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# 13

## Freedom of Religion?

### *A law against religious organizations*

Once again the Taiwan authorities are trying to find a way to restrict the activities of religious organizations: on June 3, 1983 the Ministry of Interior announced that it is planning to introduce a law designed to “protect” freedom of religion. As was aptly stated in a recent article in a major Dutch newspaper (TROUW, August 10, 1983), only the first article of the law talks about protecting freedom of religion: the remaining 24 articles show the opposite.



It is clear that this measure is particularly aimed at the Presbyterian Church, the largest Christian denomination on Taiwan, which has always taken a strong stance on human rights and democracy on the island. On the following pages we present:

1. an analysis of the major provisions of the proposed law. The full text of the law is available upon request from *Taiwan Communiqué*;
2. a brief history of the Presbyterian Church;
3. the text of the Church's 1977 Declaration on Human Rights;
4. background information on the imprisoned General Secretary, Dr. Kao Chun-ming.

**“Down comes a law to  
protect us...”**

## *“The Law to Protect Religion”*

Two key provisions of the proposed Act are contained in articles no. 2 and 8:

. Article no. 2: Temples, churches and religious organizations become charitable legal entities after being duly registered under this Act. (...)

Article no. 8: Temples or churches may not engage in religious activities without being duly registered under this Act.(....)

It is obvious that with these two provisions the authorities can easily force the religious organizations to register: without being registered they have to pay taxes and may simply not engage in religious activities. What does registration mean ? The proposed law specifies this aspect in great detail:

Article 4: “Applications for establishing a temple, church, or religious organization must be made to the jurisdictional authority at its locality with the following documents:

a. A copy of land title [proof of ownership of the land -- Ed.] and property ownership, or agreements for the use of such. b. The governing rules of the temple, church, or religious organization. c. List of assets and possessions. d. List of members. e. Object(s) of worship or belief. f. Resumé of person(s) in charge. g. History of the temple, church, or religious organization.”

From this listing it is clear that registration will be no small effort, since it means that the Churches will have to give the authorities a major amount of information about themselves and about their members. In a country where secret police activities are rampant and where the Church has been one of the very few places where people could speak relatively freely, this would mean one step closer towards an Orwellian “1984”.

It should also be emphasized that while the registration-process takes place -- in view of the many requirements it could take a very long time -- the church or temple is \_not\_ a charitable legal entity (and thus subject to taxation). In some regions of Taiwan -- in particular in the mountain areas where the Presbyterian Church has a strong following among the aboriginal tribes -- the authorities have already started to put heavy taxes on the land on which the buildings of the Presbyterian Church are located.

Another interesting provision is contained in Article 7, which states:

“Unless requested, the government shall not interfere with or attempt to mediate in the internal affairs of a temple, church, or religious organization. In case of violation of laws or regulations, the jurisdictional authority may interfere or prosecute according to the laws.”

Thus, if anyone does submit a request (the law doesn't specify who could and who couldn't), then the authorities \_do have the opportunity to interfere in the internal affairs of a church or temple. Alas, it isn't the only vague provision of the proposed law: Article 9 states:

“Religious activities must not conflict with existing national policy or compromise national security; they must uphold civic duties and public order, promote traditional virtues, protect good customs, and harmoniously coexist with other religious groups and respect the fundamental freedoms and rights of the citizens.”

If one knows that “existing national policy” includes the recovery of mainland China by the Nationalist regime, one starts to realize that the proposed law will be a catch-all measure under which the authorities can persecute the Presbyterian Church and other religious organizations which have felt compelled to appeal to the authorities to move towards a democratic political system on Taiwan itself.

Another interesting vagueness is contained in the second part of Article 8:

“Preachings and sermons must be in accordance with their religious doctrines and ceremonialisms and must be conducted in public and in a (the ?) language of this country.”

About the interpretation of this provision there is no agreement among observers yet. Does it exclude only foreign languages [we wonder what the many American churches in Taipei will do -- Ed.], or is it also aimed at the Taiwanese language, which is generally used in the Presbyterian Church and in most of the local temples ?

In view of the government's past insistence that “the national language” (Mandarin Chinese) be used, we suspect that it is the intention of the authorities to use this article to try to phase out the use of the Taiwanese language in the churches and temples. However, the text of the law is sufficiently unclear, and it is thus difficult to say anything definite about it.

There is also a long list of rules and regulations for persons who want to be a preacher or director in a church or temple. Article 13, for instance, specifies that no person may preach if he or she is not “properly registered.” Article 15.a seems specifically aimed at Dr. Kao Chun-ming, the imprisoned General-Secretary of the Presbyterian Church (for further details about Reverend Kao, see the brief description on page 6)

Article 15: “The following persons shall not be the director or preacher of a temple, church, or religious organization: a. convicted of treason or sedition or wanted for such cases. b. personal bankruptcy not yet discharged. c. declared legally incompetent or partially incompetent by court. d. having been penalized for violating the rules of the temple, church, or religious organization.”

The authorities apparently also intend to keep a close watch on the finances of religious organizations. Articles 16 and 17 state:

Article 16: “The expenditure and income of a temple or church must be accounted and posted on its bulletin for at least three days. The temple or church must file its annual balance sheet with the local jurisdictional authority.”

Article 17: “The income of a temple, church, or religious organization must be used in religious ceremonies, activities, or charitable matters.”

If a church, temple or religious organization manages to violate any of the provisions of the proposed law or “religious purpose or public interests” [yet another one of those vague provisions -- Ed.], then there is a whole array of possible penalties:

Article 20: “A temple, church, or religious organization, or its personnel shall be subjected to the following penalties in case of disobeying the laws or violating religious purpose or public interests a. reprimand. b. dismissal of personnel of the church. c. annulment of the church’s decisions. d. reorganization. e. dissolution.”

We believe that this law would be detrimental to freedom of religion in Taiwan, and we thus urge international religious organizations -- and particularly those in the United States, Canada, and Europe -- to express their strong concern about this law to the Taiwan authorities. Messages may be addressed to:

Prime Minister SUN Yun-suan  
1 Chung-hsiao East Rd., Sec. 1  
Taipei, TAIWAN

Minister of Interior LIN Yang-kang  
107 Roosevelt Road, Sec. 4  
Taipei, TAIWAN

## *A brief history of the Presbyterian Church*

The Taiwan Presbyterian Church grew out of the missionary activities of Dr. James L. Maxwell, M.D. of the Presbyterian Church in England and Rev. Dr. George L. Mackay of the Canadian Presbyterian Church. Both men went to Taiwan in the 1860's and remained on the island for the rest of their lives. Since that time the Church has been in the forefront of Taiwan's development and modernization. The Church's colleges (1876) and boys and girls high schools (1884) were the first institutions of modern education on the island, and the Church established the earliest hospitals there. The Taiwan Church News was the island's first newspaper and was also the first church newspaper ever published in East Asia.

The Church is thus deeply rooted in the native Taiwanese population. It maintained its independence during the fifty years of Japanese occupation of Taiwan (1895-1945), although the Japanese rulers -- like the Nationalist Chinese who followed them -- made several attempts to curtail the activities of the Church. Since the Nationalist Chinese came to Taiwan in 1945 the Church has been compelled to speak up for the oppressed people on Taiwan: it was the only established institution of native Taiwanese.

