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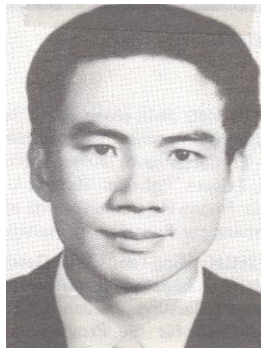
Lin Yi-hsiung and Kao Chun-ming released

On August 15, 1984 the Taiwan authorities announced that two of Taiwan's most prominent political prisoners were released. Mr. Lin Yi-hsiung -- a former member of the Taiwan Provincial Assembly - received a commutation of his 12-years' sentence (4 of which he had served), while Dr. Kao Chun-ming -- General Secretary of the Taiwan Presbyterian Church -- was released on parole. A conditional release was also granted to Mr. Hsu Ching-fu and to Ms. Lin Wen-chen.

Both were tried in May 1980 before a military court -- together with Dr. Kao - on charges of harboring opposition leader Mr. Shih Ming-teh following the Kaohsiung Incident of December 1979. Mr. Hsu is a businessman, while Ms. Lin Wen-chen is the dean of the Calvin Bible School for Women of the Presbyterian Church. Ms. Lin was already released in October 1983 for medical treatment of a severe case of stomach ulcer.

Mr. Lin Yi-hsiung is the first of the "Kaohsiung Eight" to be released. His case had received considerable international attention because his mother and twin-daughters were murdered on February 28, 1980 after he had complained that he had been tortured during interrogation. Mr. Lin had been told two days earlier by his interrogators not to tell his family about the "treatment" he had received during 42 days of interrogation, or else "unfavorable things" could happen to his relatives (see **New York Times**, March 26, 1980).

Dr. Kao's case had also been the focus of attention from the international community. In particular U.S. politicians,



Lin Yi-hsiung



Rev. Kao Chun-ming

such as senators Kennedy and Pell and Congressmen Solarz and Leach, and many international church organizations, who consider Dr. Kao a victim of political persecution, spoke on his behalf. He had spoken out against human rights violations and against the lack of democracy on the island, and - just before his arrest on April 24, 1980 - had led the Presbyterian Church in a move to rejoin the World Council of Churches.

The seven "Kaohsiung Eight" persons who remain imprisoned are: Mr. Huang Hsin-chieh (56), Mr. Yao Chia-wen (46), Mr. Chang Chun-hung (46), Ms. LU Hsiu-lien (40), Ms. Chen Chi! (34), Mr. Lin Hung-hsuan (42), and Mr. Shih Ming-teh (43).

Of the "Kaohsiung thirty-three" -- 33 persons associated with **Formosa**, who were tried in civil court in April and May 1980, and who received lesser sentences -- there are still three persons in jail:

Mr. Wang T'o Well-known writer; member of the **Formosa** editorial board;
Mr. Wei T'ing-chao Well-known writer; editor of **Formosa**;
Mr. Ts'ai Yu-ch'uan Theologian in the Presbyterian Church;

Three other persons in this group, Messrs. Chi Wan-sheng, Chou Ping-teh, and Chiu Mao-nan, were just released in June of this year (see Prison Report on page xx).

Strangely, on July 27 1984, Mr. Wei T'ing-chao was released from Kuei San prison, but he was immediately taken to Ching-mei Detention Center near Taipei, and imprisoned there: the reason given by the authorities was that he had been released on probation in 1975, and because had subsequently become politically active again (in the Formosa group in 1979) he is now required to complete the remainder of his old sentence (two years and eight months).

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Authorities order closure of Theological College

On June 29, 1984 Tainan Theological College - the major educational institution of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan -- received a directive from the Ministry of Education in Taipei, stating that the Theological College should cease its operations. The reason given by the Ministry was that the College was not a formally registered institution and that it was thus "trying to confuse the formal educational system" by enrolling students

and granting degrees. The directive was channeled through the Provincial Department of Education and through the mayor of Tainan City, Mr. Su Nan-chen. Mayor Su is a fervent pro-Kuomintang official, who gained notoriety in August 1983 when he ordered the destruction of a brand-new three-story building of the Presbyterian Church in Tainan.

In a cover-letter accompanying the directive, mayor Su stated that the College should cease its operations, "otherwise we will resort to the law to close down the College by force." Although mayor Su has harassed the College on numerous earlier occasions, this is the most blatant threat, and it is also the first time that such a threat has been put down on paper.

If this directive is carried out it will mean a certain end to a historic College, which was founded in 1875 by British missionaries, and was the first modern educational institution on the island. It has thus functioned as an independent entity for more than 100 years, and has been the training ground for several generations of ministers in the Presbyterian Church. The Kuomintang authorities have -- particularly since 1977, when the Church issued a Declaration on Human Rights -- attempted to inhibit the activities of the Church.

The latest step against the Presbyterian Church and its institutions was apparently instigated by the strongly anti-Presbyterian mayor Su Nan-chen himself: on May 17 1984 he wrote a letter to the national educational authorities requesting instructions on how to deal with the College. The letter was possibly triggered by the fact that a few days earlier a prayer meeting had been held at the College for the imprisoned opposition leaders who had gone on hunger strike (see story below).

Opposition leaders on hunger strike *For democracy and human rights*

In *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 15 (May 9. 1984), we reported on the start of a hunger strike by four imprisoned opposition leaders, and the three days of fasting and prayer by their friends and relatives in Gi-kong Church in Taipei. The four men -- Messrs. Huang Hsin-chieh, Yao Chia-wen, Chang Chün-hung, and Lin Hung-hsuan -- were transferred from Hsin-tien jail to the Three Services Military Hospital between May 5 and May 11. It wasn't until May 16 that they were allowed a visit by one of their relatives.

The four ended their hunger strike between May 15 and May 21. This didn't happen voluntarily: they were held in isolation and were told by prison officials that the others had given up their hunger strike, when in fact none of them had done so. On May 29th they were returned to Hsintien jail, but on June 2nd they were transferred to "Ming Teh Village", a prison in the town of An K'ang (south of Taipei), which is directly under the jurisdiction of the Defense Ministry.

At the new jail, Mr. Yao Chia-wen and Mr. Chang Chun-hung share one cell, while Mr. Huang and Mr. Lin originally shared another. However, the latter two were later separated and now each have a single cell. The living conditions in the new jail are slightly better than in Hsin-tien jail, since they now have a small table and a chair in their cell (at Hsin-tien they lived on the floor for more than four years). However, at the new jail their outdoor activities are confined to a small courtyard adjacent to the prison, whereas before, they had access to a larger field for outdoor activities. They now also have virtually no contact with other prisoners.

At the time of this writing there is still little known about their health condition. Mr. Chang Chun-hung's health is of special concern, since he was beaten by prison guards at the end of April (see story on page 7). Mr. Chang has a long history of heart- and eye-problems.

Mr. Yao Chia-wen's wife, National Assembly member Chou Ch'ing-yu, continued her hunger strike in the hospital until after the middle of May. She remained hospitalized until May 25. The other two women started to take fluids on May 8 and soon thereafter were able to travel to the South to join several gatherings there.

On May 9 a meeting was held at Tainan Theological College. Approximately 1,000 people attended and expressed their support of the imprisoned leaders by wearing sashes on which they had written: "We want Lin Hung-hsuan (etc) free." Police surrounded the meeting place and ordered the *tangwai* leaders to remove the sashes. They refused and it took more than an hour before the stalemate was resolved. The last one refusing to remove her sash was Lin Hung-hsuan's wife -- Lin Li-chen. She was carried out of the hall, through the police cordon, by opposition leader You Ch'ing.

Other supportive meetings were held in Hsinchu (May 8), Kaohsiung (May 10, attended by more than 1,000 people), Chungli (May 12), Changhua and Taichung (May 13). These meetings were also surrounded by police, the speakers and people wanting to attend the meetings were harassed, and leaflets were confiscated. The harassment continued for several weeks: when on May 27, Hsieh Ch'ang-t'ing -- a

member of the Taipei City Council who participated in the three-day hunger strike - went to Taichung to deliver a speech, he was met by riot troops in full battle gear (see picture below).



Riot troops in Taichung

The troops prevented Mr. Hsieh from reaching the local joint office of Mrs. Chang Hsu Jung-shu, a prominent opposition member of the Legislative Yuan, and Dr. Y'ou Ching, the most prominent *tangwai* member of the Control Yuan. The riot troops also prevented the local populace from attending the gathering by setting up a full blockade of the area. Even residents of the area could not get in and out unless they showed their identification cards.

Statement by families & other tangwai leaders

On 4 May 1984, the "Committee to support the hunger strike of Formosa Prisoners" issued a statement to explain the purpose of the hunger strike by four imprisoned opposition leaders, their family members and other *tangwai* ("outside-the-party") leaders. The text of the statement is as follows:

"Four of the imprisoned opposition leaders decided to begin a long-term hunger strike to call attention to:

- the lack of reform in the domestic political system,
- the lack of progress in the process of democratization, and
- Taiwan's rapidly deteriorating international status.

