuan Chung (), the KMT's man responsible for liaison with the opposition, showed up. However, some uninvited guests also showed up: 70 - 80 "anti-communist heroes", supplemented by a number of high school students, bussed in for the occasion, staged a noisy rally in front of the hotel. A crowd of onlookers gathered and soon enough the police found it necessary to cordon-off the whole area around the hotel. People attending the reception had to push through police lines to get to the hotel.

Apparently the "anti-communist heroes" had gotten the erroneous impression that the purpose of the reception was to welcome back to Taiwan Chen Wan-jen (), the **Chao Liu** editor who, in the middle of August, staged a hunger strike in New York to protest the arrests of **Chao Liu** writer Chen Bor-wen () and printer Yang Yu-rong (): many of the posters and leaflets in the demonstration were directed against her. At the time, however, Chen Wan-jen was nowhere near Taipei, but was visiting Taiwanese groups in the United States.

The reception started at 3:00 pm, and went on undisturbed inside the hotel, while the crowd outside got rowdier. By 5:00 pm the police blocked off the front entrance of the hotel, drove up a number of buses, and invited those attending the party to leave by bus. The offer was not accepted by the leaders of the opposition group. The police suggested that it would be difficult to control the crowd. An observer at the scene estimated the police force at more than 11,000. One wonders why such a force would not be able to control a crowd of 70 - 80 people.

The Eighties commented on this situation by printing this cartoon. The caption reads: **"Chief, if they start fighting, whom should we beat up first"?**



By 7:00 pm the reception was over, and the guests left - in a row of four persons wide, women and older people in the middle. As they emerged from the building they were hit by a barrage of rocks and batteries (particularly types C and D; maybe those will also be used to "recover the mainland"!). The police did little to prevent the "anti-communist heroes" from throwing their projectiles. One rock shattered the window of a police car and two people were slightly hurt by flying glass.

To be or not to be.....

After this “warm” welcome, the editors and staff went back to work and produced issue number two, which came off the presses at the end of September 1979. One of the articles was a translation of parts of a research report of an American scholar, and consisted of a critical evaluation of South Korean “economic miracle”. The Korean embassy in Taipei took offense at the article and presented two protest notes to the governing authorities in Taipei. KMT hardliners saw in this a not unwelcome opportunity to crack down on **Meili Tao**, and on October 16, 1979 a “working committee” of the Central Committee of the KMT made the recommendation to the full Central Committee to ban the magazine for one year. Apparently some 22 government agencies - such as the Government Information Office (GIO), and security organs such as the Investigation Bureau, and the Taiwan Garrison Command (TGC) - are represented on this “working committee”.

The editors of **Meili Tao** learned of the KMT meeting and of the recommendation. On October 18 1979, Mr. Huang Hsin-chieh (), sent a letter to the ROK embassy. The text follows:

18 October 1979

To the embassy of the Republic of Korea in Taipei:

1. We are amazed to hear that, according to reliable sources, the government of the ROK has expressed dissatisfaction over the publication of an article, “Expose the myth of the ROK economic miracle, Part I” in the second issue of our magazine (**Formosa**, the magazine of Taiwan’s Democratic Movement, September 25, 1979), and has made a protest to the government of the ROC, with the request that it mete out a punishment of suspension of publication for one year.
2. The purpose of our magazine carrying articles such as this one, translated from the research report of an American scholar, is to develop, through presentations of critiques of economic policy of various countries, the discernment of our own people on matters of economic policy in general; there is no intent to wound the honor of your country. Thus the staff of our magazine finds it difficult to understand the response of your government.
3. Both the ROC and the ROK are sovereign nations, and both, founded with the spirit of democracy and anti-communism, deeply respect the people’s freedom of speech, the basic principle of democratic countries. That our magazine should print this article is within its free rights under the laws of this nation. If your government disagrees with, or believes that the contents of this article is a misrepresentation, it could address this matter to us in a concrete response. Our magazine is an open forum, and of course it will accept your rebuttal for full publication, for the due consideration of our readers. But it is an affront to the laws of the ROC, and an obvious interference in internal affairs, if, as reported, the ROK has neglected such remedies and instead exerted pressure on our government for censorship of our magazine. We request that you address to us a statement of your position. In order to express our amiable intentions and sincerity, our magazine is willing to withhold, for the time being, publication of part II of the article in question, pending receipt of your response.

