

UC Santa Barbara

UC Santa Barbara Electronic Theses and Dissertations

Title

The Taiwanese People's Cold War: Elite Migration, Transnational Advocacy Networks, and the Making of Taiwan's Democracy, 1977-1987

Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/0xb4v1t6>

Author

Peng, Chi-ting

Publication Date

2020

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
SANTA BARBARA

The Taiwanese People's Cold War: Elite Migration, Transnational Advocacy Networks, and
the Making of Taiwan's Democracy, 1977-1987

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in History

by

Chi-ting Peng

Committee in charge:

Professor Paul Spickard, Chair

Professor Salim Yaqub

Professor Kate McDonald

Professor Gregg Brazinsky

December 2020

The dissertation of Chi-ting Peng is approved.

Salim Yaqub

Gregg Brazinsky

Kate McDonald

Paul Spickard, Committee Chair

September 2020

The Taiwanese People's Cold War: Elite Migration, Transnational Advocacy Networks, and
the Making of Taiwan's Democracy, 1977-1987

Copyright © 2020

by

Chi-ting Peng

VITA OF CHI-TING PENG
September 2020

EDUCATION

- Doctor of Philosophy in History, University of California, Santa Barbara, Sep. 2020
- Master of Arts in History, National Taiwan Normal University, July 2009
- Bachelor of Arts in History, National Taiwan Normal University, June 2005

PROFESSIONAL EMPLOYMENT

- 2019- Present Board Member, Taiwanese United Fund
2017- 2018 Board of Director, North American Taiwan Studies Association
2016- 2017 Co-President, North American Taiwan Studies Association
2014- 2019 Teaching Assistant, University of California at Santa Barbara
2012- 2013 Research Assistant, UCSB Center for Taiwan Studies
2009-2010 Research Assistant, Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica

PUBLICATIONS

- 2020 *Trans-pacific Fermentations: Taiwan and the Making of America's Cold War Sinology*, an Oral History Project of the North American Taiwan Studies Association (NATSA), the oral history monograph will be published by the Institute of Taiwan History in Academia Sinica in December 2020
- 2020 'North American Taiwan Studies Association and Taiwan Studies in North America' in *Newsletter for Research in Chinese Studies* (漢學研究通訊) 39:2, May 2020 (written in Chinese)
- 2019 Book Review of Paul J. Heer's book: "*Mr. X and the Pacific: George F. Kennan and American Policy in East Asia*" (Cornell University Press, 2018) in H-War, H-Net Review, October 2019
- 2016 Book Review of Madeline Y. Hsu's book: "*The Good Immigrants: How the Yellow Peril Became a Model Minority*" (Princeton University Press, 2015) in *Pacific Affairs*, Volume 89, No. 4, December 2016
- 2011 *Overseas Chinese investment from Hong Kong and the Development of Taiwan's Textile Industry (1951-65)*, the monograph was rewritten from my master's degree thesis and published by Academia Historica (written in Chinese)

AWARDS

- 2020- 2021 Japan-Taiwan Exchange Association Exchange Scholar Fellowship Program
2020 UCSB Individualized Professional Skills (IPS) Grant Program

2019 Taiwan Chilin Education Foundation Dissertation Fellowship
2017 North America Taiwanese Professors' Association Young Scholar Program
2016 Yin Chin Foundation and STUF United Fund Inc. South California Taiwanese Student Scholarship
2016 The Dr. Chen Wen-Cheng Memorial Award, USA
2016 All-UCs Group in Economic History Research Grant
2016 Summer Institute on Conducting Archival Research (SICAR), George Washington University and Woodrow Wilson Center Grant
2014- 2020 UCSB History Department Fellowship (research/travel grant, tuition grant)
2012- 2013 UCSB Center for Taiwan Studies Annual Tuition Fellowship
2012- 2014 Government Scholarship for Studying Abroad, Minister of Education, Taiwan
2010 Academia Historica Annual Best Thesis Award, Academia Historica

FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Fields: Asian American History, Modern US History, Modern East Asian History
- Studies in Asian American Studies with Professors Paul Spickard
- Studies in Modern US History with Professor Paul Spickard and Salim Yaqub
- Studies in Modern East Asian History with Professor Kate McDonald and Gregg Brazinsky

ABSTRACT

The Taiwanese People's Cold War: Elite Migration, Transnational Advocacy Networks, and
the Making of Taiwan's Democracy, 1977-1987

by

Chi-ting Peng

Taiwan, after ending 50 years of Japanese colonial rule, became drawn into the KMT-CCP Chinese Civil War and US-Soviet geopolitical rivalry during the Cold War. Due to a wartime promise in Cairo and implementation of a global anti-communist containment policy, the United States handed over Taiwan's sovereignty to the Republic of China when the ROC and Japan signed a Peace Treaty in the early 1950s. Under the Chiang Kai-shek regime, the ROC pushed for modernization and development with the goal of making Taiwan a base for Chiang to retake and return to mainland China. Living under the KMT's martial law and wartime national mobilization, people in Taiwan lost their agency and own identity, and they were seriously deprived of their liberty and their rights were violated. The Vietnam War altered the power relationships between the US and two Chinas. The US and PRC formally normalized their diplomatic relations in 1979. This geopolitical shift brought opportunities to the Taiwanese people to pursue democracy and freedom in their motherland.

The dissertation discusses seven influential Taiwanese diasporic groups in diverse fields at the time—World United Formosans for Independence (WUFI), Taiwanese Associations

(Taiwan tongxianghui), the Presbyterian church, Formosa Human Rights Association, Formosan Association for Public Affairs (FAPA), North America Taiwanese Professors' Association (NATPA), and Taiwanese United Fund (TUF), with an emphasis on how their transnational activism and bottom-up diplomacy before and after the Meilidao Incident of 1979 had an impact on international attention on and support for Taiwan's democracy and human rights. Based on oral histories and memoirs of Taiwanese diasporic community leaders and organizers, US Congressional and diplomatic documents, and Taiwan's presidential and foreign affairs records, I will showcase multidimensional actors in the struggle for power: the potency and failings of Taiwanese diasporic activism, US human rights diplomacy and its setbacks on Taiwan issues, the KMT's reactions to and restrictions of the rising Taiwanese diasporic power, and the PRC's new Taiwan policy inspired by the changing power dynamics. I argue that after people in Taiwan lost their freedom and identity for two decades when the island became drawn into the Chinese Civil War as well as US Cold War containment, Taiwanese diasporic groups as forerunners as well as powerhouses spread democratic ideas and advocated from overseas. They became a driving force for Taiwan's transition from a quasi-Leninist, one-party dictatorship to a multi-party democracy. The process of reworking this Taiwanese diaspora story and renegotiating its agency at the crucial moments of Taiwan's democratization is thus, I contend, also the process of finding the Taiwanese people's own place in the history of the Cold War.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter I. Introduction.....	1
Chapter II. Transnational Organizations and Networks (Part One)	20
A. The Formation of the Taiwanese Diasporic Community in the United States	
B. The Origin: From 3F to WUFI	
1. 1950s-1960s: from 3F, UFI to UFAI	
2. 1970s-1980s: WUFI and Its Activities	
C. Taiwanese Associations (Taiwan Tongxianghui)	
1. Student Life and Campus Protest	
2. From Taiwanese Student Associations to Taiwanese Associations	
3. World Federation of Taiwanese Associations	
4. Taiwanese Migrants in Brazil	
D. The Presbyterian Church	
1. The Origin of the Taiwanese Presbyterian Church (TPC)	
2. Three Key Leaders in the 1950s-1980s	
3. TPC and the Rise of Human Rights Networks in the Taiwanese Diasporic Community	
Chapter III. Transnational Organizations and Networks (Part Two)	65
A. Grassroots Transnational Human Rights Advocacy Networks	
1. 1950s-1960s: Foreign Missionaries on the Island	
2. 1960s-1980s: Anti-War and Anti-Imperialist Activists in Taiwan	
3. 1960s-1980s: Taiwanese American Human Rights Activism in the US	
4. The Arrival of Political Exiles in the 1970s	

B. Taiwanese American Transnational Lobbying and Diplomacy	
1. The First Human Rights Hearing in Congress in 1977	
2. Taiwan Relations Act Hearings in 1979	
3. The Meilidao Incident in 1979	
4. The Taiwanese Immigration Quota in 1981	
5. The Murder of Dr. Chen Wen-chen in 1981	
6. The Establishment of FAPA and Its Activities in the 1980s	
7. Formosa Lobby and China Lobby: In Comparison	
8. Third World Diplomacy	
C. North America Taiwanese Professors' Association (NATPA)	
1. The Founding President of NATPA	
2. NATPA's Political Campaigns in the 1980s	
D. Taiwanese United Fund (TUF)	
1. Dr. Jer-shung Lin and the Founding of the TUF	
2. TUF in Taiwanese Diasporic Community	
Chapter IV. Imagining A New Nation.....	109
A. Taiwanese Subjectivity as Resistance	
B. Taiwanese History	
C. Taiwanese Culture	
Chapter V. The KMT Policy toward Taiwanese Diasporic Groups.....	124
A. The KMT's Policy toward Taiwanese Diasporic Activism in the 1960s-70s	
B. The KMT's Changing Attitudes and Practices in the 1980s	
C. Southern California Taiwanese Association's Taiwan Visit	
Chapter VI. US Human Rights Diplomacy on Taiwan and Its Setbacks.....	141

A. The Gang of Four in Congress	
B. U.S. Human Rights Diplomacy in Taiwan and Its Setbacks	
Chapter VII. Conclusion.....	157
References.....	159
Appendix.....	179

Chapter I. Introduction

A. Main Thesis

This dissertation is about Taiwanese diasporic groups in the United States who participated in Taiwan's democratization movement from the 1970s to the 1980s. The dissertation explores how they built transnational advocacy networks and how they had enabled their grassroots activism to engage in contesting and articulating powerless people's agency and subjectivity in the Cold War and hegemonic power struggles. I tell a very different story from the conventional Taiwan's democratization historiography that focus on debating whether Chiang Ching-kuo's reforms or US roles contributed to the political change. I argue that after the island became drawn into the Chinese Civil War as well as US Cold War containment, people there lost their freedom and own identity for two decades. Taiwanese diasporic groups served as forerunners as well as powerhouses spreading democratic ideas and advocating from overseas, thus becoming a driving force for Taiwan's transition from a quasi-Leninist, one-party dictatorship to a multi-party democracy. The process of reworking this Taiwanese diaspora story and renegotiating its agency at the crucial moments of Taiwan's democratization is, I contend, therefore also the process of finding Taiwanese people's own place in the history of the Cold War.