Huang Hsin-chieh began his hunger strike on April 26. Chang Chün-hung, Yao Chia-wen and Lin Hung-hsuan joined him on May 4. They hope that their action will generate public concern and spur the authorities to steer the nation on the course towards building a democratic, free and just state.

The **Formosa** prisoners have - since the day they lost their freedom on December 13, 1979 - spent four dismal years in prison. During this period they have often told their families during visits that their incarceration has caused them utmost distress and disappointment. They are distressed and disappointed because they are denied the opportunity to contribute their skills and knowledge to a society which they so passionately love.

On May 2 the prisoners told their families during short meetings that they would face their ordeal with love and peace of mind. They understood fully that fasting can cause serious damage to their body and mind and perhaps lead to death. They have no other recourse but to resort to this action in order to call attention to Taiwan's predicament -- the problem of its long-term survival. They are willing to sacrifice their lives in order to awaken the conscience of their countrymen and the authorities -- to build on this island a free, democratic, just and prosperous society, which respects human dignity and cherishes the spirit of humanitarianism.

Because the authorities have taken measures to black out news of hunger strike and will further try to disparage the action of the prisoners, the *tangwai* have adopted a series of action to support the prisoners' hunger strike. From May 4, family members, elected officials and members of the democratic movement will begin a three day hunger strike. We want to show the authorities that we, both inside and outside prison, are determined to promote democracy.

If this action produces no response from the authorities, we will continue our non-violent protest, and hope that the people of Taiwan will join us in our concern. We need their wisdom and strength.

We, the *tangwai*, believe that it is a crime of those outside the prison to let only a few persons bear the burden of political suffering. We can no longer tolerate that any more physical and mental damage is done to the prisoners and their families. Let us all join together to find a way out of Taiwan's predicament."

Chang Chun-hung beaten by prison guards

On Thursday, April 26, 1984 Mrs. Chang Hsu Jung-shu announced during the weekly prayer meeting of relatives of political prisoners that her husband and three other prominent political prisoners would be on a hunger strike on May 4, 1984, and that Mr. Huang Hsin-chieh was already starting on April 26 because of Mr. Reagan's visit to the PRC.

Mrs. Chang reported that on the previous day, April 25, the atmosphere during the weekly prison visit was very tense: only one "talk window" was open and only one person at a time could go inside to talk to a prisoner. The full conversation was recorded, and each time the word "hunger strike" or "fast" was mentioned, the telephone connection was interrupted (in total six or seven times during the half-hour visit). Towards the end of the conversation, Chang Chun-hung suddenly asked his wife to bring some Chinese herbal medicine "for my wounds." Mrs. Chang expressed shock and asked: "Are you hurt?" Chang Chün-hung answered that he had been beaten by the guards and that his chest and shoulder were hurting. When Mrs. Chang asked "Why were you beaten ?" the telephone connection was broken off completely.

Mrs. Chang stated that she was deeply distressed by the continued ill-treatment of the "Kaohsiung" prisoners. She said that during the four years that her husband and the others had been in prison the conditions there had not been improved. Mr. Huang Hsin-chieh (a member of the Legislative Yuan) had even been slapped in the face by the prison guards. She said that the prisoners had been treated harshly, and that - in spite of their good behavior, good character and prominent status -- the prison guards do not treat them with human dignity.

She stated that -- as May 4th was also the beginning of the Chinese democratic movement [a reference to May 4, 1919 -- Ed.] -- the upcoming hunger strike should be of concern to every intellectual. The "Kaohsiung prisoners" have been deprived of their freedom because they worked for human rights and democracy. Mrs. Chang said that she tried hard to stop her husband and the others from going on hunger strike, but they had made their decision and they wanted to go ahead with it.

35 years of martial law

On May 19, 1949 the Chinese Nationalists -- who had just arrived from the mainland -- declared martial law on Taiwan. Today, 35 years later, this martial law is still in force. All individual rights and freedoms embodied in the Constitution -- such as freedom of expression, freedom of assembly and press freedom -- have since that time been suspended.

No other people in modern history have lived under martial law for such a long continuous period as the Taiwanese people, who distinguish themselves from the Chinese mainlanders (who came after 1945) through their language and their culture. The native Taiwanese -- those whose ancestors moved to the island many generations ago - constitute more than 85 percent of the population of the island.

May 19 was thus no day of celebration for the Taiwanese people. On the contrary: martial law is still in force and remains the greatest obstacle on the road towards a free and democratic Taiwan. In several countries attention was paid to this matter:

1. U.S. Senator Claiborne Pell - the highest ranking democrat on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee -- made a statement in the U.S. Senate appealing to the Taiwan authorities to end martial law and move towards a democratic political system;
2. On May 31, 1984 the Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs of the U.S. House of Representatives held a hearing, and passed a resolution calling for an end to martial law in Taiwan. Two prominent Taiwanese-Americans presented testimony on the developments on the island: professor T'ien Hung-mao and Dr. Lin Tsung-kuang.
3. The Formosan Association for Human Rights (FAHR) and the Southeast Asia Resource Center -- both based in New York -- jointly issued a statement titled "It's Time to End 35 years of Martial Law in Taiwan."
4. On May 19, 1984 Utrechts Nieuwsblad, the major newspaper in the center of the Netherlands, published a lengthy article about Taiwan's continuing state of martial law. Some excerpts from this article can be found in our Articles and Publications section on page 32.

Below you find:

- the full text of Senator Pell's statement;
- some excerpts from the statements made during the hearing in the House of Representatives;
- the text of House Concurrent Resolution 344, and
- the text of the FAHR / Southeast Asia Resource Center statement.

Senator Pell's statement about martial law on Taiwan

"35 years ago this month the Government on Taiwan instituted martial law. Chiang Kai-shek's army had taken refuge on the island after bitter defeats at the hands of the Communists on the mainland. He had also moved his Nationalist government to the island in 1949 in hopes that its survival kept alive the dream of one day returning and regaining control of the mainland. His precarious hold on the island, fear of Communist subversion, and the possibility of unrest among the local Taiwanese residents prompted his resorting to emergency procedures in maintaining Nationalist control.

Three and a half decades later Taiwan faces the remainder of the 1980's and beyond much changed from the early years of Nationalist rule. Rural land reform in the 1950's established the basis for the successful economic transformation of the island in the 1960's and 1970's. Few can match the economic progress or balanced growth Taiwan experienced throughout this period. Military modernization also accompanied the changed economic circumstances. Today, Taiwan possesses a highly capable, well-trained and sophisticated defense force.

American analysts assess it as sufficient for deterring outside attacks and capable of conducting a formidable defense of the island. Steps have also been taken to reform the political process. Native Taiwanese dominate local elections and constitute a majority of the dominant Kuomintang party rank and file. At the top, however, key decisions remain in the hands of a small number of mainlander political elite.

Fundamental social changes on the island generate optimistic hopes that even this situation may change over time. Divisions between the mainlanders and the majority native Taiwanese have begun to disappear gradually. Mainlanders, particularly the new generations, are becoming more Taiwanese in outlook. The locals adopt many attitudes formally associated with the mainlander elite. A further melding of perspectives and aspirations seems certain over the next few years.

Despite the across the board changes for the better on Taiwan and predictions of an optimistic future, martial law remains a glaring exception to the progress experienced in other sectors. It continues to frustrate Taiwan's quest for a free society. The leadership perpetuates its authoritarian control over the people by denying press freedoms, censoring mail and severely restricting freedom of speech, assembly, and other political activities.

The authorities' preoccupation with Communist subversion and a broad definition of subversive activities combine to constrain political opposition and dissent, and encourage a tendency for the security apparatus to abuse its power. For too long, the Government has by its actions impeded respect for human rights and the growth of a democratic system on Taiwan. Continued delay could begin to undermine seriously the traditional close relationship between the United States and Taiwan. Its friends in America will have a more and more difficult time justifying their support if repression of basic freedoms does not end.

For a number of years, I have urged the authorities on Taiwan to make a start at real reform. I renew my plea today. I recommend that as a top priority the authorities immediately establish a clearly defined timetable for change that includes:

First, an end to martial law; Second, provision for the organization of new political parties; Third, freedom of the press, and Fourth, a plan for including a fair representation of Taiwanese in all national-level government offices.

Such a program would greatly improve the human rights conditions on Taiwan and begin the process of opening up the political process to all of the Taiwanese people. Happily, some officials have heard my repeated pleas and have begun to discuss reform along the lines I suggest. Unfortunately I have seen little concrete results so far. Hopefully, the government will begin to move from talking about the need for change to an action program designed to bring real freedom to the people on Taiwan."

Hearing and Resolution in the House

On May 31, 1984 the Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs of the U.S. House of Representatives held a hearing about recent political developments in Taiwan, and passed a resolution calling for an end to martial law on the island. We first present the opening statement by the Subcommittee's chairman, Democratic Congressman Stephen J. Solarz:

“On May 19, 1949, thirty-five years ago, the Kuomintang regime imposed martial law on Taiwan. This and other emergency provisions are not as harsh as they once were, nor do they weigh as heavy on the populace as systems of repression in some other places. But many independent observers have concluded that martial law on Taiwan exists less to preserve the island’s security than to preserve one-party rule, less to defend against subversion than to block peaceful Opposition efforts for democratic reform. In their view, martial law undermines rather than contributes to Taiwan’s long-term security, and to the island’s friendship with the American people.