Developments since 1970 have forced the Church to become increasingly vocal, particularly on issues such as Taiwan's increasing international isolation, the future status of the island, and human rights. In December 1971, prior to Mr. Nixon's visit to Peking, the General Assembly of the Church issued a Public Statement on our National Fate, in which it pointed out "God has ordained and the United Nations has affirmed that every people has the right to determine its own destiny." It called on the Taiwan authorities to "hold elections of all representatives to the highest government bodies to succeed the present representatives who were elected 25 years ago on the mainland."

On November 18, 1975 -- just prior to Mr. Ford's trip to China -- the Church issued Our Appeal, in which it urged the Taipei government to "promote democracy and the rule of law and to establish a society of justice and equality."

The two statements went to the core of the issues that have troubled Taiwan society and prompted the government's repression against the Church. The Kuomintang's secret police confiscated bibles printed in romanized Taiwanese, newsletters disappeared in the mail, and Church leaders were harassed. However, it was the third statement, issued on August 16, 1977 -- prior to Secretary of State Cyrus Vance's visit to China -- which struck the most sensitive nerve. The Church sent a Declaration on Human Rights as an open letter to President Carter of the United States.

Below follows the full text of the letter:

***A Declaration on Human Rights by  
the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan***

To the President of the United States, to all countries concerned, and to Christian Churches throughout the world:

Our church confesses that Jesus Christ is Lord of all mankind and believes that human rights and a land in which each one of us has a stake are gifts bestowed by God. Therefore we make this declaration, set in the context of the present crisis threatening the 17 million people of Taiwan.

Ever since president Carter's inauguration as President of the United States he has consistently adopted "Human Rights" as a principle of his diplomacy. This is an epoch-making event in the history of foreign policy.

We therefore request President Carter to continue to uphold the principles of human rights while pursuing the "normalization of relationships with Communist China" and to insist on guaranteeing the security, independence and freedom of the people of Taiwan.

As we face the possibility of an invasion by Communist China we hold firmly to our faith and to the principles underlying the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights. We insist that the future of Taiwan shall be determined by the 17 million people who live there. We appeal to the countries concerned -- especially to the people and the government of the United States of America -- and to Christian churches throughout the world to take effective steps to support our cause.

In order to achieve our goal of independence and freedom for the people of Taiwan in this critical international situation, we urge our government to face reality and to take effective measures whereby Taiwan may become a new and independent country.

We beseech God that Taiwan and all the rest of the world may become a place where "Mercy and truth will meet together; righteousness and peace will embrace. Truth shall spring out of the earth; and righteousness shall look down from heaven" (Psalm 85 verses 10 and all)

Signed H.E. Chao  
Moderator of the General Assembly  
(at present out of the country)

H.K. Weng  
Deputy Moderator of the General Assembly  
(acting in the absence of the Moderator)

C.M. Kao General Secretary 16th August 1977  
(Translated from Chinese. The Chinese text governs)

After this plea for independence, the police and security forces mounted a major campaign of harassment and intimidation of the Church's leaders and members. A number of issues of the weekly Taiwan Church News disappeared in the mail. Soon the authorities made preparations to introduce laws which would severely restrict the activities of the churches.

In 1979 the government published a proposal for a Law on Temples, Shrines, and Churches. It was shelved after strong criticism from international religious organizations and from members of the U.S. House of Representatives. Again, in early 1981 and in 1982 there were reports of an impending introduction of a law on religion.

### ***On Reverend Kao Chun-ming***

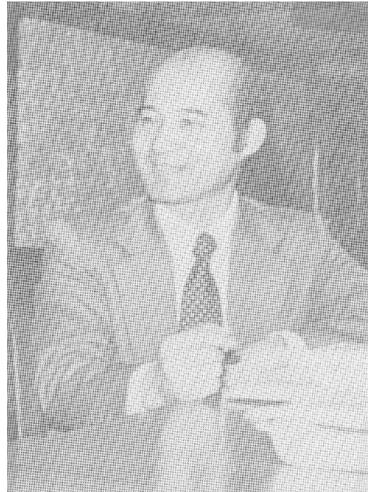
From 1977 onwards, Reverend Kao Chun-ming in particular was the subject of the Kuomintang's anger. In 1978 and 1979 there were frequent reports that he was about to be arrested. Still, somehow, the police authorities didn't dare to make this move. However, their chance came in early 1980: after the "Kaohsiung incident" of December 1979 one of the organizers of the event, Mr. Shih Ming-teh, managed to avoid arrest and was in hiding for several weeks. During this period several Church members provided shelter for Mr. Shih (he had been tortured severely during an earlier stay in prison -- Ed. ).

Reverend Kao was arrested on April 24, 1980 -- 4~ months after Mr. Shih's arrest -- and accused of failing to inform the police of Shih's whereabouts. For this Reverend Kao was tried in military court and sentenced to seven years imprisonment. Observers in and outside Taiwan believe that the real reason for Dr. Kao's arrest and long prison sentence was his role in issuing the three statements mentioned above. The event which

finally prompted his arrest was not his failure to report Mr. Shih, but the fact that he played a leading part in the Church's re-joining of the World Council of Churches -- which occurred only two weeks before the arrest. In 1970, the Taiwan government had forced the Church to leave the World Council, and had insisted that the Church remain outside the World Council, because several church organizations from Eastern Europe are also members of the Council.

Thus, since April 1980 Rev. Kao has been locked up in a small cell, which he shares with several other prisoners. There is no table, chair, or bed in the cell so they sit and sleep on the floor. Dr. Kao has requested permission to have a small folding chair, because he is suffering from hemorrhoids, which causes a considerable amount of pain when he has to sit on the floor. However, up until now the request has been denied.

Dr. Kao also reads many books, he meditates and talks to his cell-mates [one of whom is generally an informer for the prison officials -- Ed.]. He has requested an English-language bible, but the prison authorities have steadfastly refused to allow his wife to bring him one. Still he writes letters and poems, which are published in the Taiwan Church News, and in church publications abroad. The following poem was published in Glad Tidings of the Presbyterian Church of Canada:



**Reverend Kao Chun-ming**

Dr. Kao Chun-ming  
GOD'S WAY

I asked the Lord for a fresh bunch of flowers  
but instead he gave me an ugly cactus with many thorns.  
I asked the Lord for some beautiful butterflies  
but instead he gave me many ugly and dreadful worms.  
I was threatened, I was disappointed,  
I mourned.  
But after many days,  
Suddenly,

I saw the cactus bloomed with many beautiful flowers,  
And those worms became beautiful butterflies  
flying in the Spring wind.  
God's way is the best.

-- C.M. Kao

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## **An American odyssey for two Taiwanese women**

The month of July is generally a busy month for the Taiwanese communities on the North American continent. Conferences and summer camps are held in virtually every region of The United States and Canada. These play an increasingly important role in preserving the cultural heritage of the Taiwanese and in channeling political activity. The gatherings are often jointly organized by the regional Taiwanese Association and by Taiwanese Churches. The programs generally include both sports and cultural activities as well as political discussions and lectures.

This year many of the conferences and summer camps had an especially meaningful highlight: a visit by two women from Taiwan, Chou Ching-yu and Hsu Jung-shu. Mrs. Chou is married to imprisoned lawyer Yao Chiawen. She is also one of the few democratically-elected members of the National Assembly and publisher of Care magazine. Mrs. Hsu is married to imprisoned Provincial Assembly-member Chang Chun-hung. She is a member of the Legislative Yuan and is the publisher of the opposition magazine Senh Kin.