B. Background and Research Objectives

In recent decades, Cold War historians in the United States have been trying to break both the methodical and geographical boundaries of their research subjects and have turned to a "transnational" approach when discussing US foreign relations. This transnational turn

emphasizes topics beyond the framework of the nation-state, including immigration, trade, communication, and transportation as well as the movements and exchange of ideas, cultures, goods, and peoples across national borders. Historians have also switched their focus from high politics, few political elites, and government-to-government interactions to non-governmental organizations or non-political activities through a bottom-up perspective.¹ This trend reveals that the acceleration of globalization since the 1990s has pushed US diplomatic and international historians to move away from their previously narrow and US-centric view in order to embrace broader, more comprehensive viewpoints when thinking about the United States' position and role in the world.

My dissertation addresses the trends in this regard and my research objective focuses on Taiwanese migrants in the United States in the renegotiation of the Taiwanese people's subjectivity and agency. This, in turn, serves to complicate the dichotomous understanding of colonization versus liberation, and to reinvestigate the dynamic relations between nationalism and democracy in the context of the Asian Cold War.

In scholarship about Taiwan's role in the Cold War, the agency and subjectivities of the Taiwanese people have often been overlooked. After ending 50 years of Japanese colonization, the "liberated" Taiwanese were forced to be drawn into the ROC-PRC Chinese

¹ Michael H. Hunt, "Internationalizing US. Diplomatic History: A Practical Agenda," *Diplomatic History*, Volume 15, Issue 1, January 1991; Michael J. Hogan, "SHAFR Presidential Address: The 'Next Big Thing' : The Future of Diplomatic History in a Global Age," *Diplomatic History*, Vol.28, No. 1, January 2004; Akira Iriye, "The Transnational Turn," *Diplomatic History*, Volume 31, Issue 3, June 2007, 373–376; Mae M. Ngai, "The Future of the Discipline: Promises and Perils of transnational history," *AHA Perspectives*, Issue: Dec 2012. Akira Iriye, *Global and transnational History: The Past, Present, and Future* (New York: Palgrave Pivot, 2012). Luc van Dongen, Setphanie Roulin, and Giles Scott-Smith, *Transnational Anti-Communism and the Cold War: Agents, Activities, and Networks* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014). Linda Basch, Cristina Blac-Szanton and Nina Glick Schiller, *Toward a transnational Prospective on Migration: Race, Class, Ethnicity, and Nationalism Reconsidered* (New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1992).

Civil War as well as US-Soviet geopolitical competition in the Cold War. However, Cold War narratives from 1945-1972 about Taiwan were structured for the Republic of China, driven by US and Kuomintang (KMT) state and elite interests. Under Cold War-enabled authoritarianism, freedom and Taiwanese identities were written out. In US leftist circles and Global South, communist China drew attention as an alternative to global anti-colonial/anti-imperial movements. As a result, discussions of Taiwanese liberation movements were defined from a PRC-centric narrative, denying the democratic struggles of the Taiwanese people in the post-WWII era.

In the US, immigrants from Taiwan were composed mainly of students and, starting in the 1980s, of migrants with high skills and investment. Due to career orientation and language difference,² these migrants from Taiwan built their own communities in the suburbs, developing new immigrant communities instead of living in old Chinatowns. Taiwanese migrants built (and/or rebuilt) their own identity and a variety of ethnic-oriented cultural, professional, student, women's, religious, and political associations in their ethnic communities in the United States. All the activities and networks were connected closely at the local, national, and transnational levels. My dissertation focuses on the seven most representative Taiwanese diasporic organizations in diverse fields: World United Formosans for Independence (WUFI, a political group), Taiwanese Associations (Taiwan fellow townsmen association, reciprocal clubs), the Presbyterian church, Formosa Human Rights Association, Formosa Association for Public Affairs (FAPA, a lobbying group), North America Taiwanese Professors' Association (NATPA, an academic group), and Taiwanese

² People from Taiwan spoke Mandarin or their mother languages, e.g. Taigi, Hakka and aboriginal languages, while in old Chinatowns, people often spoke Cantonese.

United Fund (TUF, a cultural group) to provide a more comprehensive and authentic picture of the Taiwanese diasporic community in the making of Taiwan's democratization.

After the mid-1970s, with more and more political exiles coming to the US, bringing with them closer connections between overseas activism and democratic movements on the island, the composition and prioritizing agenda of the Taiwan diasporic movement changed accordingly. In particular, the Meilidao Incident of 1979 and the subsequent mass arrests by the KMT triggered a sense of "we are losing our motherland" in the diasporic community. People were motivated by the Meilidao leaders' morale; more were willing to get involved for a fighting chance: a fast-growing and vibrant Taiwanese diasporic community and overseas Taiwanese democratic movement therefore emerged. This explains why my dissertation focuses on the period.

Diasporic participation in Taiwan's democratic movement should be seen as a turning point in the history of twentieth-century Taiwan. Taiwan went through two critical regime transitions in the twentieth century: Japan's surrender in 1945 and the abolition of martial law in 1987. Most Taiwanese diasporic activists in my research bore witness to the two transitions. They were born between the 1920s-1930s, during the era of Japanese colonial rule, and were adolescents or children when the first regime transfer took place in Taiwan. They saw or heard how the powerless people, having no leverage, failed to resist the Cold War structure being determined after the Korean War, with the fate of Taiwan being decided by international superpowers. For Taiwan's second political change, there were major participants from overseas. Maximizing their diasporic agency, the activists I address in my research took advantage of the opportunity of the Cold War geopolitical power shift to fight to have a say in their own destiny.

C. Review of Related Literature

I. Taiwanese Migration to the United States during the Cold War

From 1946 to 1999, there were approximately four hundred thousand migrants from Taiwan in the United States.³ The majority of the immigrants entered the country as graduate students⁴ while more investment and business migrants arrived in the 1980s. More than 6,000 obtained doctoral degrees from US universities during the period.⁵ Professors, engineers, and doctors were the immigrants' top three professions.

Franklin Ng divides migration from Taiwan to the United States into three periods: 1945- 1964, 1965-1979, and 1979-the present. There were approximately 12,000 migrants from Taiwan to the United States in the first two decades after WWII; around 10,000 of the migrants were students. The number rapidly increased in 1965, when the US Congress passed the Hart-Celler Act (or Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965). The new immigration law expanded the immigration quota for some countries (Taiwan included) and

³ See Appendix A: Number of Immigrants and Students Immigrating from Taiwan to the United States by Stage and Annual Average (1895-2011).

⁴ During the peak years, from 1970 to 1990, there were annually around 28,000 Taiwanese students enrolled in graduate schools in the United States, about 8,000 new students per year. They came for a master's degree or for a PhD degree. Most studied in science and engineer. Taiwan once topped the world with the highest number of students studying in the US for the few decades. Most of them acquired US citizenship through their professions. During 1971 to 1991, there were only about 20% returned to Taiwan after graduation. Source: <http://taiwaneseamericanhistory.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/Immigrate-to-America.pdf> (downloaded and cited on July 2, 2017)

⁵ Shih-shan Henry Tsai, *The Chinese Experience in America* (Indiana University Press, 1986), 197.

created preference visa categories for immigrants with professional and high-tech skills and family relationships with US citizens or residents. There were almost 100,000 migrants from Taiwan to the United States in 1965-1979; around 40,000 were students. In 1979 and the 1980s, a series of political diplomatic events and changing economic conditions shaped a new phase of Taiwanese migration. The Carter administration terminated formal diplomatic relations between the US and the Republic of China in 1979; Congress passed the Taiwan Relations Act in the same year and gave the Taiwanese a separate annual immigration quota of 20,000 starting in 1982; in the 1980s, Taiwan's economy continued to grow strong, with the annual economic growth rate reaching 8% on average, industry transforming from being labor-intensive to high-tech, and Taiwan becoming one of the wealthiest (in terms of GDP per capita) societies in Asia. The strong purchasing power allowed more Taiwanese to immigrate to the United States to avoid political instability and insecurity in Taiwan. Total, the Taiwanese migrant population in the United States was nearly 300,000 in 1980-1999; around 200,000 of these were students.⁶

Before the mid-1990s, there were not many works of research, either doctoral dissertations or monographs,⁷ addressing migration from Taiwan to the United States.

⁶ Franklin Ng. *The Taiwanese Americans* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1998), 15-20. And the number of Taiwanese immigrants in different stage periods are based on Weider Shu's book. Weider Hsu, *Ethnic Groups and the Formation of National Identity: A Study of Hakka, Aborigines and Taiwanese Americans in Taiwan* (Taipei: Yuan-Liou Publishing Co., Ltd, 2013), 351. See Appendix A for details.

⁷ It includes: Shih-shan Henry Tsai, *The Chinese Experience in America* (Indiana University Press, 1986); Cheun-rong Yeh, "A Chinese American Community: The Politicization of Social Organizations" (unpublished PhD dissertation, Anthropology department, Michigan State University, 1989); Hsiang-Shui Chen, *Chinatown No More: Taiwan Immigrants in Contemporary New York* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1992); Timothy Fong, *The First Suburban Chinatown: The Remaking of Monterey Park, California* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994); Chong-li Edith Chung, "An Investigation of the Psychological Well-being of Unaccompanied Taiwanese

Among the very few such works, Taiwanese migrants' stories were usually subsumed into the broader Chinese American historiography in Asian American studies. For example, in *The Chinese Experience in America*,⁸ Shih-shan Henry Tsai conducted the pioneering primary survey on Taiwanese immigrants and their experiences in the United States during the 1960s-1980s. Though Tsai is aware of the problematic framing, throughout the book he still uses the survey to fill in the gaps of post-WWII Chinese American historiography, when the Cold War US-PRC rivalry deterred migration from mainland China to the country.