Martial law has also brought tragedy to innocent individuals who had no desire to engage in politics. Among them was the late Professor Chen Wen-cheng, a professor of statistics at Carnegie Mellon University. This promising young mathematician, with a brilliant career in the United States ahead of him, was brutally murdered during a family visit to Taiwan three years ago. I am pleased to recognize and welcome Professor Chen’s father, Mr. Chen T’ing-mao, who is currently visiting in the United States, and who on July 3rd will participate in a memorial service for his son.

Our subcommittee examined the issue of martial law in depth two years ago. Since that time, and particularly in the last year, there have been a number of developments in Taiwan. Among them are:

- a shift of power within the Kuomintang away from orthodox elements obsessed with security toward those who favor a more open political system;
- the December 1983 elections for a minority of seats in the Legislative Yuan;
- the selection of island-born Lee Teng-hui as vice-president and technocrat Yu Kuo-hwa as premier.

On the other hand there has been increased censorship of opposition magazines, and hunger strikes by some opposition politicians jailed as a result of the martial law system.

Today we wish to examine the significance of these developments. On the balance, do they represent or portend fundamental changes in the political system, including, for example, the end of martial law and the emergence of political pluralism? Or are they designed to embellish the facade of a one-party regime that has no intention of accounting for its record before the bar of public opinion ?

To provide testimony on these questions are three distinguished specialists on Taiwan affairs:

- Professor T'ien Hung-mao of the department of political science of the University of Wisconsin at Waukesha.
- Professor Lin Tsung-kuang of the department of history of Drake University in Des Moines, Iowa, and
- Martin Lasater, president of Martin Lasater and Associates.

Professors T'ien and Lin are both prominent Taiwanese-Americans, and testified on recent developments in Taiwan and analyzed the prospectives for change. Mr. Lasater is a graduate student at George Washington University. He spoke in favor of the Kuomintang regime.

The testimony of the above-mentioned three persons was preceded by the following excellent statement by Republican Congressman Jim Leach:

Congressman Leach on Taiwan Martial Law and Human Rights

“First let me thank the chairman for inviting me to attend this important hearing today and for his leadership in bringing the Taiwan martial law and human rights resolution before this subcommittee.

While great delicacy and respect are required when citizens of one country express views critical of affairs elsewhere, the traditional close relations between the people of this country and the people of Taiwan, as well as the shared democratic aspirations articulated by statesmen of the stature of Thomas Jefferson and Dr. Sun Yat-sen, dictate that Americans speak out their concern about martial law and other human rights-threatening aspects of Kuomintang rule in Taiwan. Respect for human life and human rights transcend political, cultural and geographical borders.

Extra delicacy is required in discussing Taiwan's domestic political situation now, as President Chiang Ching-kuo, who has long pursued a policy of very gradual, albeit exasperatingly slow, political modernization, has just begun his second term. Serving with him in the Presidential Palace is former Taiwan Governor Lee Teng-hui, a native Taiwanese and graduate of Iowa State University, who has been hailed by many persons of both moderate and conservative persuasion alike as an acceptable “compromise candidate.”

It remains to be seen, however, what short-term actions, such as a possible release of the Kaohsiung defendants or other prisoners of conscience, or long-term actions, such as the lifting of martial law and modernization of the island's representative bodies, the new administration may be contemplating. As in the past, recent events would indicate that the ruling party has not yet broken out of the destructive, confidence-busting pattern of taking a half-step backward for every step forward. But it's too early to accurately extrapolate what the future holds from the few events that have taken place since the May 20 inaugural.

It is profoundly ironic that the inauguration, which traditionally would symbolize a new beginning, took place on the 35th anniversary of the establishment of martial law in Taiwan. In an interview the following week, President Chiang said that martial law was "one of the main reasons behind the rapid social, economic and political progress in the last 30 years which has led to the development of a pluralistic society on Taiwan." Perhaps that was the case two and a half decades ago, but it is my belief that, by frustrating the Taiwanese people's natural desire for an increased role in determining policies that affect their lives, martial law actually jeopardizes the tremendous gains made on the island in just the last generation. Martial law continues to be the most destabilizing factor in the island's domestic politics, with profound implications for the future.

It is my hope that the authorities in Taiwan will not misinterpret the spirit in which this hearing is held today. Much to the detriment of the close friendship between our two peoples, high-ranking KMT officials in the past have claimed that our expressions of concern raise questions of sovereignty, thus making it impossible for them to release political prisoners, no matter how compelling the case for their release, and to pursue moderate policies.

Mr. Chairman, the Ripon Forum recently published an article entitled "Taiwan: An Experiment in Pluralism the U.S. should support," which I believe provides a good overview of Taiwan's domestic and international situation and the link between the two. If there is no objection, I would like to request that it be included in the record."

After hearing the testimony of the three witnesses, the Subcommittee passed House Concurrent Resolution 344, which was submitted to the House Foreign Affairs Committee on July 31 1984, where it will come up for a vote in September 1984. The full text of the Resolution is as follows:

House Concurrent Resolution 344

Expressing the sense of Congress concerning the need to achieve full democracy in Taiwan

Whereas an economic miracle on the island of Taiwan has created a middle-class society which enjoys substantial prosperity and an equitable distribution of income;

Whereas the educational system on Taiwan has raised literacy to high levels and trained a new generation of intelligent, responsible, and articulate citizens;

Whereas the people on Taiwan have shown themselves -- most recently in the Supplemental Legislative Yuan elections of December 1983 -- fully capable of participating in a democratic political process;

Whereas island-born political figures are assuming high-level political positions, most notably the newly-elected vice-president;

Whereas stability and peace prevail on the island of Taiwan and in the Western Pacific region;

Whereas, however, the system of martial law and other emergency provisions still limit the exercise of constitutionally mandated freedoms of speech, of the press, of assembly, and of political organization;

Whereas the system of martial law provides the authorities broad latitude in charging political opponents with the crimes of sedition and treason;

Whereas the Taiwan Relations Act states, "The preservation and enhancement of human rights of all the people on Taiwan are hereby reaffirmed as objectives of the United States"; and

Whereas a more free and open Taiwan, with full respect for human rights, would have an even stronger claim to the moral support of the American people;
Now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That it is the sense of the Congress that it would be highly desirable if the authorities on Taiwan would continue and accelerate progress toward a fully democratic system, in particular by ending martial law and other emergency provisions and by releasing political prisoners, and so guarantee and protect the rights of all the people on Taiwan.

Statement by FAHR and SE Asia Resource Center

The following statement was issued jointly by the U.S.-based Formosan Association for Human Rights (FAHR) and by the Southeast Asia Resource Center -- an American organization dedicated to social and economic justice, as well as human rights and democracy in Southeast Asia. The two organizations have obtained endorsements for the statement from a number of prominent Americans, and are requesting others around the world to join the campaign.

It's time to end 35 years of Martial Law in Taiwan

“Nineteen-eighty-four is the 35th Anniversary of Martial Law in Taiwan. It was put into effect on May 19, 1949, less than six months after the signing of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights at the United Nations. The Taiwanese have now lived under martial law longer than any people in modern history.

The background for martial law began in 1947 when Chiang Kai-shek, involved in his life-and-death struggle with Mao Tse-tung, sent his troops to Taiwan to suppress a Taiwanese rebellion. Thousands of people were killed in this “2-28” incident and the subsequent March Massacre. Two years later (1949) Chiang fled with his army and a million Mainlanders to the island country and established martial law which has continued ever since.

What martial law means to the Taiwanese people: Thousands of workers, church leaders, students, writers, farmers, politicians and lawyers have been or are imprisoned under vague charges of being anti-government. Some of these people, originally arrested for “Communist Activities,” have been in jail for over 30 years. They are now in their 50's and 60's and in extreme poor health (see “Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1982,” Report to the Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate and Committee on Foreign Affairs, U.S. House of Representatives by the Department of State, Febr. 1983, pag. 692).

Under martial law the military courts try persons accused of vague offenses which are said to “threaten the internal security of the state” or offenses against public order and public safety. Under martial law, free assembly, association, demonstration and the right to petition are prohibited. The Commander-in-Chief keeps “control over speech, teaching, newspapers, magazines, pictures, notices, and other publications” He also restricts religious activities, prohibits worker or student strikes and demonstrations, and censors mail and inspects personal property.

Along with martial law, there are a myriad of laws, regulations and executive orders that deprive human rights in Taiwan. For example, the “Statute for the Punishment of Sedition” has been used to mete out harsh prison terms or even death sentences to thousands of prisoners of conscience; the “General Mobilization Laws” subject all civilians to military rules; the “Law to Preserve Social Order” empowers the police to place any citizen under arrest and summarily declare them as hoodlums and send them away to prison camps; and the “Publications Law” has been used to censor or ban magazines and books that are critical of the government.