The Taiwanese community was especially pleased with the visit, because in 1982 the two women had also planned to come to the United States, but the Taiwan authorities did not grant them an exit permit. Each citizen of Taiwan who wishes to leave the island has to obtain such a permit from the secret police, the Taiwan Garrison Command. According to the U.S. Department of State's human rights report each year some 20,000 citizens of Taiwan are refused an exit permit.

This summer the two women were invited to come to the United States by U.S. Congressman Solarz of New York. Mr. Solarz has organized several hearings in the House on two major issues concerning Taiwan -- the 34 years-old Martial Law in

Taiwan and the future of Taiwan. He has also sponsored several resolutions in the House of Representatives on these issues.

As a policy maker, he considered it important that views of opposition leaders from Taiwan be heard in the Congress as a guide for future U.S. policy on Taiwan. The women spent one week in Washington D.C, where they met with Senator Kennedy, Congressmen Leach and Solarz, and State Department officials including Assistant Secretary for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, Mr. Wolfowitz, and Mr. David Dean of American Institute in Taiwan.

However, intimidation by the Taiwan authorities even extended to the United States: On June 20 the two women received a cablegram telling them in no uncertain terms not to attend the Annual Conference of the World Federation of Taiwanese Associations, the umbrella organization of Taiwanese living outside the island. This year the conference was held at University of California in Davis. During the July 4th weekend more than 500 representatives from U.S., Europe, Canada, Japan and Brazil attended the gathering. In order to circumvent the problem, the Taiwanese Association of Northern California organized a separate meeting in another building of the same university, so that Mrs. Chou and Mrs. Hsu could still meet the delegates attending the convention.



**Mrs. Hsu Jung-shu**

During their two months' stay in the U.S., the two women visited more than twenty cities, attended many Taiwanese conferences, and gave numerous speeches. In the major cities such as Los Angeles their talks drew a thousand or more Taiwanese.

Below we present a brief extract from several of the speeches presented by Mrs. Hsiü Jung-shu. She was an eyewitness at the Kaohsiung Incident of December 10, 1979; she also attended the trial of her husband and the seven other defendants of the now well-known "Kaohsiung Eight" trial in March 1980. In her speeches in the United States she gave an insider's view of the significance of the Kaohsiung trial, an analysis of the political system in Taiwan, reflected on her role as a tangwai legislator and magazine publisher and called for self-determination for the 18 million people of Taiwan.

***On the Kaohsiung trial:*** “Before the trial, the government controlled TV-stations and newspapers engaged in a smear campaign -- they portrayed the Kaohsiung defendants as “criminals with seditious intent.” But because the trial was semi-open the public learned what really happened on December 10, 1979. Although the Kaohsiung defendants all received long sentences, the people of Taiwan knew that they were really innocent. A few months later, the Kaohsiung defendants were all vindicated at the ballot boxes by the people.

The election campaign of 1980 was full of hurdles. The newly enacted Election Law restricted our movements - we could not find sites to hold our campaign rallies; our campaign aids were harrassed. In the end, Huang T'ien-fu, Chou Ching-yu and I were all elected. The election campaign of 1980 was dubbed “the trial by the people”.

***On the political system in Taiwan:*** In a nutshell, the political system in Taiwan is taxation without representation. The people in Taiwan pay the taxes to finance the budget of the government, yet they elect only 7% of the members of the three national legislative bodies. The remaining 93% are “life” members, who were elected 36 years ago on the mainland.

The political process is monopolized by KMT regime’s one party dictatorship. Martial law, which has been in effect since 1949, provides the ruling KMT party a safe haven to restrict freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, freedom of religion. The KMT regime has steadfastly refused the opposition’s calling for reform to ease press censorship, to lift martial law, to allow the opposition to form a new political party.

***On her role as a tangwai legislator:*** At present there are only eleven tangwai members in the Legislative Yuan which has a total of 388 members. Though we are a very small group, we have raised our voices regarding a large number of issues. Our presence in the Legislative Yuan has a great impact. That is why the authorities have to resort to passing legislation -- the Election and Recall Law and its revisions -- in order to prevent us from getting elected.

The Election and Recall Law enacted in 1980 contained rules and regulations which are designed to ensure the election of KMT candidates. The revisions of this law, passed in June of this year, make it almost impossible for the tangwai candidates to win national elections. One of the revisions is the famous “Y’ou Ching” provision, which changes the procedure for the election of members of the Control Yuan in such a way that it is impossible for a tangwai member to be elected again into the Control Yuan.

Y'ou Ching was the first tangwai member elected into the Control Yuan in 1981. Since he entered the Control Yuan, he has been the busiest member of the Control Yuan, he handles about 50 % of all the complaints from the people. Nevertheless, the government considers him a liability. The KMT regime cannot tolerate the presence of even one tangwai member in the Control Yuan, so they have to enact legislation to ensure that Y'ou Ching will not be reelected for a second term.

*On her role as a publisher:* The magazines we publish serve as a channel to inform the people what their rights are, and what the truth is. Cultivate, the magazine I published, has been a front-runner in breaking the regime's blockade of information. The last issue of Cultivate printed an official account of the "February 28" incident (of 1947). In Taiwan we have not been allowed to discuss this topic for more than 30 years. We at Cultivate knew what the consequences would be if we touched on this forbidden topic, yet we had to tell people the truth about what happened in 1947. More than 10,000 copies of this issue were confiscated by the authorities, and our license to publish was also suspended in March.

*On the future of Taiwan:* In my many interpellations in the Legislative Yuan, I have called for adherence to the principle of self-determination: the future of Taiwan has to be decided by the 18 million people of Taiwan. I have also urged the government to hold public hearings so that people can express their views on this issue. Premier Sun said that my proposal would not "save Taiwan", would only "harm Taiwan". I do not agree with him. I think we Taiwanese should have the right to decide the future of our beautiful island.

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## Mr. Teng Hsiao-ping's empty promises

During the past few months Mr. Teng Hsiao-ping has made several statements directed at the aging Nationalist Chinese leaders on Taiwan. On June 18th, Mr. Teng met with a number of Chinese-American and Chinese-Canadian scientists, and promised the Nationalists "equal footing" if they agree to unification with China. One month later Mr. Teng even sweetened the proposal in a meeting with a Chinese-American professor, Winston Yang, who is apparently quite close to a number of leading Kuomintang officials. According to news reports, Mr. Teng said that China recognizes the "Taiwan local government's right to follow its own internal policy" and promised that if the Kuomintang acknowledged Peking's sovereignty, it would have some

“exclusive rights” that other provinces do not have. He is also reported to have said that Taiwan may keep its armed forces, and that the mainland will station neither troops nor administrative personnel on the island.