signed by Huang Hsin-chieh

cc. to the Foreign Ministry of the ROK.
GIO of the Executive Yuan of the ROC.
All domestic and overseas offices of Meili Tao magazine.

The **Meili Tao** editors also communicated to KMT officials their intention to surround the ROK embassy, if the decision was made to ban Meili Tao. The Central Committee of the KMT met on 19 and 20 October 1979, and decided **not** to ban.

The chinese-language version of Mr. Huang Hsin-chieh's letter was published in **Meili Tao** issue number three, which has just appeared. The page on which the letter was printed, was blacked out: censorship is alive and well in Taiwan!

News about Taiwan in English

Because of the political situation in Taiwan it is not all that easy to get good background information on developments on the island. The news printed in the government-sponsored publications can not be considered very reliable (there is a saying in Taiwan: "*you lie like a newspaper*"), while few independent publications pay much attention to Taiwan. The **Far Eastern Economic Review** on occasion comes out with a good article, but presently it seems very preoccupied with China.

During the past few months several publications which intend to fill this gap have been established in the United States. We suggest that each of these publications contributes to a better understanding of the developments in Taiwan, and we urge those who are interested in the Taiwan question, whether scholars, news media persons, congress people, or people-in-the-street, to take time to obtain these publications, and closely examine the forces of change that are at work in Taiwan.

'For your reference we list three publications, with which we are familiar. If there are others, we would appreciate hearing about them.

Letter on Taiwan, published by the Taiwanese-American Society, P.O.Box 28357, Washington, D.C., 20005. Gives news items and background articles written by members of the Taiwanese community in the United States.

Formosa Digest, published by **Meili Tao USA**, P.O.Box 211, Belmont, MA 02178. Translations of selected writings of the democratic movement in Taiwan.

SPEAHRhead, bulletin of the Society for the Protection of East Asians' Human Rights, P.O. Box 1212, New York, NY 10025. Works to reduce violence and increase respect for human rights in China, Taiwan, North and South Korea, Mongolia, and Soviet East Asia.

Political Prisoner Focus PPF.

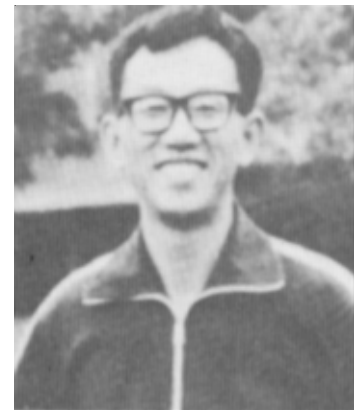
It is the intention of this column to focus attention on individual political prisoners in Taiwan. It is not easy to obtain information on prisoners, particularly if they were jailed a long time ago. We feel however, that a concerted effort must be made to collect and disseminate information on individual cases. Most of the material available to us was obtained from publications of the London-based human rights organization Amnesty International. However, there are undoubtedly many cases of political prisoners about whom little is known by organizations such as AI or by people outside the immediate family. We urge individuals who know about such cases to contact us, and provide us with the basic information (name - including the Chinese characters - , date of arrest, official charges, actual reasons for arrest, present health conditions, etc.), so we can include the people in future PPF's.

We will publish Political Prisoner Focus approximately once a month, and we urge our readers to write short letters to authorities in Taiwan, inquiring about the well-being of the prisoners and urging their release, or to U.S. government authorities requesting their assistance for the case(s).