The “Law on Election and Recall” put even more restrictions on the very limited voting power of the people. Now the government is trying to ram the “Law to Protect Religion” through the Congress to more tightly control religious activities of the people. All these laws have come into being under the umbrella of the “Provisional Articles of the Constitution.” Nevertheless, martial law serves as a focus and as a symbol of the suffering of the Taiwanese people. And the government is using martial law to justify the suppression of human rights and to maintain the image of the state of siege.

These laws are more than just on the books. They are used. Political prisoners include Rev. Kao Chun-ming, General Secretary of the Taiwan Presbyterian Church, Lin Yi-hsiung, Provincial Assemblyman, Huang Hsin-chieh, National Legislative Member, Yao Chia-wen, the country’s leading human rights lawyer, Lu Hsiu-lien, leading women’s writer, and many others. One well-known case involved alleged smuggling of illicit baby eels from China. The **Chicago Tribune** editorialized:

“Taiwan’s leaders seem determined to make themselves an international laughing stock by going ahead with a sedition trial against eight advocates of Taiwan independence. The charges read like a Gilbert and Sullivan plot to anybody who is not thoroughly steeped in the lost cause mentality of the Kuomintang...” (Chicago Tribune, March 22, 1980)

But it is a serious case. The eight received sentences of from 12 years to life imprisonment and are still in jail.

There is no effective labor movement in Taiwan: no strikes and no collective bargaining. Students are monitored and spied upon, both within Taiwan and outside. Students in Taiwan are encouraged to report the “improper thoughts” of fellow students, parents and teachers. Every year publications, newspapers and magazines are closed, suspended or censored. For example, more than 20 issues of opposition magazines were banned and six major magazines were suspended for one year in the December 1982 to May 1983 period (**Far Eastern Economic Review**, May 19, 1983).

How Representative is the Government: No general elections have been held in Taiwan. The congressional bodies (the Legislative Yuan, the Control Yuan, and the National Assembly) are filled with life members elected 35 years in mainland China (their ages range from 74 to 94). The National Assembly (93 % elected in 1948) selects the president of the country. It elected Chiang Kai-shek for five 6-year terms. After his death, the presidency eventually went to his son, Chiang Ching-kuo. The younger Chiang, trained in Stalinist Russia, was the head of Taiwan’s secret police during his father’s long reign over the Taiwanese people. Since coming to power he has used the myth of “one day we shall recover the mainland” as justification for the State of Siege and Martial Law.

The U.S. Role: The U.S. government provided over \$ 4 billion U.S. dollars to the KMT in economic and military aid in the 1946-65 period. Taiwan is able to buy much of its own arms and is the 10th largest purchaser of U.S. arms in the world, buying \$400 million dollars worth in 1982 (and seeking \$ 800 million for 1983). In 1982, EXIM Bank loans totaled \$ 224 million dollars. While pressure from Peking may effect U.S. policy on arms sales, the U.S. administration has always been less receptive to complaints from Taiwanese about martial law and its excesses, about the persistent violations of human rights, about the lack of Taiwanese representation in the legislative bodies, and especially about the right of self-determination in deciding the future of Taiwan.

Martial law must end: Political expediency should not obscure the fact that 87% of the people of Taiwan are being denied the opportunity to participate in the process that will determine their future for generations to come. Most Taiwanese have never known a day in their lives without martial law. Many of those who have challenged the repressive apparatus of the state languish in jail.

Therefore, we call upon the world community, and especially the U.S. government, to end military sales to Taiwan and to use their prestige and influence with the KMT to end martial law and all the laws that suppress rights of all Taiwanese people. In particular we urge an end to martial law, the freeing of political prisoners, allowing freedom of the press, and the holding of national elections to offices equally apportioned among the people who live on Taiwan and in which opposition candidates and parties are allowed to participate fully.”

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The two above-mentioned organizations have also started an Adopt a political prisoner campaign, in which 24 well-known political prisoners in Taiwan have been assigned to various states of the United States and Canada. Persons interested in participating in this campaign should write to the Southeast Asia Resource Center, which will provide instructions and biographical material on the prisoners.

Prison report

1. **Yang-Chin-hai in poor health.** The health condition of Mr. Yang continues to deteriorate: during a meeting of the Judiciary Committee of the Legislative Yuan on April 28 1984, two prominent *tangwai* legislators - Mr. Chang Chun-hsiung and Mr. Chang Peng-chien -- urgently requested the authorities to allow Mr. Yang to go to a private hospital for treatment of his bleeding peptic ulcer. However, the vice-minister of defense responded that Yang's health condition “does not warrant medical treatment in a hospital.”

2. **Three “Kaohsiung” prisoners released.** During the month of June, three Taiwanese political prisoners, who had been imprisoned following the “Kaohsiung” incident of December 1979, were released. Mr. Chi Wan-sheng (55) a former high school teacher, who became politically active in 1978 as a campaign manager for one of the opposition leaders, was released on June 12, 1984 after serving his full prison term.

Two other political prisoners, Mr. Chou Ping-teh and Mr. Chiu Mao-nan, were released on June 26, 1984 after serving four-and-a-half years of their 6-years' prison

terms. Both men served as members of the Board of Formosa magazine, and helped to organize the now well-known December 10, 1979 human rights rally in Kaohsiung. They were also both candidates for a seat in the National Assembly in the 1978 election campaign, which was cancelled by the Taiwan authorities after the United States established formal diplomatic ties with China.

3. Ch'ang Ming-chuan released. In *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 13 (August 28, 1983) we discussed the case of Mr. Ch'ang Ming-chuan, a young man who was arrested in March 1982 on the accusation of murdering the owner of a pawn-shop in Pan-chiao, a town to the Southwest of Taipei. During the past year, opposition magazines increasingly called attention to his case, since there was significant evidence that Mr. Ch'ang was not guilty. However, he was sentenced to death, and his sentence was upheld several times by the High Court in Taipei, which based its judgement on a confession, which was clearly extracted under torture. During the further appeal procedure Mr. Ch'ang's defense was taken up by Mr. Chen Shui-bian, a lawyer, who also serves as *tangwai* member of Taipei City Council. Thanks to Mr. Chen's courageous defense, and to the attention paid to the case by international human rights organizations, Mr. Ch'ang was finally declared not-guilty and was released on June 30, 1984. He spent 836 days in prison, most of this time on death row.

4. Liu Feng-sung and Chang Ch'un-nan released. At the end of July, 1984, Mr. Liu Feng-sung -- one of several opposition figures to be arrested after the December 1980 elections -- was released from prison. He was a candidate for a seat in the National Assembly, and was arrested on March 9, 1981 on a charge of using the election campaign as "an opportunity to incite others to engage in seditious activities." For further information on Mr. Liu's case, see *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 3 (March 28, 1981) and 4 (July 14, 1981).



Liu Feng-sung



Chang Ch'un-nan

Chang Ch'un-nan, age 43, was released on May 1, 1984. He had been arrested on January 17, 1981, after he had participated in the December 1980 elections for the Legislative Yuan. On March 3, 1981 he was sentenced to three-and-a-half years imprisonment because he had stated during his election campaign that - due to the political, social, and economic differences between Taiwan and China -- it would be difficult to achieve unification, thus implying that he favored independence. Mr. Chang is a former member of the National Assembly and participated in the 1979 Kaohsiung human rights rally, but was one of the few opposition leaders who escaped arrest at that time.

5. Security police at prayer meetings. Every Thursday relatives of Taiwan's political prisoners and members of the Presbyterian Church gather around noon time at Gi-kong Presbyterian Church in Taipei for a prayer service. Until recently this was one of the few occasions that they could gather, pray, and talk about their imprisoned loved ones in relative freedom. Now that is not possible anymore: each prayer service is attended by four or five security agents, who write down who attend the meetings, and record what is being said. Church officials have requested the authorities to stop this interference, but to no avail.

6. CARE Magazine critical of prison conditions. CARE Magazine's June issue (no. 31) in a cover story on Taiwan's prison system advocated the urgent need for prison reform, and asked the prison authorities to respect prisoners' human rights. It apparently touched a sensitive nerve: the Taiwan Garrison Command immediately issued a banning order and issue no. 31 was confiscated. The article contained accounts by former prisoners about their personal experience in the four major prisons in Taiwan: Ching-mei Detention Center, Taipei Prison, Taichung Prison and Green Island Prison. Below you find a summary of the main issues discussed in the article:

“One of the major problems endemic in all Taiwan's prisons is overcrowding. In Taichung Prison, four to five people share a cell of two by three meters. The only way to sleep is to lie on one's side. Cockroaches are abundant in the cells. The congestion is aggravated by the stench from an old-fashioned toilet in the cell, as Taichung prison was built before World War II, and has no flush toilets.

Ill-treatment of prisoners is a common practice in Taiwan's prisons. Prisoners are often handcuffed and beaten. Water torture is often used. The most deplorable method is to tie a prisoner to a stretcher for several days and nights. In the Taichung prison, a young prisoner was tied to a stretcher for seven days.