***Taiwan Communiqué comment:*** *Mr. Teng’s statements have been termed “conciliatory and reasonable” by some outside observers. What these outside observers seem to forget is that theory and practice usually don’t match: one only needs to look at the example of Tibet to realize what would become of Taiwan if it indeed succumbed to the promises of Mr. Teng. The “exclusive rights” mentioned by him would in all probability turn out to be elusive rights.*

*It is also very interesting that Mr. Teng directed his offer at the aging and repressive Kuomintang leadership in Taipei, who have somehow managed to make themselves -- and quite a few gullible others -- believe that Taiwan should be considered part of China. Apparently it doesn’t occur to Mr. Teng that according to the principles self-determination -- as laid down in Article 1 of the Charter of the United Nations -- the people who inhabit a particular land are the ones who decide the political status of that land. Thus, with his present proposals Mr. Teng is not very different from the Chinese emperors of a previous century, who tried to expand the Chinese empire at the expense of the people outside China.*

*We believe that the only just and fair solution to the Taiwan question lies in a change of Taiwan’s political system into a full-fledged democracy in which the people of Taiwan can be represented by leaders elected by themselves. No artificial construction such as “special provincial status” or “exclusive rights” will satisfy. As has become abundantly clear during the past few years, the people of Taiwan want a free and democratic country. The government in Peking has never exercised control over Taiwan and never should.*

*The main obstacle on the road towards peace in East Asia is the Kuomintang’s insistence that it is the government of China. The withdrawal of this claim is thus the first prerequisite for a lowering of the tension in East Asia. It should also be abundantly clear to close observers of developments on Taiwan that “Free China” is neither free nor is it China. The Nationalist Chinese authorities would do well to face this reality, and come to an accommodation with the Taiwanese majority. The best guarantee for a stable future for the island is an end to martial law, the release of political prisoners, and the establishment of a democratic political system.*

# Prison report

## *Yang Chin-hai moved back to Green Island*

In January and April 1983 we reported on the case of Mr. Yang, who was arrested in May 1976 and accused of “sedition” after he had acted as campaign-manager for Mr. Yen Ming-shen, a “non-Kuomintang” politician who ran for a seat in the Legislative Yuan in the elections of 1975. Mr. Yen was sentenced to ten years imprisonment while Mr. Yang received a life-sentence.

On November 8, 1982 Mr. Yang -- who was severely ill -- apparently was able to flee, but on January 16, 1983 he was rearrested at a bus station in Kaohsiung. Since his rearrest he has been detained at Hsintien Detention Center near Taipei. It wasn't until the end of March that Mr. Yang's wife was allowed to visit him again.

On June 13, Mr. Yang's wife received a notice from the Ministry of Defense that her husband had been transferred back to Green Island. In a recent interview with *Senh Kin* magazine (No. 13, July 25 1983) Mrs. Yang gave a vivid account of the long and arduous trip she has to make to the isolated Green Island in order to see her husband for only 30 minutes.

## *The case of Chang Ming-ch'uan*

On July 25, 1983, *Senh Kin* magazine published an article titled “Do Not Let Chang Ming-ch'uan become another Wang Yin-hsien”. Wang Yin Hsien was a taxi driver who died after torture while in police custody in May 1982.

Below are the main points contained in this article:

Chang Ming-ch'uan was arrested in March 1982, and accused of murdering a person in a pawn-shop in Pan Chiao, a town to the southwest of Taipei. He was sentenced to death and his sentence was upheld twice by the the High Court in Taiwan, which based its judgement on his confession. The third session of the High Court was held on June 29. His family, in a state of desperation, finally held a press conference on July 6 to appeal for his life.

They said that the police tortured Chang during detention in order to obtain a

confession. The police produced a pair of black pants which they said belonged to the murderer. However, an eyewitness said that the suspect was wearing a pair of white pants. Still, the police took a picture of Chang Ming-ch'uan wearing the black pants, and said: "See, the pants fit him very well !" What the picture didn't show was that the pants were far too short.

Chang Ming-chuan's height is 179 centimeter. According to the eyewitness of the murder, the murderer was even shorter than the victim, who was 163 centimeters tall. A further discrepancy occurred with regard to the analysis of blood, which was found on the black pants. A test showed that the blood-type was AB. Chang Ming-chuan's blood type is type A. The victim's blood type was B. The police said when blood type A is mixed with blood type B, it becomes blood type AB [?!?! ].

Both the family and Chang's defense lawyer Chen Shui-pien, who is also an "outside-the-party" member of the Taipei City Council, reported that they saw scars and bruises on his face and on his arms.

Chang Ming-ch'uan's former employer Ong Sheng-hsiung testified in court that the defendant telephoned him from prison on the night of March 19, 1982 and asked him to buy a Rolex watch. Chang Ming-ch'uan said that he had to give the police a Rolex watch, otherwise he would be tortured to death by the police. The Rolex watch was one of the many items the murderer took from the pawn shop. Mr. Ong went to the police station the next day. He wanted to find out what had happened to Chang Ming-ch'uan and by coincidence he saw Chang passing by, guarded by two policemen. He saw that Chang Ming-ch'uan could hardly walk due to injuries which were apparently caused by torture.

However, the judges ignored the indications that Mr. Chang's confession had been obtained under torture and sentenced him to death. After High Court upheld his death sentence in the second trial, defense lawyer Chen Shui-pien appealed to the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court sent the case back to the High Court and asked for a third trial in order to clarify two points: 1) the defendant's figure and clothing did not correspond to the description of the murderer given by the eyewitness, 2) further investigation is needed to find out whose blood was on the black pants.

The High Court held the third trial on June 29th. The judge praised the defense lawyer for his "excellent defense" but then turned around and upheld the death sentence.

## *Political prisoners on Green Island and at Jen Ai prison*

There are several prisons in Taiwan where political prisoners are being held. The most notorious ones are Green Island Prison and the Taiwan Garrison Command's Military Detention Center in Hsin-tien, near Taipei. The first one holds most of the people who have been sentenced to life imprisonment, and is located on a small island to the Southwest of Taiwan.

The second one, Hsin-tien Detention Center, is where most of the interrogation takes place. A third prison is Jen Ai, in Tucheng near Taipei, which is counted as the least restrictive. A number of political prisoners are also held at Kueishan prison in Taoyuan County, and at prisons in other cities in central and southern Taiwan.

Very little is known about most of the people who are locked up in these prisons. The authorities don't respond to requests for information about the political prisoners by international human rights organizations, and publications in Taiwan which dare to publish anything about these prisons are quickly confiscated. This became quite clear again on June 9th of this year, when CARE magazine wanted to publish a list of prisoners who are being held at Jen Ai. As we reported in Taiwan Communiqué, CARE no. 18 was confiscated and never reached the newsstands.

Below we publish two lists: First, a list of persons who are incarcerated on Green Island, and secondly one of persons who are being held at Jen Ai prison. For the Green Island list we give the name of the person, his sentence, and general character of the government's charge against him or her, and -- if possible -- the health condition. For the Jen Ai list we give the name, age, place of origin, sentence, and the general character of the government's accusation. It must be kept in mind that the Taiwan authorities use the label "communist" rather freely for anyone who strays in a direction that doesn't conform to their narrow ideological views. The label "seditious activities" refers to persons who favor an independent Taiwan, separate from communist mainland China.

We must also emphasize that the lists may not be complete: they are a first attempt to let the outside world know who are imprisoned, and almost forgotten, in Taiwan's dark dungeons.