Things started to change in the middle of the 1990s and especially after 2000, when it became more accepted in Asian American historiography that migrants from Taiwan are a separate Asian American ethnic group and their immigration experiences to the country differ from Sino-centric Chinese American historiography or the experiences of Chinese Americans from mainland China after US-PRC normalization. It is noteworthy that this trend of change coincided with the development of Taiwan Studies in Taiwan itself; they flourished and were professionalized and institutionalized when democratization took place in the 1980s-1990s. In the late 1990s, especially after 2000, major academic institutions on the island, such as Academia Sinica, established research institutes to engage in Taiwan Studies.⁹ In the United States, more doctoral dissertations focus on the experiences of "Taiwanese" immigrants and various topics on the subject were explored in the late 1990s and the 2000s as well: the formation and organization of ethnic communities, immigrants'

Minors/Parachute Kids in the United States" (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Southern California, 1994)

⁸ Shih-shan Henry Tsai, *The Chinese Experience in America* (Indiana University Press, 1986)

⁹ Chi-ting Peng, "North American Taiwan Studies Association and Taiwan Studies in North America," *Newsletter for Research in Chinese Studies*, 39:2, May 2020. https://ccs.ncl.edu.tw/files/current_newsletter/02_039_002_03_02.pdf

adaptation and acculturation in the new land, ethnic economy and entrepreneurship, political participation, transnational activities, and gender and family.¹⁰

The migrants from Taiwan discussed in my dissertation have identified themselves as either Taiwanese or Formosans. It cannot be denied that there was a significant number of migrants from Taiwan to the United States during the main immigration period who considered themselves Chinese. They are not the objective of my research. My dissertation distinctly deals with those with Taiwanese identities who participated in activities or were

¹⁰ For example, Gloria Yi-yun Tsai, “Middle-class Taiwanese Immigrants’ Adaptation to American Society: The Interactive Effects of Gender, Culture, Race, and Class” (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1998); Yenkuei Chuang, “Fusion: The Primary Model of Bicultural Competence and Bicultural Identity Development in a Taiwanese American family Lineage” (unpublished PhD dissertation, Stanford University, 1998); Linda E. Dwyer, “History, Meaning, and Power in the Taiwan Diaspora,” (unpublished PhD dissertation, anthropology department, Michigan State University, 1999); Wei-lun Lee, “People of Taiwanese Descent Living in America: Constructing Ethnic Self-understanding” (unpublished PhD dissertation, Duquesne University, Pittsburgh, 1999); Jenny Hsin-Chun Tsai, “One story, Two Interpretations: The Lived Experiences of Taiwanese Immigrant Families in the United States” (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Washington, Seattle, 2001); Robert Edmondson, “Negotiations of Taiwan’s Identity among Generations of “Liuxuesheng” (overseas Students) and Taiwanese Americans” (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Michigan State University, 2002); Yu-his Lin, “Adaptation and Health Among First generation Taiwanese Americans” (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Michigan State University, 2004); Maria W.L., *Taiwanese American Transnational Families: Women and Kin Work* (New York: Routledge, 2005); Hui-wen Tu, “Taiwanese Immigrants’ Identity Negotiations in Cross-cultural Contact: Implications for Adult transformative Learning” (unpublished doctoral dissertation, the Pennsylvania State University, 2005); Shenglin Chang, *The Global Silicon Valley Home: Lives and Landscapes Within Taiwanese American trans-Pacific Culture* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2006) ; Chien-juh Gu, *Mental Health among Taiwanese Americans: Gender, Immigration, and Transnational Struggles* (New York: LFB Scholarly Publication, 2006); Shufang Tsai, “Ethnic Identity Development of Second Generation Taiwanese Americans” (unpublished PhD dissertation, Alliant International University, San Francisco Bay, 2006); Carolyn Chen, *Getting Saved in America: Taiwanese Immigration and Religious Experience* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2008); Jing Yuann Babb, “Multicultural Identity Formation through the Eyes of First Generation Taiwanese American Immigrants: An Exploratory Study” (unpublished PhD dissertation, the Claremont Graduate University and San Diego State University, 2008); Sophia Lin Ott, “Taiwanese Americans: Protestant Christianity, Acculturation, and Ethnic Identity” (unpublished doctoral dissertation Alliant International University, San Francisco Bay, San Francisco, 2008)

affiliated with associations related to “Taiwan” or “Formosa” instead of activities or associations that had “China” or “Chinese” in the title. The two maps in Appendix B reveal roughly the number of migrants from Taiwan who identified as Taiwanese into the United States in 1967 and 1969. In addition, native Taiwanese in my dissertation usually refer to those who lived through Japanese colonial rule on the island. They include Austronesian indigenous people who have been living in Taiwan for thousands of years, and Han Chinese who immigrated to Taiwan from the mid-16th century to the 19th century.

The formation of Taiwanese identity in the US is an interesting issue to explore, and this dissertation provides further insights into this topic. One of my interviewees, Dr. Jer-shung Lin (林衡哲), told me in an interview, “Because in the US, you are free to choose without fear for your safety, Taiwanese diaspora chose their Taiwanese identity.”¹¹ Linda Gail Arrigo also observed this formation in her article *Patterns of Personal and Political Life Among Taiwanese Americans*: “[A]mong the migrants, the sharp political and cultural divide between native Taiwanese and Chinese mainlanders within Taiwan of the early period was reproduced and in fact exaggerated overseas, where the migrants could opt for separate social circles and language usage in private life.”¹²

Shih-shan Henry Tsai directed his attention to how the cross-national experience of the Taiwanese diaspora catalyzed their identification formation: “[G]rouping in political confusion and cultural transition, adding to their intellectual and emotional baggage many new and foreign concepts and values, many Taiwanese immigrants became culturally more

¹¹ Interviewed Dr Lin in GuanDu, Taipei on August 2, 2020

¹² Linda Gail Arrigo, “Patterns of Personal and Political Life Among Taiwanese Americans”, *Taiwan Inquiry*, 2006 <http://taiwaneseamericanhistory.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/Life-Patterns-Among-Taiwanese-Americans.pdf> (downloaded and cited on August 21, 2020)

Occidental and politically more American, while maintaining many elements of Taiwanese identification.”¹³ Immigration to the United States was an eye-opening experience for many Taiwanese because they were given a liberal education in school and witnessed or even participated in American civil rights and anti-war movements on campuses and in the streets. All inspired and empowered the spirits of resistance and freedom. Taiwanese immigrants then started to reflect on what was going on in their motherland.¹⁴ As Cheng Tzu-Tsai (鄭自才), one of the accomplices who conceived of and organized the April 24 assassination attempt of Chiang Ching-kuo in New York City in 1970, recalled his political enlightenment: “My political awareness was awakened because of anti-war student movements. I did not know much about Taiwan’s issues before I arrived and studied in the US. Later, I was introduced to George H. Kerr’s *Formosa Betrayed* and gradually became aware of the February 28 massacre and the truth about the Kuomintang ruling in Taiwan...”¹⁵ Another accomplice of the 424 assassination attempt, Peter Huang, said, “During my studies in the US, I followed my friend's advice, trying to live with students from other countries, although I still kept in touch with Taiwanese students and communities... And I consciously moved around so that I could expand my circles of friends.... Because of this, I met a lot of people who were involved in all kinds of movements in the 1960s... I started my schooling at the University of Pittsburgh in 1964 as a graduate student in sociology, and my first American girlfriend came from a union family.... I was soon exposed to civil rights, anti-war, and anti-

¹³ Shih-shan Henry Tsai, 181

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Yi-shen Chen, “Interview with Cheng Tzu-Tsai,” in Yi-shen Chen, *Oral History of Figures Related To The Overseas Taiwan independence Movement* (Taipei: Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, 2009), 373.

nuclear movements on and off campus. That was the first time in my life that I participated in a social movement..... Then I moved to study for my PhD at Cornell.... The more people I met, the more I knew about the world, the deeper I got involved in the movements.... The Black student organization SNCC, the white students' SDS, and the free speech movement at the University of California, etc... So when people complimented me on my courage, I always replied that when so many of my friends from so many countries organized and protested on the streets... some even went back to their own countries to fight guerrilla warfare..., The feeling of plotting an assassination at that time was not that special..."¹⁶

Wendy Cheng, in her article '*Student Networks and Political Activism in Cold War Taiwanese/America*,' argued that the intersecting structural factors of the Cold War's ideological battles between US and China(s), Cold War epistemologies (the construction of Taiwan/China Studies during the Cold War), US-Taiwan relations, and the trans-Pacific migration experiences have defined, shaped and constrained Taiwanese American border-crossing struggles for democracy and self-identification.¹⁷

In his book *Transpacific Articulations: Student Migration and the Remaking of Asian America*, Chih-ming Wang discussed three different student movements that migrants from Taiwan in America participated in during the 1970s: the Baodiao movement,¹⁸ the

¹⁶ Peter Huang, "Review and Reflection on the 4.24 Assassination of Chiang Ching-kuo Incident," in Yan-xian Chang, Qio-mei Zen, Chao-hai Chen ed., *Self-consciousness and Identity: 1950-1990 Taiwanese Overseas Movements* (Taipei: Wu San-lien Taiwan History Foundation, 2003), 215-216

¹⁷ Wendy Cheng, "'THIS CONTRADICTION BUT FANTASTIC THING' Student Networks and Political Activism in Cold War Taiwanese/America," *Journal of Asian American Studies*, Volume 20, Number 2, June 2017, 161-162

¹⁸ The Baodiao movement, also known as "Defend the Diaoyu Islands movement," was a social movement taken place in the 1970s, after oil and other natural resources were found in the islands and Japan claimed its sovereignty over it. Protests were first organized by immigrants from Taiwan, China and Hong Kong living in the United States. The protesters

Taiwanese independence movement, and Asian American movements. He used in-depth textual analyses of their writings about Taiwan, Asian America, and America as his main research method. Wang found out that these diasporic writers repeated words such as “sovereignty,” “independence,” “identity,” “solidarity,” and “bridge” when expressing concerns for the community. Combining this with their border-crossing activism, Wang suggested that their language use reflects a mobile and malleable diasporic Taiwanese identity. Because of their overseas experiences, homeland memories, and elite status, diasporic Taiwanese students developed a double identification with Asia and America, holding fast to both national identity and politics as well as a transnational vision of modernity. Diasporic identification and concerns, following assimilation into the social and cultural fabric of Asian America, challenged and reshaped Asian American identity formation.¹⁹

Chinese scholars from mainland China are interested in the topic as well. However, due to the sensitivity of the issue and the topic having being highly influenced by the Chinese Communist Party’s political ideology, most research results usually pointed to the correlations between foreign imperialist interventions, usually referring to US or Japan governments, and the formation of Taiwanese identity.²⁰

condemned Japan’s occupation of the Diaoyu islands and asserted Chinese sovereignty over it. Later, protests were widely organized by people living in Taiwan, Hong Kong and China. The movement led to a lot of discussions and debates on Chinese nationalism.