Prison revolts break out when prisoners can no longer tolerate brutality perpetrated by prison guards. Two prison riots happened in March of 1982 in the Hsin-chu Youth Prison. In April of 1984 mass escape occurred in the Ching-mei and Tu-cheng Detention Centers. In May a prisoner in Hsinchu Detention Center committed suicide by swallowing a metal wire. In Taichung Prison, prison riots happened twice in 1982. The leaders of prison riots were later severely punished. But the authorities never attempted to investigate the prisoners' complaints of ill-treatment by prison guards."

7. Deaths in Taiwan's prisons. Two years ago Li Ao, a well-known writer in Taiwan, spent six months behind bars in Tu-cheng Detention Center near Taipei. After his release he published a series of articles about his experience, and particularly about brutality by the prison guards. This information sent shivers of trepidation throughout the island. A heated public debate on the need for prison reform followed. However, the prison officials continued to deny any wrongdoing.

Today prison brutality remains unabated as ever in Taiwan. Recently the death of several inmates under suspicious circumstances prompted the *Tangwai* Editors and Writers' Association to hold a press conference on July 8, 1984 to protest human rights abuses by prison guards. They particularly highlighted the case of Mr. Lai Wen-liang, an inmate serving a three-month prison term on a minor charge, who died in June, nine days after he was taken into custody. The prison authorities gave contradictory explanations as to the cause of his death.

Mr. Lai Wen-liang, a 33-year-old worker in an auto repairshop, was a father of three children. Some months ago he brought home an abandoned, dilapidated motorcycle, which had been rusting away for some time near the repairshop where he worked. He repaired it and turned it into a nice means of transportation. On an outing with his wife and children, he was stopped by the police for a routine check, but was unable to produce papers to prove ownership of the motorcycle. He was accused of possession of a stolen good and was sentenced to a three-month prison term.

Mr. Lai was taken into custody on June 7 at Tu-cheng Detention Center. On June 13, six days after his detention, during his first family visit, Lai asked his mother to bring him medicine for wounds. On June 15 he was transferred to Kuei San Prison in Taoyuan. On June 16 a telephone call from the prison informed the family that Lai had died in prison. Lai's wife went to the prison and saw that her husband's body was covered with wounds, scratches and bruises. On June 20, the warden of Tu-cheng Detention Center offered Lai's wife a settlement of NT\$500,000 (approximately U.S.\$ 12,500.-), but she refused.

The Warden of the Tu-cheng Detention Center explained that Lai's wounds were the result of his attempt to commit suicide when he threw himself against the wall. However, the authorities at the Kuei San Prison explained that Lai died of hepatitis. Lai's wife found both explanations far-fetched. Lai had no apparent motive to commit suicide as he would be home after three months time.

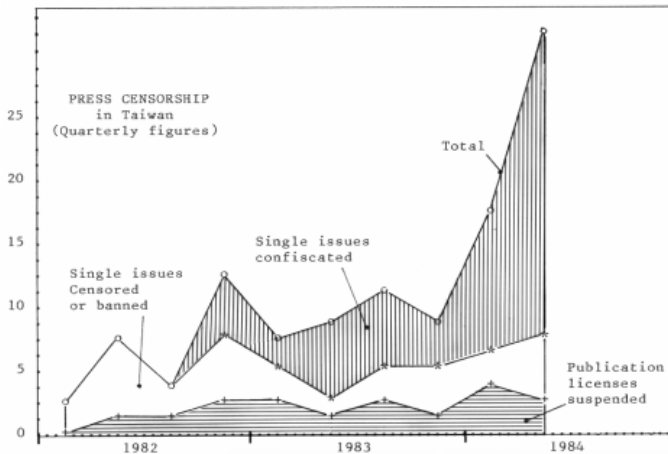
Lai's wife believes that her husband's wounds could only be the result of severe beatings and torture. Lai's forehead showed deep scratch wounds. Dark bruises appeared on his cheek and chin. The wounds on his left chest were apparently inflicted as a result of beating or whipping. There were many knife wounds in the center of his chest, and the soles of his feet were swollen and showed dark bruises. The coroner's report, which was published in the pro-government United Daily News, also supported the allegation of torture. It said that Lai's wounds on his head, hands, chest and legs were external wounds inflicted five days before his death.

Freedom of the Press?

A new censorship record for the Kuomintang

During the second quarter of 1984 the Taiwan authorities censored, banned, confiscated or suspended a total of at least 33 magazines. This is more than three times the quarterly average number of actions against opposition magazines in 1982 and 1983. These statistics show that the Taiwan authorities have significantly stepped up their press censorship in recent months. It represents the sharpest increase since the beginning of 1982 - when the authorities first allowed a handful of opposition magazines to be published. Below we present the statistics in graph form.

As can be seen the recent increase is particularly due to the high number of confiscations. These are most costly to the magazines (the Taiwan Garrison Command generally waits until an issue has rolled off the presses, and then make their move), while suspensions are formally the most severe punishment for a publication, although several -- though not all - publishers have recently been able to get around such a punishment by immediately applying for a license for a "new" magazine, so they can continue to publish the same magazine under a new name.



Press censorship in Taiwan recently also gained the attention of the Asian Wall Street Journal, which - on July 16, 1984 -- published an excellent article by Dr. James D. Seymour, an East Asia specialist at Columbia University in New York. Dr. Seymour serves as director of the Society for the Protection of East Asians' Human Rights (SPEAHR), and has written widely about human rights in the PRC and Taiwan. His conclusion:

“... Taiwan’s experience demonstrates how counterproductive censorship is. No one, except perhaps those in charge, believe the official propaganda. Policies conducted under the cover of an enforced public silence have caused Taiwan to lose formal diplomatic relations with all but a handful of governments, most of which are pariah states.

Taiwan can’t afford to make many more mistakes, but the present closed political system is unlikely to yield viable policies.”

An overview of press-censorship in Taiwan

1. Foreign publications censored and confiscated. During the month of April several foreign publications did not reach their subscribers or reached their destination with pictures and parts of articles blotted out with ink. The main reasons were that they published articles about the visits to China by Japan’s Premier Nakasone and by U.S. President Reagan, and about the future of Hong Kong. The April 12 issue of **The Asian**

Wall Street Journal was confiscated because it contained an article by a New York-based Taiwanese leader, Dr. Trong R. Chai, discussing Taiwan's future, and the International Herald Tribune reached its subscribers minus an article titled "Taiwanese have their own ideas" by Mr. Roger Rumpf, a Washington D.C.-based commentator on international affairs.

2. CARE magazine confiscated three times. This well-known Taiwanese human rights magazine was confiscated three times during the past three months because it published articles about the imprisoned opposition leaders, and about prison conditions. **CARE**'s publisher is Mrs. Yao Chou Ch'ing-yu, who is a *tangwai* ("outside-the-party") member of Taiwan's National Assembly. Her husband, lawyer Yao Chia-wen, has been in prison since December 1979 when he and other opposition leaders organized a rally to celebrate Human Rights Day (December 10, 1979).

3. Hunger strike causes avalanche of confiscations. The most frequent reason for the government's actions against the magazines was their coverage of the hunger strike by four imprisoned opposition leaders and by their relatives and friends outside prison, which took place at the beginning of May (see article on page 2). The hunger strike was a favorite topic among Taiwan's censors: at least eight magazines were confiscated or banned because they published articles about it.

4. New magazines appear .. and disappear. In April, May and June several new magazines appeared, but quite a number of them were confiscated and the publication licenses of several of them were suspended for a year almost as soon as they appeared. According to information published in **The Statesman** magazine (May 29, 1984) in total 6 out of 11 issues of one of these new magazines, **Free Time** (t were either banned or confiscated. In our censorship statistics we have included only four of these, because we presently lack specific information (issue numbers and confiscation dates) on the other two. In the beginning of June, **Free Time** was succeeded by Hsien Fung Shih Tai. The first two issues were also confiscated and the new magazine received a suspension order for the period of one year. **Hsien Fung Shih Tai** was in turn succeeded by Min Chu Shih Tai (translated: "Democratic Time"), which was suspended for one year in the beginning of July.

Press-censorship statistics, as known on Aug. 14, 1984

MEASURES (in order of increasing severity):

1. Censored: an article (or parts thereof) was ordered deleted, changed or blackened out.

2. Banned: the magazine received an order prohibiting the sale and distribution of one issue of the magazine.
3. Confiscated: one issue of the magazine was seized by the secret police; generally by agents of the Taiwan Garrison Command, occasionally of other police agencies. Recently the Taipei City Information Bureau has become more prominent in issuing orders for confiscations and bannings.
4. Suspended: the magazine received an order prohibiting its publication -- generally for the period of one year. Suspensions are given after a weekly review, attended by representatives of the Taiwan Garrison Command (TGC), the Government Information Office (GIO), the Cultural Affairs Department of the KMT, and the Investigation Bureau of the Justice Ministry.