## Persons being held on Green Island:

NAME		SENTENCE	CHARGE AND/OR HEALTH CONDITION
<u>Persons accused of seditious activities</u>			
1. Wang Hsing-nan	(王幸男)	life	Sedition
2. Lin Jung-hsiao	(林榮曉)	life	"
3. Huang-hua	(黃華)	12	"
4. Kao Hao-yuan	(高浩遠)	13	"
5. Pai Ya-ch'an	(白雅燦)	life	"
6. Chen Shen-ching	(陳深景)	15	"
7. Lin Chien-chung	(林見中)	15	"
8. Hung Wei-ho	(洪維和)	15	"
9. Huang Shen-neng	(黃坤能)	15	"
10. Huang Chung-li	(黃忠禮)	12	"
11. Chen Wen-hsiung	(陳文雄)	10	"
12. P'an Sung-hsiung	(潘松雄)	10	"
13. Chuang Hsün	(莊勳)	10	"
14. Kao Chung-Chien	(高忠堅)	15	"
15. Yen Ming-sheng	(顏明聖)	12	"
16. Kao Chin-ts'ai	(高金財)	12	"
17. Liu Ching-jung	(劉慶榮)	10	"
18. Hung Che-ch'ung	(黃哲聰)	8	"
19. Chen Teh-sung	(陳德松)	12	"
20. Shih Ming-teh	(施明德)	life	"
<u>Persons who have been imprisoned since the late 1940's</u>			
21. Wang Chin-hui	(王金輝)	> 33 years	headaches, vomiting.
22. Chen Shui-ch'üan	(陳水泉)	"	stomach ache.
23. Liu Chen-sung	(劉貞松)	"	Hypertension.
24. Chen Lieh-chen	(陳列珍)	"	"
25. Li Chin-mu	(李金木)	"	"

NAME		SENTENCE	CHARGE AND/OR HEALTH CONDITION
26. Hsu Wen-chan	(徐文謙)	> 33 years	Hypertension.
27. Hung Shui-liu	(洪水流)	"	poor health.
28. Wang Te-sheng	(王德勝)	"	stomach ache.
29. Lin Su-yang	(林書揚)	"	Hypertension.
30. Lin Cheng-t'ing	(林振霆)	> 28 years	
31. Wang chi-tsu	(王繼組)	> 29 years	mentally ill.
32. Meng Chao-san	(孟照三)	> 30 years	mentally ill.
33. Li Cheng-san	(李振山)	> 33 years	half paralyzed.
<u>Other long-term detainees</u>			
34. Liang Ch'u-keng	(梁楚鏗)	not available	
35. Wang Ti-chi	(王迪基)	not available	
36. Hsiung Chieh	(熊傑)	15	?
37. Cheng Kuei-ch'uan	(鄭繪川)	15	?
38. Tai Hua-kuang	(戴華光)	life	Sedition
39. Liu Kuo-chi	(劉國基)	12	"
40. Lai Chao-lieh	(賴昭烈)	12	"
41. Ts'ai Chün-chün	(蔡俊軍)	15	"
42. Wu Jung-chih	(吳榮之)	14	"
43. Kuo Yüeh-wen	(郭越文)	life	?
44. Wang Ju-wen	(王汝文)	life	?
45. Chou Chin-sheng	(周金聲)	15	
46. Kao Chih-li	(高志立)	12	
47. Liu Kai-yun	(劉開運)	12	
48. Chang Shu-chi	(張樹基)	12	
49. Chu Chi-ch'ao	(朱子超)	15	
50. Chiang Ch'ing-yao	(姜慶堯)	12	
51. Chen Wei-chi	(陳偉琪)	12	
52. Ma Ming-san	(馬名山)	12	
53. Yu Jih-shen	(余日昇)	12	
54. Chen Shui-ch'ing	(陳水清)	15	
55. Cheng Kuei-sheng	(曾桂生)	15	
56. Su Mao-sung	(蘇茂松)	15	
57. Lin Yi-ch'uan	(林義川)	7½ years	soldier.
58. Teng Wen-hua	(鄧文華)	12	sedition.
		+ 3 years reformatory education.	
59. Wang Ch'un-t'ing	(王春亭)	12	sedition.

NAME		SENTENCE	CHARGE AND/OR HEALTH CONDITION
60. Chang Lan-ting	(張蘭亭)	12	Sedition.
61. Cheng Chen-tung	(鄭貞通)	?	?
62. Wang Ching-hsiung	(王競雄)	10	Wang should have been released in 1978, but he remains imprisoned.
63. Lien Chin-ch'en	(連金城)	12	?
64. Chang Hua-min	(張化民)	10	Favored talks with China.
65. Ch'ao Yi-wu	(曹一梧)	15	?
66. Li Shih-chieh	(李世傑)	life	
67. Su Chih-ch'en	(蘇志誠)	10	Anti-communist hero.
68. Chen Ming-chung	(陳明忠)	15	Selling leftist books.
69. Chen Chin-huo	(陳金火)	15	leftist.
70. Hsu Nang-ku	(許南古)	15	A fisherman from the mainland, who wanted to return to China. He is mentally ill.
71. Hou Teh-fu	(侯德富)	12	leftist
72. Chiang Han-yin	(江漢英)	?	?
73. Hsu Teh-liang	(徐德量)	10	?
74. Lin Kuo-ts'ai	(林國才)	12	?

**Persons being held at Jen-Ai prison.** This list is broken down into two sub-lists: one of people who have been sentenced to "reformatory education" (generally for a period of three years), and the second one of people who have been sentenced to longer prison sentences. The lists reflect the situation at Jen Ai as of April 1983.

NAME		AGE	FROM	SENTENCE AND CHARGE
Persons sentenced to "reformatory education."				
1. Chiang Tien-shou	(江添壽)	30	Chia-yi	Making propaganda for the communists.
2. Lu Ching-hsiung	(呂清雄)	34	Chia-yi	Campaigned for Mrs. Chou Ching-yü.
3. Wang Yung-chi	(王永吉)	60	Kaohsiung	Making propaganda for the communists.
4. Hsu Chi-kwang	(徐自光)	60	Yun-nan	Making propaganda for the communists (a taxidriver).
5. Su Te-sheng	(蘇德勝)	43	Taipei	Making propaganda for the communists.
6. Ma Kuo-kwang	(馬國光)	54	Nanking	While he was on a sightseeing trip overseas, he went to China to visit relatives.

NAME		AGE	FROM	SENTENCE AND CHARGE
7. Hsieh You-jen	(謝友仁)	56	An-hui	Making propaganda for the communists.
8. Li Hsien-liu	(李賢流)	49	Hu-nan	While on a sightseeing trip overseas, he went to China to visit relatives.
9. Shih Lung-tsai	(施龍財)	?	Taipei	Propaganda for the communists while he was in Hua-lien prison
10. Hou Tin-yu	(郝鼎餘)	60	An-hui	Visiting relatives in China; He reported it to the Garrison Command himself.
11. Li Ta-chuan	(李大全)	60	Suchuan	Gambling; he was beaten by police.
12. Lin Chien-ming	(林建明)	39	Chang-hua	Taiwan independence.
13. Wu Tsai-cheng	(吳再成)	33	Yun-lin	Sympathized with <u>Formosa</u> magazine.
14. Tsai Chin-wang	(蔡金旺)	44	I-lan	Making propaganda for the communists.
15. Chang Chan-nan	(張滄南)	44	Chia-yi	"
16. Huang Ping-kuei	(黃平貴)	39	Taitung	"
17. Chen Hsien-wen	(陳憲文)	36	Taipei	Arranged visas for tourists wanting to go to China.
18. Chang Shih-tsai	(張仕才)	51	Hu-nan	Making propaganda for the communists.
19. Liu Chi-ming	(劉治民)	25	Chung-li	"
20. Liu Wei-yi	(劉偉義)	58	Hu-nan	Visited China.
21. Yang Pai-hsin	(楊白新)	53	Shen-yang	"
22. Cheng Ta-mu	(鄭達木)	54	Fu-kien	"
23. Chao Chi-ming	(曹志明)	63	Nanking	Making propaganda for the communists.
24. Kao San-ta	(高上達)	50	Ho-pai	"
25. Chi Hsuan-pin	(紀順彬)	22	Chang-hua	"
26. Chien Chi-hui	(簡志輝)	27	Taipei	Joined a Taiwan Independence organization while he was in U.S.
27. Lin Sung-tsai	(林松材)	40	Taiwan	Making propaganda for the communists.
28. Hsu Kai-jung	(徐開榮)	55	Kwan-tung	Overseas Chinese; He was arrested for visiting China.
29. Yang Cheng-hsuan	(楊振順)	59	Taiwan	Sent letters to non-KMT candidates to encourage them in their election campaign.
30. Su Chao-yuan	(蘇兆元)	50	Shan-tung	Visited the Chinese embassy in Japan; He was sent back to Taiwan.
31. Lü Hsiu-yi	(盧修一)	42	Taiwan	Seditious activities.