¹⁹ Chih-ming Wang, *Transpacific Articulations: Student Migration and the Remaking of Asian America*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2013)

²⁰ Weider Hsu, “Chinese Nationalism, Imperialism, Taiwan Independence Movement: A Review of Three Books on Taiwan Independence Published in China in the 1990s,” *Thought and Words: Journal of the Humanities and Social Science*, 39 (2), June 2001, 117-129.

2. The Taiwanese Diaspora and Taiwan's Democratization

The Taiwanese American population, according to Lien's and Harvie's study, occupied a distinct space in modern Asian American political participation in terms of electoral politics (voting, registration, holding offices at the federal, state, and municipal levels), as well as involvement in exercising influence on US policies toward Taiwan and homeland politics. The results were tied to US electoral and immigration laws, homeland history, political socialization, and their unique civil transnationalism experiences.²¹

When it comes to democratization in Taiwan, nationalism and democracy are often inseparable. Masahiro Wakabayashi, a leading Japanese scholar in the field of studies about Taiwan's democratization, argued and explained why the process of Taiwan's transformation from an authoritarian state to a democracy was also the process of Taiwan's "Taiwanization."²² During the democratization movement in the 1970s-1980s, the emphasis on Taiwan nationalism among Taiwanese diasporic groups was more obvious and stronger than among the democracy fighters in Taiwan. Cho-shui Lin (林濁水) addressed the difference when he compared democracy activists in and out of Taiwan during the marital

²¹ Pei-te Lien and Jeanette Yih Harvie, "Unpacking Chinese America: The Political Participation of Taiwanese Americans in the Early Twenty-First-Century United States," *Journal of Asian American Studies*, Volume 21, Number 1, February 2018, 56-57

²² Masahiro Wakabayashi, *Taiwan: Divided Nation and Democratization* (Tokyo University Press, 1993, Chinese version translated by Pei-xian Hsu and Jing-Zhu Hong and published by New Naturalism, 2009, third edition)

law period: “On the island of Taiwan, there was mainly a democratic movement, while overseas there was a mixture of democratic and nationalist movements.”²³

Concerning the role of Taiwanese diaspora in the process of democratization, Jia-hung Chen in his book *The Overseas Taiwan Independence Movement: Growth and Challenges of Taiwan Independence Groups in the USA, 1950s-1980s*, argued that Taiwanese Americans played a pioneering role in Taiwan’s democratization. Influenced by the liberal and democratic atmosphere of the United States and the lack of security concerns, the methods for achieving goals and the agenda of Taiwanese diasporic activists were often much more radical than those on the island. In a positive sense, Taiwanese Americans were often ahead of their peers in Taiwan in terms of inspiring new ideas and thinking about Taiwan’s democracy. For example, according to Chen, campaigns for Taiwan joining the United Nations, upholding Taiwan’s sovereignty, consolidating Taiwan’s four ethnic groups, the concept of a (Taiwanese)community of common destiny, and having sympathy for Tibetan independence were all influenced first by Taiwanese diasporic groups in the USA. Chen therefore positioned the contribution of Taiwanese diasporic activism as a conceptual and cultural revolution in the making of Taiwan’s democratization.²⁴

Weider Hsu considered three contributions made by Taiwanese diasporic groups to Taiwan’s democratic movement in the 1980s: First, before martial law was lifted, any location outside Taiwan, especially in the United States, was once the most important, if not the only, arena for the survival and growth of Taiwan *tangwai* (out of party) movement.

²³ Yan-xian Chang, Qio-mei Zen, Chao-hai Chen ed., *Self-consciousness and Identity: 1950-1990 Taiwanese Overseas Movements* (Taipei: Wu San-lien Taiwan History Foundation, 2003), 624

²⁴ Jia-hung Chen, *Overseas Taiwan Independence Movement: The Development and Challenges of U.S. Taiwan Independence Groups, 1950s-1990s* (Taipei: Avanguard Book, 1998), 209.

Second, Taiwan's diasporic democratic movement and the opposition movement on the island were highly connected and related, whether in terms of the development of discourses about the movement, personnel exchanges, or even organizational interactions. Third, Taiwanese diasporic lobbying in US Congress has played a significant role in the transitional periods.²⁵

Taiwanese diasporic political discourses about Taiwan's democracy were not monolithic; they changed and increased over different times and places. In his article on the political discourses of the Taiwan independence movement in the US, Hsu classified the changes or "evolution" into three categories: classic independence, self-determination, and Taiwanese democracy. The first discourse, classic independence, was the most important political discourse and theoretical basis for actions among members of the Taiwanese diasporic community, especially for WUFI, beginning in the mid-1950s. The second was provided by Presbyterian minister Shoki Coe and others for the overseas Taiwanese People's Self-Determination Movement beginning in the early 1970s. Finally, the democracy discourse was developed in the early 1980s and was associated with political exiles who fled Taiwan for America in the late 1970s.²⁶ The emergence of these three discourses in the 1980s, Hsu explained, reveals that organizing campaigns in different times and in different places required different strategies. However, maybe more importantly, different activists used different rhetorical strategies with different emphases (independence, self-

²⁵ Wei-der Hsu, "The Demand for Democracy in the Nationalist Movement: On the US Taiwan Independence Movement Before Abolition of Martial Law," Huang-xiong Huang ed., *Three Generations of Taiwanese: The Reality and Ideal of a Century of Pursuit* (New Taipei: Walkers Cultural Enterprises, Ltd, 2017), 479.

²⁶ Wei-der Hsu, "The Demand for Democracy in the Nationalist Movement: On the US Taiwan Independence Movement Before Abolition of Martial Law," 459-478

determination, or democracy) to vie with their competitors with limited political resources and leverage. For example, advocates of the democracy version sometimes committed themselves to the discourse because the other narratives were already monopolized by other diasporic groups.²⁷

Regarding the topic of Taiwanese American Congress lobbying and Taiwan's democratization, in her article '*Taiwan's Overseas Opposition Movement and Grassroots Diplomacy in the United States: the case of the Formosan Association for Public Affairs*,' Catherine Kai-ping Lin examined how the advocacy of overseas Taiwanese people's grassroots diplomacy, particularly the Formosa Association for Public Affairs (FAPA), has influenced US foreign policy and, subsequently, democratization in Taiwan. She pointed out that the FAPA was indeed effective in influencing members of Congress in terms of US human rights policy towards the KMT government. Though some might argue that most resolutions passed by Congress to put pressure on the KMT were non-binding, or declarative resolutions, Lin argued that due to the enormous importance of the US to Taiwan, even non-binding resolutions can have a coercive or deterrent impact on the KMT government. This is, she contended, where Taiwan's democratization can be caused by external and international factors.²⁸

I argue that all the aforementioned scholarship about the role of Taiwanese diasporic groups in the making of Taiwan's democratization has been overly focused on political and student groups, ignoring the fact that the Taiwanese diaspora is a diverse community. In fact,

²⁷ Wei-der Hsu, "The Demand for Democracy in the Nationalist Movement: On the US Taiwan Independence Movement Before Abolition of Martial Law," 479

²⁸ Catherine Kai-Ping Lin, "Taiwan's Overseas Opposition Movement and Grassroots Diplomacy in the United States: the case of the Formosan Association for Public Affairs," *Journal of Contemporary China* (2006), 15(46), February, 133–159

Taiwanese Americans who were involved in Taiwan's democratic movement at that time were from all walks of life and all professions. They were students, academics, businesspeople, clerics, doctors, and artists, elite and non-elite alike. It was a mass movement. Previous studies have overlooked these dimensions and thus failed to reflect the diversity and complexity of the Taiwanese diaspora community in the making of the democratization movement.

D. Research Method

In terms of the use of archives, this dissertation relies heavily on a large number of memoirs and oral histories of the people involved. Most of these materials are written in Chinese. After President Chen Shui-bian came to power in 2000, many of those involved in the overseas democratic and human rights movement began to collect or publish relevant biographies and oral histories to review and document the events of the past. Especially after 2010, many key figures retired from politics or their jobs and began to write their own memoirs or oral histories for other people. In the United States, throughout the 2010s, the American-Taiwanese community began to compile oral histories and digitalize collections of historical materials. For example, in 2013, the Taiwanese American Historical Society (TAHS), based in Los Angeles, was registered as a 501 (c) (3) nonprofit corporation and started to arrange for the transcriptions of oral histories and video recordings of interviews with community organizers. The Taiwanese American Archives Center in Irvine, California, was founded in 2013 and aims to collect and digitalize as much primary and secondary materials related to Taiwanese American history and community as possible. In addition to the aforementioned individual memoirs and oral histories, I also use publications issued by

these associations or groups, e.g., monthly magazines, commemorative books, newsletters, and/or newspapers.

For official records, for the United States I mainly use the records of the US Congressional Hearings, and for Taiwan, the documents of the ROC's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Presidential and Vice-Presidential archives. In terms of the restrictions on the use of information, the official files represent the official position, which, of course, consists of preconceived opinions and attitudes towards the opposition movement. Individual memoirs and oral histories, on the other hand, are based on the memories of the people involved, which inevitably means that there may be variations in what is said at different times to different people, with exaggerations or personal biases. Also, there are still many confidential documents, such as the internal files of the WUFI, that are not yet declassified, leaving room for further reinterpretations in the future.

E. Chapter Arrangement

In addition to the introductory and concluding chapters, the dissertation consists of five body chapters. In Chapters Two and Three, I start by pointing out the influence of an individual's generation of birth and the regime transfer in late 1940s on the shaping of identities. Building upon this, I analyze seven Taiwanese diasporic groups and their transnational networks. In these two chapters, I reveal how the networks and their activism became the powerhouse for supporting Taiwan's democratization movement. Chapter Four discusses the democratic ideas inherited and developed by Taiwanese elites overseas, which are characterized by self-determination, a form of democracy informed by Taiwanese nationalism, and an emphasis on Taiwanese subjectivity. These ideas were first sent back to

Taiwan through secret channels in the 1970s, and with the increasing number of contacts between local and foreign democratic activists in the 1980s, these ideas became popularized and an important source for *tangwai* activists in their pursuit of democracy in Taiwan.