	ONE ISSUE OF A MAGAZINE			SUSPENDED FOR ONE YEAR	TOTAL ACTIONS
	CENSORED	BANNED	CONFISCATED		
TOTAL 1982	2	14	5	4	25
TOTAL 1983	2	10	16	6	34
1984					
January	-	-	4	2	6
February	-	1	-	-	1
March	-	1	8	2	11
April	3	-	4	-	7
May	1	1	10	2	14
June	1	1	9	1	12
July	-	3	-	3	6
RUNNING TOTAL FOR 1984	5	7	35	10	57

We are pleased to mention that we recently received confirmation on the high accuracy of our statistics from an unexpected source: on July 23, 1984 Dr. James Soong, Director-General of Taiwan's Government Information Office in Taipei (one of the organizations responsible for press censorship in Taiwan) made a rare admission during a visit to Tokyo: he acknowledged that his office and the Taiwan Garrison Command had banned or confiscated 22 issues, and suspended the licenses of three *tangwai* magazines during the months of May and June 1984. As our readers can see in the above table, our *Taiwan Communiqué* statistics show 21 bannings or confiscations and three suspensions during these two months. We thus only missed one confiscation or banning, which means an accuracy rate of 96.0 %.

Specification for the period April 2, 1984 -- Aug. 14, 1984

(a listing for 1982 and for the first seven months of 1983 can be found in *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 13, while issue no. 14 presents an overview of censorship from the beginning of August through the end of November 1983. Issue no. 15 gives an overview for December 1983 until the beginning of April 1984):

<u>DATE</u>	<u>MAGAZINE</u>	<u>MEASURES</u>	<u>REASON</u>
<u>April</u>			
2	Newsweek	censored	Cover picture about Japanese Premier Nakasone's visit to Peking.
10	Care magazine no. 29	confiscated	Article about the possibility of amnesty for the "Kaohsiung" prisoners.
12	Asian Wall Street Journal	confiscated	Article by Dr. T.R. Chai about Taiwan's future.
12	Far Eastern Ec. Review	censored	Cover picture regarding the "1997 / Hong Kong's future" debate.
mid	TIME	confiscated	?
mid	Newsweek	confiscated	?
30	Internat'l Herald Tribune	censored	Article by Mr. Roger Rumpf, titled "Taiwanese have their own ideas."
<u>May</u>			
?	Wan Shui Review no. 4	confiscated	Article about the future of Hong Kong.
2	Care magazine no. 30	confiscated	Information about the planned hunger strike of imprisoned opposition leaders, which subsequently took place from May 4-21.
6	Free Time no. 8	confiscated	A new magazine, Ts'i Yu Shih Tai (自由日時代 Free Time). Reason for confiscation: article about the hunger strike.
8	The Statesman no. 13	banned	Hunger strike.
12	Progress World no. 9	confiscated	Hunger strike.
13	Free Time no. 9	confiscated	Hunger strike.
15	The Eighties no. 4	confiscated	Article about newly appointed premier Yu Kuo-hwa, and an interview with Mr. Hsü Hsin-liang (a Taiwanese leader in the U.S.).
19	Progress World no. 10	confiscated	Hunger strike.

<u>DATE</u>	<u>MAGAZINE</u>	<u>MEASURES</u>	<u>REASON</u>
<u>May</u>			
20	Free Time no. 10	confiscated	Hunger strike.
26	Progress World no. 11	confiscated	Article about nepotism in the ruling KMT.
27	Free Time no. 11	confiscated	Article about future of Hong Kong.
28	Free Time	<u>suspended</u>	Two successor-magazines of Free Time were subsequently also suspended.
28	Progress World	<u>suspended</u>	
29	The Statesman no. 16	censored	Article on page 60 titled "The opposition movement during the Japanese period and during the KMT rule."
<u>June</u>			
5	Care magazine no. 31	confiscated	Article about imprisoned opposition leaders, and an article about inhuman conditions in several prisons.
?	Fabulous island no. 1	confiscated	First issue of Mr. Huang T'ien-fu's new magazine "Fabulous island" (Fung-lai Tao, 蓬萊島); the name "Formosa" (Mei-li Tao) is still prohibited.
9	Progress Weekly no. 2	confiscated	Format and layout too similar to recently suspended "Progress World."
?	Independent Review	license rejected;	New magazine, Tuli P'ing-lun, 獨立評論, published by former editors of <u>Senh-kin</u> magazine. Reason for rejection: the word "Independent" in the title of the magazine.
11	The Movement no. 1	confiscated	First issue of Hsin Tsao Liu, 新潮流 (literal translation: "New Tide"); a new <u>tangwai</u> magazine.
16	Progress Weekly no. 3	confiscated	Article about working conditions in factories.
18	The Movement no. 2	confiscated	?
20	The Statesman no. 19	censored	Article about former general Sun Li-jen, who opposed Chiang Kai-shek.

<u>DATE</u>	<u>MAGAZINE</u>	<u>MEASURES</u>	<u>REASON</u>
<u>June</u>			
26	Progress Weekly no. 4	confiscated	Article about "anti-communist hero" Lao Cheng-wu, who used the name of top-security National Security Bureau to cheat NT\$ 5 million out of a Hong Kong businesswoman.
27	The Statesman no. 20	banned	By the Taiwan Garrison Command: Article about the position of President Chiang's younger brother Chiang Wei-kuo.
<u>July</u>			
11	The Eighties	<u>suspended</u>	Article in issue no. 7 about PRC athletes preparing for the Los Angeles Olympics.
?	Fabulous Island	<u>suspended</u>	?
?	The Movement no. 6	banned	?
?	China Tide	banned	"Hsia Chao Lun Tao", magazine of unificationist group of writers. Reason for banning unknown.
21	The Statesman no. 23	banned	Article about the early background of President Chiang Ching-kuo.

Articles and publications

1. New York Times Magazine: A new sense of confidence

The May 6, 1984 issue of the Sunday Magazine of the NYT contained a seven-page article about internal developments in Taiwan by Mr. Fox Butterfield. The author lived and worked in Taiwan in the 60's, and was a reporter there for the New York Times in the 70's. In 1982 he became known for his book, titled "China, alive in the bitter sea", which dealt with life in China, and particularly in Peking, from where he reported from 1979 until 1981.

The article was translated into Dutch by a major publication in the Netherlands, **Intermediair** (circulation 132.500), which published it under the title “Taiwan for the Taiwanese.”

Mr. Butterfield presents an extensive analysis about developments in Taiwan. Although the article contains a wealth of insights, it tends to give the readers a rather rosy picture, particularly about the political situation on the island. Mr. Butterfield briefly touches on such issues as martial law and the Kuomintang’s political monopoly, but he gives the impression as if these are only minor irritants to the populace. Prominent opposition leaders in Taiwan (who were popularly-elected, in contrast to the Kuomintang officials Mr. Butterfield spoke with) have indicated that these are the major stumbling blocks on the road towards democracy on Taiwan.

Political leaders in the U.S. -- such as Mr. Mondale and Senators Pell and Kennedy - have concluded that failure to remove these hurdles will endanger political stability on the island. Below we present a few quotes from Mr. Butterfield’s article, which do give an accurate picture of the situation on the island:

“In Free China, everything is free except politics,” [a Taiwanese businesswoman] said bitterly. She wanted to give money to an opposition candidate, but she was visited several times by the police and cautioned against it, she related.

Mrs. Fang (Su-ming), the leading opposition vote-getter in the recent election, said that when she tried to rent a campaign office the police frightened several landlords into refusing. When I went to lunch with Mrs. Fang, a slight, shy woman, four plain-clothe police in a yellow Ford accompanied us. “It’s 24-hour service,” quipped Mrs. Fang.

She and another politician, Chou Ching-yu, whose husband is also in prison, help run a legal-services agency for political prisoners. According to Mrs. Chou, there are at least 400 political prisoners on the island, though that is fewer than in the past. The two women get to see their husbands, who are both lawyers, once a week for 30 minutes. They must talk by phone through a glass partition, and “if we say something the guard doesn’t like, they cut off the phone,” said Mrs. Chou.”

2. International Herald Tribune: Several articles

During the past few months this Paris-based American newspaper published several articles about the internal developments in Taiwan. On April 30, 1984 it reprinted an

abridged version of an article by Mr. Roger Rumpf, titled “Taiwanese have their own ideas”, which had earlier been published in the **Washington Post** under the title “The real Taiwan problem; Reagan and Peking both ignore the natives’ wishes.” A few quotes from this excellent article:

“We are not Chinese any more than Singaporeans are Chinese,” said a Taiwanese leader during a recent trip I made to his country. “Are you Americans British?” This comment reflects a growing sensitivity among the 18 million people of Taiwan about their national identity, and suggests a longing for a say in determining their destiny.

During the December 1983 national legislative elections in Taiwan, self-determination became the central controversy. When opposition candidates put support of self-determination in their campaign literature, the ruling Kuomintang Party banned the term “self-determination.”

The government of Taiwan is really a minority ruling a majority through anti-democratic, police-state measures. That is why it fears self-determination for the majority. The Chinese claim to Taiwan is considerably less solid than many Americans realize. Since 1949, the Kuomintang, then dominated by mainland Chinese under the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek, has ruled Taiwan by martial law.