The two cases which were selected this month are both well-known on the political scene in Taiwan:

Huang Hua ().

Mr. Huang was the managing editor of the **Taiwan Political Review** (), the major publication of the democratic opposition in Taiwan during the period 1974-1975. The magazine was banned in December 1975, but Mr. Huang was not arrested until July 26, 1976. He was charged with “seditious activities” and was sentenced to 10 years imprisonment on December 8, 1976 after a trial by a military tribunal. The tribunal ruled that Mr. Huang had used the **Taiwan Political Review** to “propagate rebellious thoughts”.



Mr. Huang had previously been imprisoned in 1967 for alleged seditious activities in connection with the Society for Promoting Unity of Taiwanese Youth. After his release in July 1975 he contributed articles to the Taiwan Political Review on the need for political reform in the country.

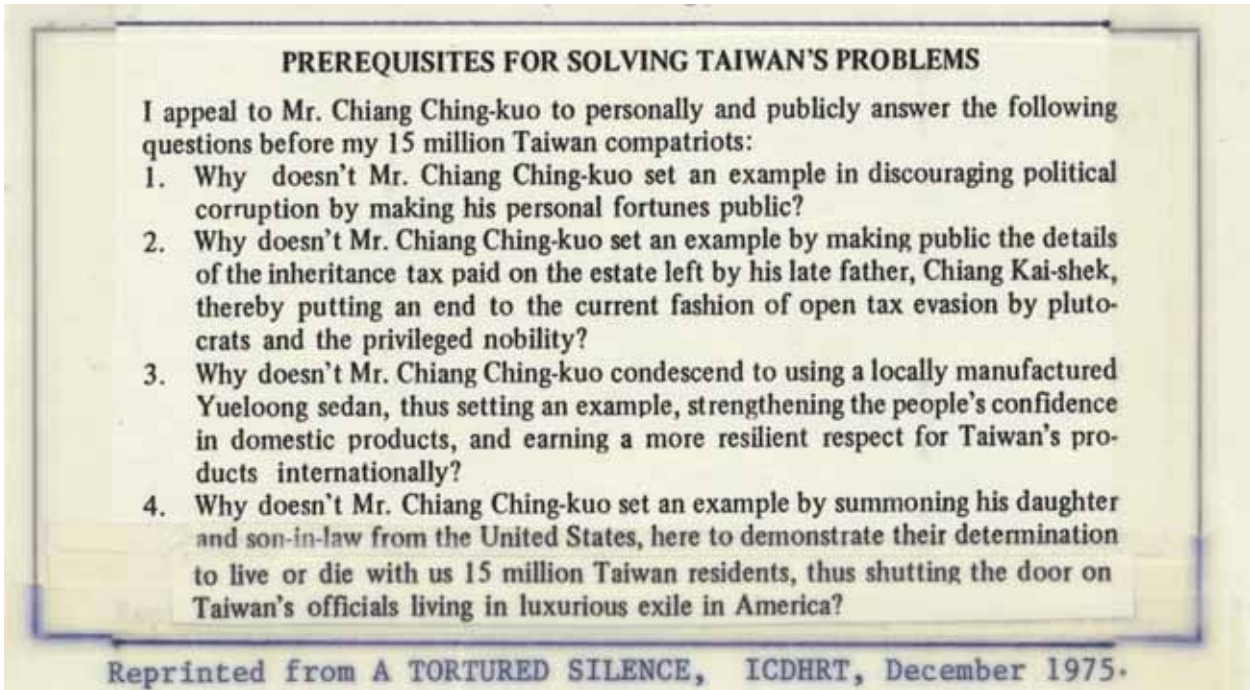
Address : Mr. Huang Hua, P.O. Box 8234/4, Green Island, Taitung, TAIWAN.