NAME		AGE	FROM	SENTENCE AND CHARGE
32. Ho lin	(何霖)	63	Kwan-tung	Overseas Chinese from Hong Kong; Carried letters from relatives in China with him during a visit to Taiwan.
33. Teng Chien-yun	(鄧劍雲)	51	Kwan-tung	An overseas Chinese from Hong Kong. Bought machinery in Taiwan for export to China.
34. Yang Chao-yu	(楊昭育)	51	Fu-kien	"
35. Chang Jung-yi	(張榮一)	39	Taipei	Exported electronic equipment to China.
List of persons sentenced to longer prison sentences.				
1. Chuang Hsin-nan	(莊信男)	40	Pin-tung	15 student movement.
2. Lu Chien-hsin	(呂建興)	35	Tai-nan	15 "
3. Chou Shun-chieh	(周順吉)	36	Taipei	15 "
The three were originally sentenced to life imprisonment. The sentences were later reduced to 15 years imprisonment.				
4. Hsieh Chin-wen	(謝錦文)	50	Taiwan	5 Making propaganda for the communists.
5. Li Pei-lin	(李沛霖)	65	Taipei	8 Involved in selling leftist books (Chen Ming-chung case).
6. Lin Yuan-hui	(林淵輝)	55	Kaohsiung	12 Chen Ming-chung case
7. Shih Ting-hui	(史庭輝)	37	Chekiang	10 Owning and reading leftist books; his sentence was reduced from 15 to 10 years.
8. Chang Yin-yuen	(張隱約)	62	Fu-kien	12 joined leftist organization in China.
9. Lu Chen-man	(呂振滿)	69	"	12 "
10. Lin Chuen-ho	(林存和)	68	"	12 "
11. Chuang Chin-ping	(莊青萍)	68	"	12 "
12. Chan Yin-shen	(詹銀森)	29	Taiwan	7 Propaganda for the PRC
13. Meng Shih-chieh	(孟世傑)	58	Ho-nan	5 "
14. Fang Chun-kai	(范春凱)	60	An-hui	4 "
15. Hsu Chin-fu	(許晴富)	49	Tainan	7 Harboring Shih Ming-teh.
16. Liu Chien-an	(劉建安)	68	Hu-nan	12 Joined leftist organization in China.
17. Hung Wen-bin	(洪文彬)	69	Fu-kien	12 "
18. Lai-yi	(賴衣)	35	Chia-yi	15 Was a guard at Taoyuan prison during a riot; in 1975 his sentence was reduced from life to 15 years.
19. Sung Die-ming	(宋益明)	59	Chiang-si	4 Propaganda for the PRC
20. Chin Yu-kwang	(金育光)	49	Che-kiang	4 "
21. Huang Chi-chuan	(黃吉川)	51	Chiang-su	5 "; sentenced to 5 years and 4 months.

NAME		AGE	FROM	SENTENCE AND CHARGE
22. Chen Shu-te	(陈蕃德)	51	Shan-tung	8 Propaganda for the PRC
23. Tau Chih-hsin	(陶三行)	68	?	5 "
24. Chang Chieh	(张傑)	55	Tien-chin	7 "
25. Chen Hou-chuan	(陈浩川)	49	Taipei	4 Was campaign aid for Cheng Yu-chen (a non-KMT legislator); arrested for making "rousing speeches."
26. Tsai Hsiu-chang	(蔡秀章)	66	Chiang-su	7 Making propaganda for the communists.
27. Wang Hsien-ho	(王先贺)	48	Kaohsiung	5 Sent letters to Rev. C.M. Kao after the Kaohsiung incident.
28. Li Ching-jung	(李慶榮)	55	Kwan-tung	5 Propaganda for the PRC
29. Fang Wen-lian	(方文亮)	31	Taoyuan	5 Wrote letters criticizing the KMT after Kaohsiung Incident.
30. Chen Chi-meng	(陈启猛)	69	Fukien	12 Joined leftist organization in China.
31. Li Chin-sun	(李荆蓀)	67	Chiang-su	15 Sedition.
32. Tsai Hsuan	(蔡玄)	60	Fukien	12 Joined leftist organization when he lived in China.
33. Chen Chih-fe	(程志飛)	51	Fukien	7 went to China to visit relatives.
34. Lin Shu-chih	(林樹棧)	39	Taipei	2 Harboring Shih Ming-teh;
35. Lu Wen-hua	(吕文華)	37	Taoyuan	8 involved in aboriginal sedition case.
<u>Women prisoners</u>				
36. Ms. Lin Wen-chen	(林文珍)	44		5 Harboring <u>Formosa</u> coordinator Shih Ming-teh.
37. Ms. Yeh Tao-lei	(葉島蕾)	32		14 Seditious activities while in the U.S.
38. Ms. Lian Ling-hui	(梁令惠)		life	Joined leftist organization in China.
39. Ms. Kao Chin-chih	(高金子)			?
40. Ms. Yu Su-chen	(于素珍)			?
41. Ms. Lü Hsiu-lien	(吕秀蓮)	39	Taoyuan	12 "Kaohsiung Eight."
42. Ms. Chen-chü	(陈菊)	33	Ilan	12 "Kaohsiung Eight."
<u>Special cases</u>				
43. Hung Chih-liang	(洪誌良)	36	Yuen-lin	
44. Cheng Chin-ming	(鄭金明)	42	Ho-nan	
45. Chu Pei-yu	(朱佩喻)	18	Kwan-tung	
46. Chen Li-hua	(陈麗華)	19	"	

The last three people have not been indicted or tried in court. The authorities refuse to say anything about their case. The three may have entered Taiwan illegally. They were all Chinese refugees from Hong Kong.

# Freedom of the Press?

## *A dismal record*

Since the beginning of this year we have in this column published information about recent bannings and confiscations of “outside-the-party” publications in Taiwan. We believe that now the time has come to give an overall picture: The following is a list of magazines against which restrictive measures were taken by the Taiwan authorities from the beginning of 1982 until the present time. We emphasize that it may not even be a complete picture yet: particularly for the first part of 1982 we have only sketchy information. Under the heading “MEASURES” we present the actions taken by the authorities. These are, in order of increasing severity:

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

Under the heading “REASON” we present very briefly the type or contents of the article(s) which brought about the confiscation or banning. In quite a number of cases this is not known anymore or a reason was never given. Since some of our readers may not be familiar with the names given, we give a short run-down of the ones that occur most frequently:

*Chen Wen-cheng*, a Taiwanese-American professor who visited Taiwan in July 1981 and was found murdered after a lengthy interrogation by the Taiwan Garrison Command (see Taiwan Communiqué no. 5 for further information).