Chapter Five analyzes how Chiang Ching-kuo, after US-PRC normalization, considered and compromised with *tangwai* demands for democracy under unfavorable national security and international diplomacy conditions. I use the example of the Southern California Taiwanese Association homecoming delegation in 1984 to illustrate why and the extent to which the KMT was willing to compromise and accept the request of the Taiwanese diaspora, and under what circumstances diaspora members were willing to compromise and under what circumstances were they not. From this example, we can see that the KMT had tied itself to its own principles of one China; therefore, they still were unable to listen and respond appropriately to the rising diasporic power. Chapter Six examines how US human rights diplomacy had been instrumental in pressuring the KMT to reform and promote democratization in Taiwan, introducing four major Congressmen who advocated for Taiwan's human rights and democracy on Capitol Hill. Furthermore, I argue that when the demand for democracy and human rights appeared to pose threats to Taiwan's security, US policymakers tended to prioritize arms sales/security issues over the promotion of democracy and human rights in Taiwan. I use some radical violent activism of Taiwanese Americans in the 1980s as examples to explain how such activity became one major factor in the US' decision to prioritize security issues over human rights and democracy. I will conclude by discussing the impact of the Taiwanese diasporic movement and its collective efforts on the construction of a shared memory and community identity for contemporary Taiwanese Americans, as well as on the new relationship between Taiwan and the United States in the new century.

Chapter II. Transnational Organizations and Networks (PART ONE)

Chapter Two and Three address the formation of the Taiwanese diasporic community in the United States from the 1950s to the 1980s and their transnational advocacy networks.

First and foremost, the two chapters aim to challenge the popular opinion of Chinese scholars and the Chinese government in mainland China that Taiwanese diasporic groups were supported by foreign powers, mainly American or Japanese “imperialist” governments, which led to their identification with Taiwan (or Formosa), not China, and to their involvement in anti-KMT movements.²⁹ By analyzing individual memories of the chaotic regime transition in the late 1940s and early 1950s, I contest the dichotomous understanding of colonization versus emancipation, and point out how the Japanese empire’s utter surrender and aftermath with the Nationalist Chinese government “liberation” of Taiwan left mostly bitter memories and feelings of abandonment, betrayal, and recolonization among the Taiwanese people. Migration to America has been another factor, as Wendy Cheng, Andy Wang, and Henry Shih-shan Tsai have contended, in catalyzing their desire to search for their identity and true belonging. I argue that the thirst to reclaim their subjectivity and renegotiate their agency in the power politics of the Cold War motivated the formation of the Taiwanese diasporic community in the new world.

In addition, I will reveal in the two chapters how Taiwanese diasporic networks and transnational activism had become the powerhouse to support Taiwan’s democracy fighters and human rights activists. I argue that compared to the repressive and close political environment in Taiwan, Taiwanese diasporic groups were exposed to a liberal free world

²⁹ Weider Hsu, “Chinese Nationalism, Imperialism, Taiwan Independence Movement: A Review of Three Books on Taiwan Independence Published in China in the 1990s,” *Thought and Words: Journal of the Humanities and Social Science*, 39 (2), June 2001, 117-129.

where they were able to access to all kinds of thinking and movements in Japan and the United States and could discuss democracy and their Taiwan identity freely without fear of intimidation from the KMT. They not only preserved many cultural traditions and researched Taiwan histories that was banned in Taiwan from overseas, they also played a pioneering role in enlightening in the early stage of democratization.

A. The Formation of the Taiwanese Diasporic Community in the United States

I selected 80 persons who participated in the seven Taiwanese diasporic associations I analyzed in this dissertation. Most of the individuals listed once served as presidents for one or multiple Taiwanese diasporic associations in the 1970s-1980s. Based on their autobiographies, oral histories, and memoirs, along with publications issued by their associations, I compiled their years of birth (Japanese colonial/postwar period), personal memories of their lives in Taiwan before their immigration, migration experiences in the US, their perspectives on Taiwanese issues, and the diasporic movements in which they were involved.

The first thing I found interesting is that an overwhelming percentage of these people were born in the Japanese colonial period, with the largest number born in the 1930s. See Table One below for details. What does this mean for our understanding of the pro-democracy movement on and off the island at the time? If you compare this with the age groups of *tanwai* leaders in Taiwan, you will find that most of the leaders in Taiwan were born in the 1940s-1950s (especially after the Second World War), while the overseas leaders were about a generation (10-15 years) older than them. Here, for the *tangwai* leaders in Taiwan, I have referred to those emerging political stars before and after the Meilidao

Incident (in late 1970s-the 1980s) such as Chen Chu (陳菊, born in 1950), Chen Shui-bian (陳水扁, 1950), Chou Ching-yu (周清玉, 1944), Su Tseng-chang (蘇貞昌, 1947), Annette Lu (呂秀蓮, 1944), Shih Ming-the (施明德, 1941), Frank Hsieh (謝長廷, 1946), Lin Yi-hsiung (林義雄, 1941), Hsu Hsin-liang (許信良, 1941), You Ching (尤清, 1942), Tai Chen-yao (戴振耀, 1948), Wang Tuoh (王拓, 1944), Chiang Peng-chien (江鵬堅, 1940) and so on.

Table 1. Years of Birth of Taiwanese American community leaders and organizers

1900-1909	郭雨新 Kuo Yu-shin (1908), 黃武東 Hunag Wu-dong (1909)
1910-1919	黃彰輝 Shoki Coe (1914)
1920-1929	林宗義 Zuong-yi Lin (1920), 楊東傑 Tom T.C. Yang (1923), 彭明敏 Peng Ming-min (1923), 范良政 Liang-tseng Fan (1929), 宋泉盛 Choan-seng C.S. Song (1929)
1930-1939	陳以德 Edward Y.T. Chen (1930), 林錫湖 Echo Lin (1930), 周焯明 Sam Suy-ming Chou (1930), 王再興 Zhai-Xing Wang (1931), 王桂榮 Kenjohn Wang (1931), 吳西面 Symeon Woo (1931), 廖述宗 Shut-sung Liao (1931), 陳榮儒 John Chen (1931), 盧主義 Tsu-yi Jay Loo (1932), 黃昭堂 Ng Chiautong (1932), 范良信 Liang-shing Fan (1932), John R.S. Lin (arrived in the United States in 1952 after college graduation), 賴文雄 W.S. Lai (1933), 林明哲 Ming-sheer Lin (1933), 吳得民 De-min Wu (1933), 王能祥 Neng-Hsiang Wang (1933), 鄭紹良 Shao-liang Cheng (1934), 吳澧培 Li-pei Wu (1934), 吳木盛 Mu-sheng Wu (1934), 黃昭淵 Chao-yuan Huang (1935-), 陳隆志 Lung-Chi Chen (1935), 廖明徵 Ming-cheng Liao (1935), 許世楷 Koh Se-kai (1934), 羅福全 Fu-chen Lo (1935), 陳都 Tu Chen (1935), 謝英敏 Ying-min Hsieh (1935), 陳唐山 Mark Chen (1935), 蔡同榮 Trong-rong Chai (1935), 林靜竹 Chin-Chu Lin, (1935-), 葉國勢 Kuo-shih Yeh (1935), 張燦濤 George Tsan-hung Chang (1936), 楊宗昌 C.C. Yang (1936), 許盧千惠 Qian-hui Hsu (1936), 張旭成 Parris Hsu-cheng Chang (1936), 鄭自才 Tzu-tsai Cheng (1936), 許永華 Yung-hwa Hsu (1936), 王秋森 Chiu-Sen Wang (1937), 陳榮成 Ron Long-chen Chen (1937), 蔡嘉寅 C. Y. Tsai (1937), 黃根深

	Ken S. Huang (1937), 黃文雄 Peter Huang (1937), 張丁蘭 Tina Ding-lan Chang (1938), 蕭泰然 Tyzen Hsiao (1938), 張富美 Fu-Mei Chang (1938), 洪哲勝 Cary S. Hung (1939), 鄭義和 Yi-ho Cheng (graduated from the Law School at National Taiwan University in 1958), 許和瑞 Ho-rui Hsu (arrived in the United States in 1961 after college graduation), 吳秀惠 Grace Wu (arrived in the United States in 1957 after graduating from the Medical School at National Taiwan University), 莊秋雄 Strong Chuang (1939), 蔡丁財 David Tsay (1939), 林衡哲 Jer-shung Lin (1939)
1940-1949	蔡武雄 Wu-hsiung Tsai (1940), 林宗光 T. K. Lin (1940-), 孫錦德 Chin-The Sun (graduated from the Department of Civil Engineering at National Taiwan University in 1962), 毛清芬 Vicki Lo (1940), 賴義雄 Robert Y. Lai (1940), 陳文彥 Wen Yen Chen (graduated from the Department of Psychology at National Taiwan University in 1962), 王泰和 Tai-he Wang (1941), 王康陸 Kang-lu Wang (1941), 陳希寬 Michael S.K. Chen (1941), 王幸男 Sing-nan Wang (1941), 郭清江 Ching-chiang Kuo (1942-), 吳政彥 Jang-ten Wu (1942-), 黃美幸 Maysing Huang (1944), 林心智 Sim-Ti Lim (1944), 陳南天 Richard Chen (1945), 范清亮 Chris Ching-liang Fan (arrived in the United States in 1969 after completing mandatory military service), 許瑞峰(1947),
1950-1959	李應元 Ying-yuan Lee (1953), 郭倍宏 Bei-hung Kuo (1955),

Table made by Chi-ting Peng

Sources: Taiwanese American Archives website *who's who*

Second, I found that in their pre-immigration memories and narratives about Taiwan, almost everyone mentioned or were asked about the February 28 Incident and the radical regime transition period that took place in Taiwan from the late 1940s to early 1950s. When writing or talking about this part of personal histories, they often emphasized how the memories had had an impact on their lives. Most of them were born in last two decades of the Japanese colonial period, as shown in Table One, so it makes sense that many would

have personal experiences witnessing the regime transfer from Japanese rule to the Nationalist Chinese governance in Taiwan as teenagers (age range from primary school to first year in college).