Pai Ya-ts’an ()

Mr. Pai, a native Taiwanese who is approximately 40 years old, was a candidate in the Legislative Yuan Elections, which were held on December 20, 1975. He was arrested on October 23, 1975, along with other people involved in the publication of a leaflet for his election campaign. The leaflet –partially reprinted here - contained 29 questions to then premier Chiang Ching-kuo which included Pai Ya-ts’an’s suggestions on Taiwan’s international policy, as well as questions whether Chiang Ching-kuo had paid inheritance tax on his father’s estate. According to reports reaching Amnesty International, a few days after the publication of the leaflet Pai Ya-ts’an, fearing for his safety, tried to seek refuge in the United States embassy in Taipei, but found it closed. His detention was made public by the authorities not until ten days after the arrest.



Address : P.O. Box 8234/1, Green Island, Taitung, TAIWAN.



Reprinted from A TORTURED SILENCE, ICDHRT, December 1975.

Please send postcards to both persons. Any communication from the outside world is appreciated. We also urge you to write letters expressing your concern about the continued incarceration of Messrs. Huang and Pai to:

President Chiang Ching-kuo
Chieh Shou Hall
Chungking South Rd. 1
Taipei TAIWAN

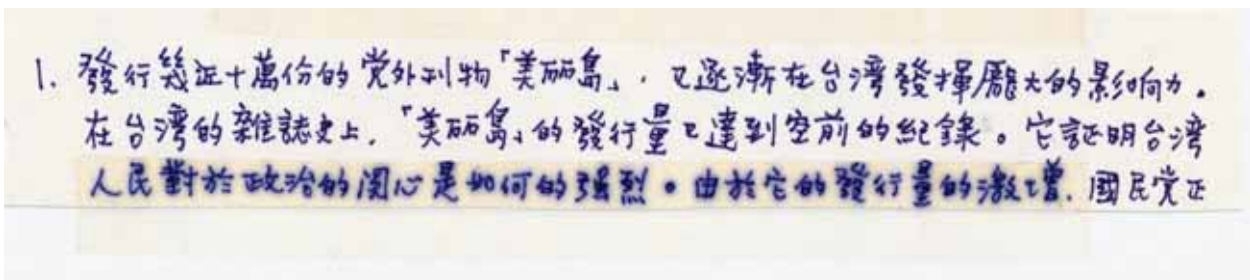
Prime Minister Y.S. Sun
Executive Yuan
Chang Hsiao East Rd. Section 1
Taipei TAIWAN

And to senators and representatives in Washington D.C.:

Senator.....
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C. 20510

Representative.....
House Office Building
Washington, D. C. 20515

requesting their assistance in obtaining the release of Huang Hua and Pai Ya-ts' an.



千方百計要禁止它。第二期「美麗島」刊載一篇：「揭穿韓國經濟奇蹟的神話」，批評韓國獨裁政府的經濟政策之不當。韓國駐台北大使館竟要求國民黨嚴懲「美麗島」負責人，並要求將之停刊一年。國民黨欲藉此機會，落井下石。於十月十六日，中常委召開緊急會議，準備把「美麗島」停刊一年。「美麗島」發行人黃信介，寫一封信給韓國大使館，措詞不卑不亢，表示願意接受該使館的答辯。同時，也警告國民黨不可輕舉妄動，否則事情將惡化擴大。國民黨囿於黨外人士的力量，終於未敢停刊「美麗島」。但是要求黃信介不可把答覆韓使館的信件刊登在第三期。「美麗島」第三期原原本本將該信刊出，但是整個版面完全塗黑。讀者細心的話，仍可辨認該信的內容。這個黑色的版面只是在顯不國民黨的「檢查制度」的存在，並代表黨外人士對言論自由的壓迫做悲憤的抗議。「美麗島」在全省各地的服務處正逐漸成立中。發行人黃信介說：「美麗島」取之於社會，也將用之於社會。各項座談會已在各地服務處展開，同時「山地服務團」也已開始進行。據悉，黨外人士有可能舉辦類似「國建會」的討論會議。請朋友拭目以待，並全力支持他們。