*K'ang Ning-hsiang*, a prominent “outside-the-party” member of the Legislative Yuan, known for his moderate position.

*Lei Chen*, prominent liberal mainlander politician; was imprisoned from 1960 until 1970 for urging the ruling KMT to allow the establishment of an opposition party; died in March 1979.

*Lin Yi-hsiung*, prominent “outside-the-party” member of the Taiwan Provincial Assembly; was imprisoned after the Kaohsiung incident and tortured; his mother and two daughters were murdered on February 28th 1980; the authorities say that the murderer(s) “cannot be found” (see *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 10 for further information).

*Wang Sheng*, right-wing general, who until recently was the head of the Political Warfare Department of the Ministry of Defense; he was seen as the most powerful secret police chief; at the end of April 1983 he was demoted and moved to another position.

	CENSORED	ONE ISSUE BANNED	ONE ISSUE CONFISCATED	SUSPENDED FOR ONE YEAR
<u>1982</u>				
January				
February		2		
March				
April		1		
May		1		
June		5		1
July		1		1
August		1		
September				
October	1	1	3	
November		2		1
December	1		2	1
TOTAL 1982	2	14	5	4
<u>1983</u>				
January		1		1
February			1	
March	1	1	1	1
April		1	2	1
May			2	
June		1	1	
July			2	1
August			1	1
RUNNING TOTAL 1983	1	4	10	5

<u>DATE</u>	<u>MAGAZINE</u>	<u>MEASURE</u>	<u>REASON</u>
<u>1982</u>			
<u>February</u>			
26	Cultivate no. 6	banned	Articles about Prof. Chen Wen-cheng and about prison conditions.
27	Politician no. 23	banned	Interview with Mr. K'ang Ning-hsiang.
<u>April</u>			
-	Care no. 6	banned	
<u>May</u>			
-	Cultivate no. 10	banned	
<u>June</u>			
-	Cultivate no. 11	banned	
-	Cultivate no. 12	banned	
-	Tide no. 6	banned	
-	Vertical-Horizontal no. 15	banned	
-	National Affairs no. 11	banned	
20	Ocean Tide	suspended	Article about relations with China.
<u>July</u>			
-	Vertical-Horizontal no. 16	banned	
-	National Affairs	suspended	
<u>August</u>			
-	Vertical-Horizontal no. 17	banned	Article about relations with China.
<u>October</u>			
4	Taiwan Panorama no. 2	confiscated	New party formation.
11	Vertical-Horizontal no. 19	censored	
20	Politician no. 40	confiscated	Democratization and succession.
20	Ming Jen no. 7	banned	New party formation.
21	Tai Yi-shi no. 7	confiscated	New party formation, International isolation.
<u>November</u>			
5	Care no. 11	banned	Article about prison conditions and torture.
6	Politician	suspended	
11	Ming Jen no. 8	banned	
<u>December</u>			
9	Cultivate no. 23	censored	
-	Ming Jen no. 9	confiscated	
22	Taiwan Panorama no. 4	confiscated	Editorial about human rights.
31	Taiwan Panorama	suspended	

<u>DATE</u>	<u>MAGAZINE</u>	<u>MEASURE</u>	<u>REASON</u>
<u>1983</u>			
<u>January</u>			
10	Vertical-Horizontal no. 22	banned	Translation of article from FEER about succession of Chiang Ching-kuo.
?	Opposition	suspended	
<u>February</u>			
24	Cultivate no. 28	confiscated	Articles about the Feb. 28, 1947 incident.
<u>March</u>			
-	Vertical-Horizontal no. 24	censored	Article by Dr. Victor Lee of East-West Center.
4	Cultivate	suspended	
5	Asian no. 22	banned	Article about Lei Chen.
14	The Eighties no. 32	confiscated	Two translated American articles about relations between the U.S., Taiwan, and China.
<u>April</u>			
2	The Eighties	suspended	
6	Senh-kin no. 6	confiscated	Constitution.
13	Progress no. 3	banned	Article about Lin Yi-hsiung and Wang Sheng.
15	Ming Jen no. 12	confiscated	
<u>May</u>			
21	Political Monitor no. 5	confiscated	Succession of Chiang Ching-kuo.
28	Senh Kin no. 9	confiscated	Publication of statement by Senator Kennedy about Taiwan's Martial Law.
<u>June</u>			
9	Care. no. 18	confiscated	List of political prisoners at Jen Ai.
13	Ming Jen no. 14	banned	
<u>July</u>			
6	Progress no. 15	confiscated	Articles about Hong Kong young professionals group visit to China and Taiwan.
19	Progress no. 17	confiscated	Article about former vice-president Yen Chia-kang.
29	Ming Jen	suspended	
<u>August</u>			
5	Care no. 20	confiscated	Article about U.S. lecture by Mrs. Yao Chou Ching-yü.
6	Progress	suspended	

### *CARE No. 20 confiscated*

On August 5, agents of the Taiwan Garrison Command paid yet another visit to the printing shop of **CARE magazine** and confiscated issue no. 20, which was just rolling off the presses. The apparent reason for the confiscation was the publication of a lecture which Mrs. Yao Chou Ching-yü, publisher of CARE, presented during a recent visit to the United States. In the lecture Mrs. Yao deplored the continuing martial law in Taiwan and urged the authorities to release her husband and other imprisoned opposition leaders.

### *Progress: two issues confiscated and suspended for a year*

On July 6th., 1983 at 7:00 p.m. agents of the Taiwan Garrison Command arrived at the printing shop where issue no. 15 of **Progress Weekly** magazine was being prepared for publication. More than 10,000 copies were confiscated, and one of the editors was beaten by the agents. The TGC agents also wanted to take the printing plates, but the owner -- in an effort to prevent the seizure -- threw the plates on the floor.

**Progress** is being published by Mr. Lin Chen-chieh, an “outside-the-party” member of the Taipei City Council. The apparent reason for the confiscation was the publication of two articles, one about a group of students, young professionals and businessmen from Hong Kong who visited both China and Taiwan, and another article comparing the economies of China and Taiwan.

On July 19th, Progress was again the target of the secret police. Issue no. 17 had just been printed, when more than 30 Garrison Command agents entered the printing shop and confiscated the approximately 10,000 copies. Publisher Lin rushed to the site and tried to convince the TGC agents to stop the confiscation. The agents then threatened to arrest him. The reason for the confiscation of No. 17 was an article about Mr. Yen Chia-kang, a former vice-president under Chiang Kai-shek, who briefly served as president after Chiang’s death in 1975 until the “election” of Chiang Ching-kuo in 1978.

On August 6th, the Government Information Office (GIO) issued an order, suspending Progress’s publication permit for the period of one year. Mr. Lin Chen-chieh immediately announced that he will apply to the GIO for a license to publish another magazine, to be named Progressive Forum.

# Articles and Publications

## *Taiwan Church News: Occasional Bulletin*

In July 1983 this English-language publication of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan came out with its combined third and fourth issue. It contains information about the activities of the Church, such as the 30th General Assembly, which took place in Taipei in the beginning of April, and was attended by more than 400 delegates and visitors.