But the postwar period has only been the latest chapter in a long history of domination by outsiders, including the Dutch, the Spanish and the Japanese.

At the end of World War II, Chiang Kai-shek occupied Taiwan on behalf of the Allies. Since 1945, the Kuomintang has claimed Taiwan as a province of China.”

On May 23, 1984 the Tribune published an article, titled “Taiwanization gets boost with choice of native as vice- president” and authored by Mr. Michael Weisskopf of the **Washington Post**. Mr. Weisskopf discusses the selection of Mr. Lee Teng-hui as vice-president and presents a clear picture of the *tangwai* movement. Some quotes:

“What the opposition wants is the lifting of martial law and restructuring of Taiwan political institutions to clear the way for native islander participation in running their prosperous, little land and in deciding its future. Their goals, however, are blocked by the Nationalists’ claim to represent all of China. Most members of major legislative bodies are aged men elected on the mainland before the Communist

takeover. They are not required to run for re-election because their home provinces cannot vote for them at present.

This results in the anomalous scene of legislators in their 70's and 80's, supposedly representing every province of China, being brought into meetings in wheelchairs, too feeble to debate or vote on the pressing issues. Although the elderly legislators are dying off at the rate of more than one a month, [according to our *Taiwan Communiqué* statistics, 46 members of the National Assembly died in 1983 alone. If one also includes the Legislative Yuan, one would arrive at a death rate of more than one per week -- Ed.], the government replaces them with other old mainlanders who ran for election in the late 1940's -- but lost."

"... the opposition goal strikes at the heart of the mainlander-controlled regime, which clings to the notion of being the sole, legitimate government of China. Most Taiwanese families have lived on the island for generations and have no interest in merging with the poor and underdeveloped mainland, regardless of its government.

Many opposition politicians, exploiting this sentiment, say the mainlanders will eventually sell out Taiwan when the time is right. "Most people couldn't give a damn about the mainland," said an opposition leader, Antonio Chiang. A foreign analyst who specializes in local politics said, "If there ever was any movement towards unification, there would be blood in the streets. The vast majority of the population of Taiwan has no nostalgia for the so-called motherland."

On June 1, 1984 the **International Herald Tribune** published a third article about Taiwan. It was titled "Political liberalization follows Taiwan's economic growth", and was authored by Mr. Stephen Lohr of the **New York Times**. In contrast to the in-depth analyses by Mr. Rumpf and Mr. Weisskopf, Mr. Lohr's article presented a rather superficial discussion of the slow process of political liberalization followed by the Kuomintang.

3. Asian Wall Street Journal: Asia's rulers can afford to loosen up

In its July 30, 1984 issue the AWSJ published an excellent commentary by Mr. Robert Keatley, until recently editor and publisher of The Asian Wall Street Journal. Mr. Keatley's main thesis is that nations such as South Korea and Taiwan have progressed significantly on the economic front, but that on the political front they are not as free as they quite safely could be. A few quotes:

“ no East Asian nation has a political process under which the power holders could lose. Though all pay lip service to democratic ideals and all stage elections more or less regularly, no government faces an opposition party that threatens its grip on power. This is partly because these governments do enjoy wide (if often shallow) support for their go-go growth policies; life is getting demonstrably better for many, and relatively few want to put this at risk.

But opposition is also weak because most ruling parties tilt the system. They restrict campaigning and criticism, pressure or even coerce voters, disband parties and jail critics they fear and -- if necessary rig the vote-counting. The latest national elections in South Korea, Taiwan and Indonesia, among others, all ensured that those already in power stayed there.

One important tool is press control. Nearly all East Asian governments impose tight restrictions on what their citizens can write and read in the local press. They often justify this by claiming the national press must help create conditions for social and economic progress -- to practice what Third Worlders call “development journalism.” In reality, though, this often means the press’s main task is to glorify the rulers to the ruled, to ensure that the rulers appear wise and magnanimous -- no matter how much energy they spend enriching friends and relatives. Any publication that dares to question such actions can expect to be squelched.”

4. Utrechts Nieuwsblad: “35 years of martial law in Taiwan”

On May 19, 1984 this daily newspaper -- which is the major newspaper in the center of the Netherlands -- published an article about martial law in Taiwan. The paper has a circulation of approximately 125,000. Its chief editor is Mr. Max Snijders, who until June 1984 served as the chairman of the International Press Institute (IPI). The IPI has a membership of nearly 2000 leading journalists and publishers in some 60 countries throughout the non-communist world. Some quotes from the article:

.... The Kuomintang-government of Chiang Kai-shek’s son Chiang Ching-kuo calls itself the government of “Free China.” It is clear to everyone that they don’t represent China. It is probably not so well-known that during the past three decades “freedom” has not prospered on Taiwan either. Martial law and a very efficient secret police made it possible for the mainlanders to remain in power at the expense of the Taiwanese. By claiming themselves to be the government of all of China, the Kuomintang was able to maintain a regime that didn’t need to observe freedom and democratic principles too closely. The native Taiwanese were largely kept out of the

political decision-making process. Opposition parties were not allowed. In the national parliament, the Legislative Yuan, only approximately 14 percent of the lawmakers are elected by the people on the island. The remaining members were elected in 1947 on the mainland and they keep their seats until the mainland has been “recovered.”

Possibly in 1949 there was some justification for martial law: Chiang Kai-shek was still on the mainland, but was pushed into a corner by Mao Tse-tung, and was just about to escape to Taiwan. The island had been a part of the Japanese empire from 1895 until 1945, and had -- after Japan's surrender -- been placed by the allies under the temporary rule of Chiang's Chinese Nationalists. The Kuomintang did not make itself very popular during its occupation of the island: in 1947 -- during the “February 28 incident” -- between 12,000 and 20,000 Taiwanese were executed by Chiang's troops. The Taiwanese people thus lost a whole generation of their leaders.

“Long-term”

In the 50's the situation on the island remained very tense due to the Korean War and the continuing threat of a Chinese invasion. Chiang's secret police roamed around and arrested thousands of people, many of them innocent civilians. Many died in front of execution squads. Others languished many years in the military jails, such as the one on Green Island, where to this day there are still a number of “long-term prisoners” from the 40's and the 50's.

The 60's showed rapid economic development, but on the political scene there was very little progress: the political structures which had come over from the mainland were retained. The justification for the martial law gradually disappeared, because the PRC became pre-occupied with internal matters such as the Cultural Revolution. Still, the Kuomintang maintained martial law in order to be able to confront a new “threat”: democracy.

In the course of the 60's and in the beginning of the 70's a new generation of young, leading Taiwanese came forward. They very carefully pronounced themselves in favor of a democratic political system, and focused on publishing opposition magazines and participation in elections. Both tasks proved to be quite difficult: the magazines were often confiscated and had their publishing licenses suspended. Participation in the elections was only possible on an individual basis, “outside-the-party.” The Kuomintang did not allow (and still doesn't allow) any opposition parties.

Brutal ending

After his death in 1975, Chiang Kai-shek was succeeded by his son Chiang Ching-kuo, who started a process of democratization. However, for the Taiwanese this process was far too slow. This process came to a brutal ending when in December 1979 almost all native Taiwanese “outside-the-party” leaders were arrested because they had organized a human rights day celebration in the southern port-city of Kaohsiung. They were unconvincingly accused of “attempting to overthrow the government” and in April and May 1980 they were sentenced to long prison terms.

In 1981 and 1982 a new process of slow liberalization set in. Several relatives of the imprisoned opposition leaders had the courage to run for election in “supplementary elections” for a number of seats in national parliamentary bodies. They were elected with large majorities. One of them, Mrs. Yao Chou Ch’ing-yu -- the wife of imprisoned lawyer Yao Chia-wen -- even received the largest number of votes ever cast for one candidate.

The political spring of 1981 and 1982 also brought forth several new opposition magazines. In the 70’s the authorities had never allowed more than one or two opposition magazines at a time. Now, however, the opposition press grew in a few months to approximately a dozen magazines, each with a circulation of 10,000 to 15,000. However, the secret police remained active, and even now magazines which put too much emphasis on human rights, democracy or self-determination are confiscated or suspended. In the first quarter of 1984 the Taiwan authorities even attained a “press censorship record”: at least 18 actions were taken against the press, 12 of which were confiscations.

May 19 is thus no day of celebration for the Taiwanese people. On the contrary: martial law is still in force and remains the main obstacle on the road towards a free and democratic Taiwan.”

5. US Church publications focus on Taiwan

During the past few months several U.S. Church publications have published articles about the situation in Taiwan. Below we mention the publications, the authors and the titles of three of these articles:

-- “If you run for office, be ready to go to jail”, by Roger Rumpf, in The Guardian, January 18, 1984.

- "Four Presbyterians run for election in Taiwan", by Roger Rumpf, in Presbyterian Survey, March 1984;
- "The forgotten prisoners of Taiwan", by Don Luce, in Christianity in Crisis, May 28, 1984.