2. 目前在美發行有關台灣消息的英文有三種，一是台美協會的 Letter on Taiwan，一是司馬晉教授發行的東亞人權保護會會刊 SPEARhead，另一是最近即將發行的「美麗島文摘」Formosa Digest。如果你有美國朋友相當關心台灣的政情，請徵求他們的同意，並將他們的住址寄到上面三個刊物的信箱，使更多人參與台灣的人權與民主運動。（三個刊物的信箱號碼，請參閱本期英文信第5頁）。
3. 對政治犯的援救工作是長期性的，持續不斷的。我們千萬不要忘記政治犯仍在國民黨的監獄受折磨。本期特提供兩位政治犯在綠島的信箱號碼，一是黃華先生，「台灣政論」的副總編輯，一是白雅燦先生，一九七五年欲參加立法委員競選而被捕。他們的信箱號碼請查本期英文信第5,6頁。請你寄衣物，甚至糖果餅乾給他們，並寫信給蔣經國、孫運璿，請以委婉的口氣要求釋放，並寫信給貴地的參議員，呼籲他們伸出援手。
4. 美國國會正在重估「美台關係法案」。眾議院已於十月二十三日召開過聽證會，他們邀請的對象是國民黨的代言人，以及親國民黨而獲得利益的美國商人。台灣人民的人權問題並沒有提出討論。我們應呼籲眾議院及國會召開一次台灣人權聽證會，請美國政府堅持執行「台灣關係法案」中保護台灣人權的條款。請你立即寫信給眾議院的外交事務委員會，請他們即刻召開一次聽證會。本期特別推薦三位眾議員的姓名，你的信件將是有力的行動。（請參閱英文信第8頁）。

Taiwan Hearings

Last Spring the Congress of the United States passed the Taiwan Relations Act (PL 96 - B), under which the American Institute in Taiwan (AIT) was established. One of the responsibilities of the U,S. Congress is to monitor implementation of this Act, and to evaluate the work of the AIT. To do this the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives will regularly hold "oversight hearings".

At the first one of these hearings, held on October 23, 1979, two U.S. businessmen, William Morelle (Sp ?) of the US/ROC Economic Council, and Robert Parker, President of the US Chamber of Commerce in Taipei - both good friends of the KMT - testified. Needless to say that their testimony was quite favorable to the KMT.

In view of the persistence of Taiwan's governing authorities in arresting writers, editors, and other people associated with the democratic opposition, and of the KMT's penchant for closing down opposition publications - which has gone on unabated since the beginning of this year - we consider it essential that at least one of the Foreign Affairs Committee's hearings be devoted to human rights - or lack thereof - in Taiwan. Particular attention should be given to the lack of diligence by the AIT in monitoring human rights violations, and in voicing the U.S. government's concern.

You are urged to write to the following congressmen and suggest to them to hold hearings before their committee to review publically the effects of American - Taiwan relations upon the political-economic-social liberties of the people in Taiwan, and to evaluate the effectiveness of the AIT in "...the preservation and enhancement of human rights in Taiwan.", which, according to the Taiwan Relations Act (PL 96 - B) are reaffirmed as an objective of the United States

Write to: Representative Clement J. Zablocki
Chairman, Foreign Affairs Committee

Representative Lester L. Wolff
Chairman, Asian and Pacific Affairs
Subcommittee.

Representative Don Bonker
Chairman, International Organizations
Subcommittee.



Your help is needed

The International Committee for the Defense of Human Rights in Taiwan, ICDHRT campaigns for the release of political prisoners in Taiwan, and works in support of the democratic movement on the island. In order to make these campaigns effective we need your help. Please take some time to send a letter to a government official in the U.S. or Taiwan, or a postcard to a prisoner. We would also appreciate donations, large or small, to help us continue this work.



P.O. Box 5205
Seattle, WA 98105 USA