Shutsung Liao (廖述宗), the founding president of the North America Taiwanese Professors' Association, for example, recalled what he saw during the Incident. "When I was in my first year of high school, my whole family moved to Taichung because of my father's new job. I was a student at Taichung First Middle School at the time... Next to Taichung First Middle School, there was a large playground where Taiwan's provincial games used to be held. Whenever the military government executed a mass shooting of 2.28 Incident political prisoners, the school would be close, and students would be asked to stand at the playground to watch. Every time I went home from watching the executions, I felt very sick and wanted to puke. It was the darkest moment in my life."³⁰

There were also family members or close friends who died under the state violence of the February 28 Incident or the 1950s White Terror. Li-pei Wu (吳澧培), a successful businessman, banker, and founding member of TUF, had an elder brother who was a student of Taichung First Middle school when he was sentenced to twelve years in Green Island Prison because he had joined a study group at the invitation of his school teacher.³¹ Tsung-yi

³⁰ Carole Hsu, "Life's Persistence: The Story of Professor Shut-sung Liao of the University of Chicago," article published in Taiwanese American Historical Society, July 2014. <http://www.tahistory.org/%E7%94%9F%E5%91%BD%E7%9A%84%E5%9F%B7%E8%91%97-%E2%94%80%E8%8A%9D%E5%8A%A0%E5%93%A5%E5%A4%A7%E5%AD%B8%E5%BB%96%E8%BF%B0%E5%AE%97%E6%95%99%E6%8E%88%E7%9A%84%E6%95%85%E4%BA%8B1-23-%E2%97%8E/> (downloaded and cited on August 20, 2020)

³¹ Academia Historica staff interviewed and edited, *Interviews with Distinguished Persons: Mr. Shao-liang Cheng and Mr. Ming-run Jian* (Taipei: Academia Historica, 2008), 17.

Lin (林宗義)'s father, Lin Mosei, was the first Taiwanese to receive a PhD in the United States and was killed in the February 28 Incident. I cannot confirm this to date. But based on the stories I have heard from my interviewees, the percentage of family members or descendants of the February 28 victims in the overseas Taiwanese community is not low.

The dramatic political change not only took place on the island of Taiwan, but also on the Pescadores Islands (or Penghu). Native Taiwanese were not the only victims of the KMT brutality, as Chinese mainlanders who retreated with the regime had also been treated harshly. Shao-liang Cheng, chairman of WUFI in 1971-1972, recalled what he saw in his hometown of Penghu. "In just a few years, Taiwan experienced the transfer of political power and the relocation of the KMT government. The Penghu people witnessed what many Taiwanese could not see. At the end of the Chinese Civil War, the KMT rerouted more than 8,000 students from Shandong Yantai Middle School to Penghu, planning to train them to be pioneers in the invasion of mainland China. In 1949, the government moved large numbers of soldiers to the station in Penghu. These soldiers and students had no place to live... Our family was forced to give up half of our houses for the military officers to live... What made the greatest impression in me was that these exiled students and teachers were forced to be soldiers. Some who resisted were shot or tied into sacks and thrown into the sea. I saw female students crying in groups at night on the shore of Penghu, looking at their hometowns, missing their parents... I felt so sad for them, and I felt the KMT had really done something very bad to them..."³²

Many of the oral histories and memoirs were written after Taiwan's democratization. It is therefore inevitable that some of these accounts and memories could have been

³² Academia Historica staff interviewed and edited, *Interviews with Distinguished Persons: Mr. Shao-liang Cheng and Mr. Ming-run Jian*, 17-19.

exaggerated in hindsight. People are easily influenced by hindsight or political correctness when they look back and try to rationalize what they have done or what happened in the past. This is a common problem with oral histories. For example, in his oral history it seems that Sam Suy-ming Chou was trying to explain why he used to have some ideas in the past in a way that was consistent with what he believed at the time he was speaking. Chou, the founding member of the Taiwanese student association at UW Madison, was born in and grew up in Japan. His father worked for the Japanese government in Japan until the end of the Second World War. He returned to Taiwan with his family when he was 17. "I had only been to Taiwan once before... After the war, my brother and I really did not want to go back because we did not know much about Taiwan... In fact, my memory of the February 28 Incident is a bit vague, because I really do not want to think about it... Maybe because of the February 28 incident, I came to really hate Chinese people. I hated the Chinese because they were so cruel to their own countrymen. When I went back to Taiwan after the war, I saw the greed of the Chinese. It was a terrible thing for people coming back from Japan, because in Japan, everybody was very disciplined and law-abiding, even during the war..."³³

Nonetheless, having personally witnessed Taiwan's transfer of political power in the mid-twentieth century, the 1920s-1930s generation of Taiwanese, in comparison to the post-war generation, have stronger feelings of how *m̄ kam-guān* (毋甘願, Taigi for "reluctant"), helpless, and pathetic being a Taiwanese is. This explains why people of that generation often expressed their bitterness at not being able to determine their own identity, and their desire to be *tshut-thâu-thinn* (出頭天, Taigi for "free from hardship and humiliation and being the masters of their own destiny").

³³ Yi-shen Chen, *Oral History of Figures Related To The Overseas Taiwan Independence Movement* (Taipei: Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, 2012), 152-154.

Since they were allowed to talk, do research, and publish freely overseas, from the post-war period to the present, Taiwanese overseas have invested a great deal of effort working on producing and reproducing the history of the February 28 Incident. Before martial law was lifted, the KMT had strict control over the interpretations of the Incident, so it was almost impossible for Taiwanese to study or even talk about the history in Taiwan. The history of the incident could only be preserved and studied overseas, at the time mainly in Hong Kong, Japan, and the United States. This provides the historical context for understanding what motivated Taiwanese migrants and students to keep talking about the 228 in the United States, and why. In the third part of chapter two, I mention campus student activism at Kansas State University, where Taiwanese students published about the February 228 Incident in their school's newspaper in the late 1960s. Also, the North America Taiwanese Professors' Association, at its inception, established a research group to study and discuss the February 28 Incident. NAPTA was also one of the founders of the February 28 Peace Promotion Council (二二八和平促進會).³⁴ The Council was initiated in 1987 by 30 civic organizations in Taiwan, advocating for February 28 to be designated as a national Memorial Day. The campaign was realized in 1996, when the Taipei City Government and the Executive Yuan declared February 28 as a National Peace Memorial Day. Currently, the February 28 Incident Memorial ceremony is still one of the most important annual events in the Taiwanese American community.

³⁴ Shut-sung Liao, "The First Ten Years of the North America Taiwanese Professors' Association," Yan-xian Chang, Qio-mei Zen, Chao-hai Chen ed., *Self-consciousness and Identity: 1950-1990 Taiwanese Overseas Movements* (Taipei: Wu San-lien Taiwan History Foundation, 2003), 269.

B. From 3F to WUFI: The Origin of Taiwanese Diasporic Organization in the United States

1. 1950s-1960s: from 3F, UFI to UFAI

The origin of Taiwanese American organization and community traces back to the mid-1950s, when a group of Taiwanese students brought together like-minded migrants from Taiwan and formed the secret political organization called The Committee for Formosans' Free Formosa (3F). In January 1956, Taiwanese students in Philadelphia, including R. S. Lin (林榮勳), Jay Loo (盧主義, his pen name is Li Tien-Fu 李天福), Edward Y.T. Chen (陳以德), Dong-jie Yang (楊東傑) and Xi-hu Lin (林錫湖) established the 3F in the city where the founding fathers of the United States had signed the Declaration of Independence during the American Revolution. In the initial stage, they established these main goals: to edit and publish a newsletter and recruit members, and to send articles about Taiwanese issues to the Congress, local media, and university libraries in the US. Less than two years after its formation, unfortunately, 3F was accused by the KMT regime as a pro-communist organization. The FBI began investigating their activities. Though 3F had nothing to do with Chinese communists but only advocated for Taiwan independence, its founding members were aware that their contact with Thomas Liao and Liao's Republic of Taiwan Provisional Government in Tokyo might have violated the Foreign Agents Registration Act. They therefore decided to dissolve the group temporarily. In January 1958, they reconfigured 3F as the United Formosa For Independence (UFI). The headquarters were still in Philadelphia, but the organization had reached out to Taiwanese students in New York, Chicago, and Boston, with activities thus being expanded to these areas. Both 3F

and UFI kept their activities secret. On February 28, 1961, Edward Yi-te Chen, then chairman of UFI, held a press conference in New York and officially publicized their organization's name and activities. In August of the same year, when the Governor of Taiwan Province Chen Cheng (陳誠) visited the United Nations, Yu-te Chen mobilized UFI's first public protest in North America. Despite very low attendance, Chen drew public attention and media coverage. By the end of 1950s, these early founding members of the Taiwanese diasporic community in Philadelphia withdrew one after the other from the organization due to their individual career/family considerations as well as an internal leadership dispute. In the early 1960s, only Edward Yi-te Chen was still active in organizing.³⁵

R. S. Lin: Born in Taipei. Many of his family members were doctors. After graduating from Taihoku High School (台北高等學校), he went to National Taiwan University and studied political science. In 1949, when the April 6 Incident took place, Lin was president of the National Taiwan University Student Association. To protect his fellow students from arrest or KMT spies' harassment, Lin wrote a petition letter to the government. As a result, Lin was arrested. He was later released thanks to the efforts of Fu Ssu-nien (傅斯年), then President of National Taiwan University. Lin came to the US in 1952 and studied political science at the University of Pennsylvania. He earned his doctoral degree in 1960. After graduation, Lin moved to New York and taught at New York State University in New

³⁵ Ming-cheng Chen, Zheng-fong Shih, *The Story of the World United Formosans for Independence* (Taipei: Avanguard book, 2000), 34-35.