Mr. Luce and Mr. Rumpf have long studied the political, economic, and social structures of Asian nations, and both work with the Southeast Asia Resource Center. The full text of the abovementioned very informative articles can be obtained from: SE Asia Resource Center, 198 Broadway, Room 302, NEW YORK, NY 10038, U.S.A.

Notes

1. Dutch submarines for Taiwan delayed

In our *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 14 (January 8, 1984) we reported extensively on the Dutch government's December 21, 1983 decision not to grant Wilton Feyenoord shipyard an export license for two to four more submarines for Taiwan. On December 28th the Dutch Parliament discussed the matter and voted 80 to 36 to uphold the Cabinet's decision.

However, that was not the end of the matter: on January 4, 1984 the Board of Directors of Wilton Feyenoord initiated a legal procedure against the Cabinet's decision in the Court for Appeals for Business Affairs. To the chagrin of Wilton Feyenoord the Court pronounced on March 28, 1984 that the refusal to grant the export permit for the additional submarines was fully within the jurisdiction of the Dutch government. Wilton Feyenoord thus lost its case in court.

On January 23, 1984 a delegation from Taiwan headed by vice-admiral Lo Chi arrived in the Netherlands to negotiate the completion of the two submarines presently under construction at Wilton Feyenoord. The shipyard requested a loan of 20 million Dutch guilders. On February 7th the vice-admiral signed a letter promising a loan of 30 million Dutch guilders. However, on April 18 press reports from Rotterdam indicated that Taiwan had retracted a loan-offer of 40 million Dutch guilders (where did the additional 10 million Dutch guilders come from ?), "because it had become clear that the Dutch government's refusal to grant an export permit for additional submarines would not be overturned by the Courts."

In the meantime a complicated game for control over Wilton Feyenoord had started: on February 1, 1984 a smaller shipbuilding company, Damen, proposed a merger between Damen and Wilton Feyenoord. Damen president, Mr. Kommer Damen, was able to receive the backing of Minister of Economic Affairs, Mr. Van Aardenne, who saw in Mr. Damen a capable, hard-headed businessman, who could lead the two companies to better times. However, Mr. Damen demanded a significant reduction of the workforce at Wilton Feyenoord: lay-off some 922 of the more than 2200 workers at the shipyard. This proposal aroused the anger of the management and workers of Wilton. On March 12, the workers even threatened to destroy the shipyard and the two submarines if Mr. Damen's plans were implemented.

At the end of March Mr. Damen declared that he would be willing to consider the lay-off of "only" some 500 persons. This was still unacceptable to the Wilton people, who had in the meantime started to consider the so-called "Schiedam option." Under this proposal the city of Schiedam -- where Wilton Feyenoord is located -- would purchase the buildings of the shipyard for some 40 million Dutch guilders, and then sell it back for 1 (one) guilder. The city would get its money back by increasing the rent on the land on which the shipyard is built. In the middle of April it became clear that this proposal represented the most feasible solution. Negotiations between the city, the shipyard, and the Ministry of Economic Affairs (which was planning to put approximately 40 million Dutch guilders into the shipyard) resulted in an agreement that only some 160 workers at the shipyard would have to be laid off, while an additional 200 persons would either retire or gradually be moved to other companies in the area.

On May 4, 1984 the chairman of Wilton Feyenoord's Board, Mr. Van Schellebeek, stated that it is very obvious that the construction of the two submarines for Taiwan is behind schedule. He said that this was unavoidable in a situation like this, because more and more subcontractors want to be paid and do not get paid, so they stop the production of parts for the submarines. The first submarine is scheduled to be delivered in the last quarter of 1986 and the second one in the first quarter of 1987.

From the beginning of May until the 23rd of May, the Directors of Wilton Feyenoord continued their discussions with the Ministry of Economic Affairs regarding the conditions the Ministry would attach to a grant of 25 million guilders which the Ministry was now planning to allocate to Wilton Feyenoord for the "repair section." From the very beginning the Ministry had stated it would not pay any money to the "new construction" section which builds the two submarines. In practice, however, the distinction is not so clear.

Another interesting problem arose at the end of June, when it was disclosed in a “Watergate”-type parliamentary investigation that RSV company had paid significant amounts of money to middlemen to “facilitate” the Taiwan submarine order and several military orders to other countries, such as Greece and Indonesia. The Parliamentary committee then started legal proceedings against the Board of Directors of RSV to disclose the amounts of the payments and the names of the persons to whom the payments were made.

2. Dutch ruling party chairman concerned about Taiwan

On June 19, 1984 the chairman of the ruling Christian Democratic Party in the Netherlands, mr. Piet Bukman -- who also serves as a member of the Dutch “Eerste Kamer” (Senate) -- expressed his concern about human rights and democracy in Taiwan during a meeting of the Senate with Dutch Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek. Mr. Bukman noted that the Nationalist Chinese mainlanders on Taiwan totally dominate the national political system on the island, and that e.g. in the legislature the native Taiwanese, who constitute the majority of the island’s population, have only a very small representation. Mr. Bukman asked Mr. Van den Broek whether -- in spite of the absence of diplomatic ties -- the government of the Netherlands would use its influence indirectly to improve human rights in Taiwan.

Mr. Van den Broek answered that he was aware of the fact that Taiwan’s legislature was totally dominated by persons who came from the mainland in the 1940’s, but stated that because of the lack of diplomatic ties no direct contacts about the lack of democracy in Taiwan were possible between Dutch officials and the Taiwan authorities.

Taiwan Communiqué comment: *we believe that it is time for Mr. Van den Broek to take steps to pursue a more active human rights policy, which has formally been a cornerstone of the Netherlands’ foreign policy for many years. His present position - - “we can’t do anything about human rights violations in Taiwan because we don’t have diplomatic ties” -- amounts to an ostrich policy.*

The lack of diplomatic ties between Taiwan and the Netherlands shouldn’t prevent Mr. Van den Broek from following the example of prominent Americans -- such as Mr. Mondale, and the Senators Kennedy and Pell -- who have spoken out about human rights violations in Taiwan. This can be done without having a single contact with the Taiwan authorities. We are sure that any public statement by the Dutch government about the matter will be heard loud and clear in Taipei.

3. Democratic platform calls for end of martial law

On April 9, 1984 professor Peng Ming-min -- a prominent Taiwanese-American -- submitted a proposal to the 1984 Democratic Platform Committee for a plank on the relations between the United States and Taiwan. Professor Peng spoke on behalf of the Formosan Association for Public Affairs (FAPA), a Washington-based lobby organization advocating self-determination, human rights and democracy for the people on Taiwan. The Platform Committee (chaired by vice-presidential candidate Geraldine Ferraro) adopted the main features of the proposal. The text of the platform adopted by the Convention included the following sentences:

“ we recognize our historic ties to the people on Taiwan and we will continue to honor our commitments to them, consistent with the Taiwan Relations Act.

Our own principles and interests demand that we work with those in Asia, as well as elsewhere, who can encourage democratic institutions and support greater respect for human rights. A Democratic President will press for the restoration of full democracy in the Philippines, further democratization and the elimination of martial law in Taiwan (emphasis added), the return to freedom of speech and press in South Korea, and the restoration of human rights for the people of East Timor.”

The Democratic Party's emphasis on human rights and democracy is in line with a statement made by Mr. Mondale on November 13, 1983 to the annual meeting of FAPA's Board in Washington D.C. Mr. Mondale declared that, if elected, he would urge the Taiwan authorities to end martial law speedily, end human rights violations on the island, and grant the Taiwanese a much wider participation in the political process.

4. Kuomintang support for repressive Latin-American regimes

During the past several months, reports in the United States press have brought to light that the Kuomintang authorities have -- during the past six years -- provided extensive aid to right wing-extremist groups and governments in Central America. The Albuquerque Journal of December 18, 1983 quoted Roberto d'Aubuisson -- generally considered to be the man behind El Salvador's infamous death squads -- as saying that he had studied “special counterinsurgency courses” in Taiwan in 1978, and that he had modelled the organizational network of his ARENA party after Taiwan's secret police organizations.

Further evidence of links between the Taiwan authorities and Latin American death squads came in a series of articles in the Washington Post (January 12, 13, 23, 26, 30, and February 18, 1984) by U.S. columnist Jack Anderson. Mr. Anderson particularly pinpointed the ties between the World Anti-Communist League (WACL) -- an extreme right-wing organization founded by the Kuomintang authorities in 1967 and presently still predominantly funded at the expense of Taiwan's taxpayers - and the Latin American Anti-Communist League (CAL), which is a front organization for a death squad group called La Mano Blanco ("The White Hand"). According to the information presented by Mr. Anderson, the latter group coordinates death squad operations in El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras.

The International Herald Tribune was the third American publication paying attention to Taipei's links with Central America. In its July 24, 1984 issue it published an article titled "Taipei aid to Guatemala fills a gap left by U.S." In the article writer John Burnett (UPI) disclosed the fact that Taiwan had stepped up its aid to the repressive regime in Guatemala after the United States had broken off its aid in 1978 because of human rights abuses by the Guatemalan regime.

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