The Occasional Bulletin also focused on the imprisoned General Secretary of the Church, Reverend Dr. Kao Chun-ming; on the proposed law to “protect” religion; and on the imposition of high taxes on Presbyterian Churches in the mountain areas. The Occasional Bulletin is available from: Taiwan Church News, 272-1 Youth Road, TAINAN 700, Taiwan.

## *TROUW: Taiwan ties down its churches*

On 10 August 1983 a Dutch national daily newspaper, TROUW, published an extensive article about the proposed new Church Law in Taiwan. The article was titled “Taiwan now also ties down its churches.” In the opening paragraph, the author states:

Article 1 of the proposed law says that it is intended to protect freedom of religion, but articles 2 through 24 show that the opposite will happen. (....)

The law starts out from the premise that “nothing is allowed unless you have permission from the authorities.” Churches, temples and all other religious organizations will have to register virtually everything. The registration process promises to be a very bureaucratic procedure.

The author then presents a detailed article-by-article analysis of the proposed law. He closes with the following question:

Is the proposed law just a threat by the authorities, designed to get the Church which is concerned about social and political justice back into the political line-up of the government, or are the authorities really planning to introduce this law into the Legislative Yuan? This question can only be answered when it is too late. The churches cannot expect too much support for freedom of religion from the Legislative Yuan,

because virtually all members of this legislative body are members of the Kuomintang, the only party which is allowed to operate fully and freely. These members hardly ever voice any opposition.

In June of this year the legislature approved an important revision of the election law after a debate of only seventeen minutes. The approval of the budget of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs took only ten minutes. The “Law to protect religion” cannot expect to get much more time than that.

### ***Wall Street Journal: Why Taiwan has difficulty being Taiwan***

On June 20, 1983 this international business-newspaper published an article by Mr. Robert Keatley, the editor of The Asian Wall Street Journal. The article discusses the possible changes of policies, which could accompany the passing of the old Nationalist Chinese guard in Taiwan. Some excerpts:

A 2,691-member National Assembly [the correct number is 2,961 -Ed.] met in 1947 and survives as the overseer, in theory at least, of government actions. But some 60 % of those members have died, emigrated or otherwise disappeared and there is no way to elect new ones; all other provinces are in “rebel” hands. Even dedicated believers in the Nationalist cause want somehow to revive the Assembly’s faded credibility, but there is no agreement how to do it.

That indicates the basic dilemma here: The government claims to represent all China and rules only one province. Its grip on power stems from that claim, which draws decreasing support abroad and apparently even here. Few of the 85 % who are native Taiwanese appear deeply interested in the mainland, and many fear it: They don’t want to risk their relative wealth and freedom by somehow getting involved with the Communist regime, which they distrust.

Further on in the article the author quotes former diplomat Charles Cross, who served as the first director of the American Institute in Taiwan, Washington’s unofficial embassy in Taipei:

“... Taiwan’s stability and its capacity to talk responsibly with the other side require that the sterile dullness of its domestic politics be enlivened by a greater sense of purpose

than preserving the ROC regime or awaiting incorporation into the PRC.”

The author then states: However, “enlivening” the political process means giving local citizens a greater role. That would make the government both younger and more Taiwanese, most likely with less enthusiasm for the Nationalist credo.

The author closes as follows: It doesn’t take great prescience to note there will be a changing of the guard within the decade, and that Taiwanese will play an increasingly important policy role. Most likely they will seek more freedom at home and less hostility toward the mainland. They might even abandon the Nationalists’ legal claim to represent all China, though what any government would substitute remains uncertain.

Yet, such changes won’t necessarily bring much movement towards unity, nor even serious talk about unity, from distrustful Taiwanese. Peking’s dream of unification will likely remain just that long after elderly Nationalists pass from power.

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## Notes

### *Statement by the World Federation of Taiwanese Associations*

From the 1st through the 4th of July the World Federation of Taiwanese Associations held its annual convention at the University of California, Davis. The gathering was attended by more than 500 representatives of Taiwanese Associations in different states of the United States, Canada, Japan, Latin America and and from various countries in Europe.

The gathering was concluded with the following statement:

The World Federation of Taiwanese Associations with the enthusiastic support and participation of the Taiwanese people around the world held its 10th annual convention at the University at Davis, July 1-4, 1983. The convention reached the following consensus at the close of its four-day discussion:

- Taiwan must establish diplomatic relations with the nations of the world and must join the United Nations in order to safeguard the rights and interests of the Taiwanese people.
- Taiwan's future must be decided by the 18 million people of Taiwan. The World Federation of Taiwanese Associations shall redouble its efforts in advancing this historic mission. The Federation urges the Kuomintang (KMT) authorities to take the following immediate actions:
- Lift Martial Law and release all political prisoners;
- Renew the entire membership of the Parliament;
- Abolish the revised "Election and Recall Law";
- Withdraw the draft "Law on Religion Control" and safeguard freedom of religion.

### *Legislative Yuan elections on December 3, 1983*

In the beginning of August the Taiwan authorities announced that the elections for the 54 seats in the Legislative Yuan which are allocated to Taiwan, the Pescadores and the off-shore island Kinmen and Matsu, will be held on December 3, 1983. The election campaign will be held from November 18th through December 2nd. During the first week the candidates may hold their own campaign rallies, but during the second week they have to appear at government-sponsored gatherings.

### *More on KMT spying in the USA*

In Taiwan Communiqué no. 10 we published an article about the spying activities by the Taiwan authorities in the United States. Since then, a new case of harassment by pro-government agents has occurred: at North Carolina State University two Taiwanese students were threatened and harassed after they had publicized the identity of a government-agent on campus. A local newspaper, **the North Carolina Landmark**, wrote an extensive article about the case in its January 27th, 1983 issue, titled "North Carolina State students from Taiwan harassed and have death threats."

We have also received several additional articles about spying on campuses of other universities in the United States:

- 1976: The Chicago Maroon (University of Chicago) May 21, 1976: "Spying charge found nationwide."
- 1977: The Iowa State Daily, May 4, 1977: "Surveillance of Taiwanese part of martial law."

- 1979: The Washington Post, August 9, 1979: “Foreign Spy activities found rampant in the U.S.”
- 1982: Campus Report (Stanford University) October 6, 1982: “Professor Goheen says Taiwanese spy on students.”
- International Herald Tribune, October 9-10, 1982: “U.S. School (Stanford University) says Taiwanese spy on fellow students.”

***Late news: Presbyterian building torn down***

As this issue of Taiwan Communiqué was going to press we learned that on August 8th, 1983 a three-story building used as pastor’s residence and community service center by the Presbyterian Church in the city of Tainan was torn down at the order of mayor Su Nan-chen. The Taiwan Church News of August 14, 1983 reported that the authorities claimed that the building, located next to the Church, was built without a building permit. Apparently the Church was singled out, because in the city of Tainan there are hundreds of buildings which were built without a permit. The Church had been trying to obtain a permit, and had asked the mayor for a three months’ postponement of the demolition order.

On the morning of demolition, more than 200 policemen armed with clubs, pistols and tear gas guns appeared in front of the church to clear the traffic. Then came the demolition cranes which struck the walls and turned the building into a pile of debris.



**Police at the demolition**



**The Church before being torn down**

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Taiwan Communiqué supports a free, democratic, and independent Taiwan, and campaigns for full and equal membership of Taiwan in the international community, including a seat in the UN.  
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