Paltz before he died of illness in 1979. Lin played an important role in inspiring and building early Taiwanese American community and activism in the 1950s-1960s.³⁶

Jay Loo: Born and grew up in Tainan. His father was a businessman, also a pastor of a Presbyterian church in Tainan city. After graduating from Tainan First Senior High School, Loo entered the medical school at National Taiwan University. But Loo decided to drop out and go to the US three months later. With the help of a US pastor at his father's church, Loo enrolled in medical preparatory courses at Macalester College in Saint Paul, Minnesota in 1951. During his studies in Minnesota, Loo grew his interest in and started to widely explore any topics related to Taiwan's history and politics in the library. He recalled that among the books he read at the time, two especially influenced him most. One was Fred Riggs's *Formosa Under Chinese Nationalist Rule* and the other was George H. Kerr's writings about the Feb 28 massacre. In 1955, Loo was admitted to the medical school at Temple University, so he moved to Philadelphia. By way of an introduction through a friend from his hometown of Tainan, Loo met Dong-jie Yang (then studying at the medical school at the University of Pennsylvania), R.S. Lin, and Edward Yi-te Chen. They often hung out in Philadelphia and discussed Taiwan. A few months later in January 1956, they founded the first (secret) 3F Taiwanese organization in America. Knowing that Thomas Liao had announced the establishment of the Republic of Taiwan Provisional Government (台灣共和國臨時政府) in Tokyo on February 28 1956, Loo wrote to Thomas Liao, informing Liao of what they were doing in the US and seeking cooperation with Liao. Loo also decided to give up his medical school studies, transferred back to Minnesota, and studied political science at a local state university. Loo earned his bachelor's degree in political science in December

³⁶ Fong-Chuan Li, *Rising Winds: The Development of the Taiwan Independence Movement in North America* (Kearny, NJ: headquarter of the WUFI, 1985), 6-7.

1957 and was admitted to the graduate program at the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton University. In early 1958, Loo, using his pen name Thian-hok Li (李天福), rewrote his BA graduate thesis into a 5000-word essay, *The China impasse- A Formosa View* and submitted to *Foreign Affairs*. His essay was accepted and published in the journal in the same year. This essay laid the foundations for the theoretical establishment of the early overseas Taiwan independence movement in the 1950s-1960s. In the essay, Loo first pointed out that from the legal perspective, Japan gave up the sovereignty of Taiwan and the Pescadores Islands by signing the Sino-Japanese Peace Treaty on April 28 1952, but the treaty did not indicate who was to own Taiwan and the Pescadores Islands afterwards. Therefore, the legal status of Taiwan/ Pescadores Islands was not determined. Second, the so-called “two-Chinas” proposal would not work because the PRC and ROC regimes would not agree. To the Taiwanese, the so-called restoration of mainland China goal made by the KMT was a ridiculous myth. Third, from the historical perspective, the history of Taiwan was a series of struggles against foreign regimes and invasions. Forth, in political reality, based on their identification with their motherland and the shared struggle, the Taiwanese have developed a different identity from the Chinese. In conclusion, Loo argued that only by walking away from the China impasse could the Taiwanese people find a hopeful way out. The Taiwanese deserved to build their own independent and democratic country. Loo became chairman of UFI in the first three years of its existence. In 1960, due to UFI’s leadership rivalries and election fraud, Loo grew disappointed with the organization. He withdrew from UFI and all other Taiwanese diasporic organizations. Nonetheless, he kept his concerns about Taiwan behind the scenes for the rest of his life.³⁷

³⁷ Fong-Chuan Li, *Rising Winds: The Development of the Taiwan Independence*

Edward Y.T. Chen: After graduating from Tainan First Senior High School, Chen went to the National Taiwan University and studied law. He earned his bachelor's degree in law in 1952. In 1954, with the help of R.S. Lin, Chen was then admitted to the University of Pennsylvania, where he studied International Relations. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, China's seat in the United Nations gradually became a heated issue in academic circles in the US. In 1961, the University of Michigan held a campus debate on "the China question and Taiwan's future." Invited speakers included Professor David Rowe (Professor at Yale University, also a member of the Committee for One Million Against the Admission of Communist China to the United Nations), Rep. Charles O. Porter (Democrat from Oregon), and Edward Yi-te Chen (representing a native Taiwanese voice). Chen did a wonderful job in the debate. With the conclusion of the panel, all participants tended to support the ideas that China should be allowed to join the United Nations and that Taiwanese people's self-determination should also be accepted.³⁸ After Thomas Liao gave up his Taiwan liberation activities and moved back to Taiwan from Japan in 1965, Chen's father, sent by the KMT, tried to persuade Chen to give up his political campaign. Chen refused to cooperate. When UFAI was established in 1966, Chen was elected as the first chairman. He wrote in the first issue of the organization's newsletter *Formosagram* (台灣通訊) that the "Taiwan independence movement would not be stopped or slowed down after Thomas Liao's surrender. Instead, we are growing stronger!" Chen stepped down and transferred his power

Movement in North America, 9-10. Carole Yang, "Tsu-yi Jay Loo and the story of 3F," article published in her personal blog in March 2015: http://overseas-tw.blogspot.com/2015/03/3f_14.html (downloaded and cited on Jan 15, 2020)

³⁸ Fong-Chuan Li, *Rising Winds: The Development of the Taiwan Independence Movement in North America*, 8

to Wang Chi-ren (王紀人) the following year. After that, he taught in a university in the state of Ohio.³⁹

Peng Ming-min's 1964 manifesto and Thomas Liao's surrender in 1965 motivated Taiwanese students and the diasporic community in North America to consolidate forces.⁴⁰ In 1966, UFI announced that there had been reshuffling and that it had been renamed UFAI. They set up an executive committee and a central committee constituted by representatives from all associated groups. Each associated group retained their autonomy, including electing their own leadership and keeping their own name. Edward Yi-te Chen served as the first-term chairman of UFAI, with George Chang (張燦鏐) as vice chair, and Sam Suy-ming Chou (周斌明) as director of the central committee. The short-term goal of the newly-founded UFAI was to publish Peng's manifesto in *The New York Times*. When the United Nations hosted its annual meeting and discussed the China question in the sessions at the end of the year, *The New York Times* published a half-page ad on Peng's manifesto. UFAI also encouraged their members (the majority were students at the time) to move to the East Coast (particularly New York, and Washington, D.C.) after graduation because this area is close to center of US politics: the headquarters of the United Nations, Congress, and the White House. To recruit more members and make their ideals better known to the Taiwanese diasporic community in America, UFAI launched a "Ten Thousand Mile Long March for Freedom." They visited more than 60 university campuses and US cities, small

³⁹ Fong-Chuan Li, *Rising Winds: The Development of the Taiwan Independence Movement in North America*, 9.

⁴⁰ They include: Liang-tseng Fan, C.C. Yang, Michael S.K. Chen and Strong Chuang at K-State University; Ron Long-chen Chen, Mark Chen and Run-ji Wang at University of Oklahoma; Trong-rong Chai, W.S. Lai and Chiu-Sen Wang in Los Angeles; Sin-I Hsiao at Harvard University; Tzu-tsai Cheng in Baltimore; and Zher-fu Lin in Toronto.

and large, as long as there were Taiwanese students or migrants living in the areas. UFAI headquarters moved to New York in 1968 from Philadelphia. After that, the powerhouse of the Taiwanese independence movement in North America transitioned to New York (east coast) and Los Angeles (west coast). George Chang, Fu-chen Lo, Trong-rong Chai, Tzu-tsai Cheng, W.S. Lai(賴文雄), Chiu-sen Wang(王秋森), Kang-lu Wang (王康陸) etc. also replaced the Philadelphia Eight in UFAI's leadership positions.⁴¹

2. 1970s-1980s: WUFI and Its Activities

1970 was a remarkable year for early Taiwanese diasporic activism. In January 1970, UFAI merged with several Taiwanese independence diasporic groups in Canada, Japan, and Europe and changed its name to World United Formosans for Independence (WUFI), with WUFI-USA thus expanding rapidly and its organization connecting more closely with transnational activism. In addition, Peng Ming-min successfully escaped Taiwan and arrived in Sweden in the end of January in 1970. This was the long-awaited news for the Taiwanese diasporic community around the world. 1970 and the coming decade seemed promising and hopeful for the Taiwan independence movement.

However, an incident set back the progress for a while. In April 1970, WUFI members Peter Huang and Cheng Tzu-Tsai attempted to assassinate then Vice Premier Chiang Ching-kuo in New York but failed and were arrested by the FBI. WUFI leadership did not handle

⁴¹ Ming-cheng Chen, Zheng-fong Shih, *The Story of the World United Formosans for Independence* (Taipei: Avanguard book, 2000), 36-38.

the aftermath well, which depressed internal disagreements and led to the group's split.⁴² WUFI lost many members and prospects on how to pursue their dream seemed grim.

The assassination attempt got Chiang Ching-kuo's attention. Out of confusion, Chiang asked his company, "Why did the Taiwanese people want to kill me?" Chiang Ching-kuo never visited the United States again after the incident. He became Premier in May 1972. Some historians believe that he learned from this shocking experience and started to include native Taiwanese in his cabinet.⁴³ Lee Teng-hui was one of the native Taiwanese elites promoted and appointed by Chiang to his cabinet. They went on to become Taiwan's president and vice president in 1984-1988. After the death of Chiang Ching-kuo, Lee Teng-hui succeeded and became the first native Taiwanese president in Taiwan's history. Lee also won Taiwan's first direct presidential election in 1996.

Shau-liang Cheng (鄭紹良) was appointed as the president of WUFI in August 1971, following the biggest crisis since the association's founding. On the day of the annual United Nations Assembly in 1971 in New York, Cheng mobilized Taiwanese diasporic communities from places including the United States, Japan, Europe, and Brazil to join a "chain demonstration." Participants around the world chained themselves up together at specific locations at the same time to symbolize the situation of the Taiwanese people, expressing to the world the wish of Taiwanese people to establish their own country. There

⁴² Ming-cheng Chen, Zheng-fong Shih, *The Story of the World United Formosans for Independence*, 55-57; Peter Huang, "Review and Reflection on the April 24 Assassination of Chiang Ching-kuo Incident," *Taiwan News Weekly*, 101, October 2003. http://www.twcenter.org.tw/thematic_series/history_class/history07 (downloaded and cited on Jan 17, 2020)

⁴³ Xiao-feng Lee, "The Historical Meanings of The April 24 Assassination of Chiang Ching-kuo Incident," published in Lee's personal blog on April 24, 2000: https://www.jimlee.org.tw/article_detail.php?SN=8728¤tPage=8&ArticleCategory=1 (downloaded and cited on Jan 17 2020)

were around 12,000 Taiwanese living in the United States at the time, and according to their announcement, around 1,200 joined the action.⁴⁴

George Chang⁴⁵ took a leadership position in 1973 and stepped down in 1987. During these 15 years, WUFI continued supporting Taiwanese associations' activities,⁴⁶ establishing the Formosa Human Rights Association in the United States with the help of Chang's wife, Tina Ding-lan Chang (張丁蘭), working with international human rights associations and activists, lobbying in Congress, and forming a transnational political alliance with third world opposition party leaders around the world. WUFI members were behind almost all major Taiwanese diasporic organizing work in the United States in the 1970s-1980s, on or under the table, though some diasporic groups would deny the relations due to various reasons.

One obvious reason is that since the 1970s, there were two splitting opinions about how to campaign for Taiwan within the Taiwanese diasporic community in the United States. While moderates considered that self-determination and human rights should be prioritized to maximize the chance of winning US liberals' support for growing political consensus over human rights diplomacy, the radicals, some of whom referred to themselves as revolutionaries, insisted on "the use of violence to curb violence" and that the agenda of "Taiwan independence" be emphasized first at the negotiation table. Some WUFI members

⁴⁴ Academia Historica staff interviewed and edited, *Interviews with Distinguished Persons: Mr. Shao-liang Cheng and Mr. Ming-run Jian*, 55-56.

⁴⁵ George Chang: Born in Tainan, Taiwan in 1936, he came to the United States after graduating from the Department of Chemical Engineering at National Taiwan University. He earned his PhD in chemical engineering from Rice University and had taught at the Cooper Union since 1967. He was Vice President of UFAI in 1966, Vice President of WUFI in 1970, and President of WUFI from 1973 until his retirement in 1987. In 1995, he was re-elected president of WUFI and in 1998 he was elected mayor of Tainan city.

⁴⁶ Many acting members of Taiwanese Associations were WUFI members

were believed to support the latter approach. As more and more Taiwanese political exiles arrived in the US in the late 1970s and brought in more different political campaign theories and personal contacts, WUFI saw these newcomers as competitors taking over their “territory” in the United States. Tensions became unavoidable between “locally grown” versus latecomer Taiwanese diasporic groups.

In the late 1980s, WUFI launched a “return home” movement, calling for the blacklisted to challenge the KMT’s unfair and inhumane policy and enter Taiwan without legal immigrant documents. In the early 1990s, to get more involved in Taiwan’s democratization, WUFI’s leadership decided to move its headquarters and main organizing work to Taiwan.⁴⁷

C. Taiwanese Associations

The first Taiwan associations (*tongxianghui*) were derived from Taiwanese student groups, and this was also the case for the majority of such associations. Their activities were originally based on North American university campuses.

Taiwanese associations in the United States shared many common cultures with Taiwanese associations established in Japan during the colonial period in terms of member composition, organizing strategy, and mobilizing agenda. I argue that the founding and functions of Taiwanese Associations in the USA are not just the result of a few decades of accumulated experiences and networks during the Cold War. Instead, it reflects a half

⁴⁷ Ming-cheng Chen, Zheng-fong Shih, *The Story of the World United Formosans for Independence*, 61-97.

century experiences of Taiwanese migration to Southeast Asia, mainland China, and Japan during the era of Japanese rule.

Though people in Taiwan during the Qing period travelled frequently back and forth in the East Asian seas, there were no Taiwan associations or organizations with similar functions in existence at the time, according to Tang Shi-Yeoung's research. Entering into the colonial period, due to Japan's resettlement/immigration policy and personal career considerations, people started to migrate to Japan, China, and Southeast Asian areas for better economic opportunities. To protect and provide Taiwanese migrants with legal, social, and financial support, *tongxianghui* (fellow township associations) emerged to meet migrants needs. The use of *tongxianhui* together with "Taiwan" in its name (Taiwan Tongxianhui) was first seen in Tokyo in the 1920s.⁴⁸

While most migrants from Taiwan in Southeast Asia or mainland China were involved in business activities or were employees, migrants in Japan mainly consisted of students.⁴⁹ When Japan expanded their invasion and military occupation in Asia in 1937, almost all Taiwan associations in the region were forced to dissolve.

After Japan surrendered in 1945, Taiwan was handed over to the Republic of China as authorized by the Allied Powers. But the sovereignty transfer was not recognized by the governments of the United Kingdom or the Netherlands until the Sino-Japan treaty was signed in 1952. Consequently, when dealing with WWII repatriation of immigrants from Taiwan in Southeast Asia in late 1940s, the colonial British and Dutch powers refused to

⁴⁸ Shi-Yeoung Tang, "Establishment of Native Place Associations of Overseas Formosans and Their Functions, 1945-48," *Journal of Social Science and Philosophy*, 19(1), 2007, 3.

⁴⁹ Shi-Yeoung Tang, "Establishment of Native Place Associations of Overseas Formosans and Their Functions, 1945-48," 6-10.

send these immigrants back to Taiwan. Instead, they put Taiwanese migrants into wartime prisoner of war camps. Immigrants from Taiwan in other areas of Asia were not treated appropriately by the Japanese or United States governments either, given their ambiguous nationality in the regime transition period, while they were waiting to return to Taiwan from areas occupied by the Japanese or US military. The seemingly only reliable and responsible political entity that could and should represent the Taiwanese and help them return to their homeland was the Republic of China government. However, unfortunately, the government did very little to help the Taiwanese migrants either. This background explains why Taiwanese associations re-emerged after World War II. The associations functioned as non-governmental organizations on behalf of overseas Taiwanese to negotiate with foreign governments about property confiscation, war criminal investigations, and repatriation in the late 1940s.⁵⁰

The United States became Taiwan's most favored immigration destination, replacing Japan, after the 1965 immigration reform. In the following, I will discuss the emergence of Taiwanese associations in America in the 1960s, especially focusing on the associations' member composition, organizing strategy, and mobilizing agenda. I will reveal the similarities and differences of Taiwanese associations developed in Japan in 1895-1945 to those established in the US after WWII.

1. Student Life and Campus Protest

⁵⁰ Shi-Yeoung Tang, "Establishment of Native Place Associations of Overseas Formosans and Their Functions, 1945-48," 25-35.

The majority of immigrants from Taiwan to the United States in the 1950s were Chinese refugees or KMT privileged elites who retreated to Taiwan because of the Chinese Civil War. For most native Taiwanese who lived under Japanese colonial rule, or *benshengren*, as well as poor Chinese mainlanders, coming to the United States was simply impossible at the time. *Benshengren* started to see a glimmer of light in mid 1960s, when US immigration reform was implemented and there was a growing demand for foreign scientists and engineers during the Vietnam War. Graduate students and highly skilled people from Taiwan, India, and South Korea flocked to the United States, emerging as a modern type of Asian American group that brought new blood and energy to the traditional Asian American community.

The KMT regarded Chinese student associations as one crucial part of its anti-communist political campaigns, the experiences and networks being acquired from the KMT's pre-1949 experiences dealing with overseas Chinese affairs. Therefore, the party played an active role in supporting Chinese student associations in major cities and universities in North America. The government-funded student associations served as the regime's agent for monitoring students' behaviors and thinking in North America. Following the order given by the ROC embassy in the United States, Chinese student associations requested students to submit a survey report with their updated contact information provided when attending events hosted by the associations. Many students were afraid that providing such information to the associations would expose themselves to party surveillance. This is an important reason why many students from Taiwan did not want to join Chinese student associations. In addition, usage of a different spoken language was another issue why some students from Taiwan did not like to frequent Chinese student associations. Mandarin was the official and the only accepted spoken language at Chinese

student associations' social events, while *benshengren* preferred to speak Hokkien (Taigi) or Hakka with each other. Finally, Chinese student associations were also used as a propaganda tool to help spread the idea that the KMT government was a free and democratic government and Chiang Kai-shek a merciful, great leader who was loved and supported by all people in Taiwan. Taiwanese students were tired of the KMT's lies; they no longer wanted to hear it any more in the free world.⁵¹

The population of Taiwanese migrants and students was concentrated in three college centers in the 1960s: Philadelphia, University of Wisconsin at Madison, and Kansas State University (Manhattan campus). The first lawful, self-funded Taiwanese student association was established at Kansas State University's Manhattan campus (K-State) with the recognition of the school's student affairs office.

Attracted by K-State University's full fellowships for international students and the good reputation of its College of Agriculture and College of Engineering, many students from Taiwan chose K-State for their postgraduate education. The first "underground" Taiwanese student association in America was formed in the fall of 1961 at K-State. At a time when there were only fewer than 800 students from Taiwan in the United States, K-State University accounted for more than 20. By the mid 1960s, there were around 150 students from Taiwan enrolled in the school.⁵²

⁵¹ Mu-sheng Wu, "Taiwanese Association of America," in Yan-xian Chang, Qio-mei Zen, Chao-hai Chen ed., *Self-consciousness and Identity: 1950-1990 Taiwanese Overseas Movements* (Taipei: Wu San-lien Taiwan History Foundation, 2003), 333.

⁵² Ming-cheng Chen, *Forty Years of Overseas Taiwan Independence Movement* (Taipei: The Independence Evening Post, 1992), 103.

On the day before Thanksgiving in 1965, a first-year grad student from Taiwan in the Political Science Department at K-State University, Neng-hsiang Wang (王能祥),⁵³ called for a campus hearing to debate why the school should legalize Taiwanese student associations, not Chinese student associations, on campus. His request was accepted and processed in the following days. He invited 15 faculty member representatives and 15 student member representatives to present at the hearing. In the debate, he spoke and addressed the above reasons why Chinese student associations were not likely to or would not be able to serve students from Taiwan. The joint representatives committee in the hearing gave credence to his statement, acknowledging that the Chinese student association at K-State could not speak for and provide sufficient assistance to students from Taiwan. The joint committee eventually announced that the Taiwanese student association would be the only legitimate student organization representing students from Taiwan on campus.⁵⁴ This small triumph gave Taiwanese students in other places hope. It empowered more Taiwanese to follow the path and fight for the recognition of themselves as Taiwanese, not Chinese, in their new home in America.

Several factors explain why Taiwanese students at K-State led a trend of student activism in the 1960s. First, K-State had a higher concentration of students from Taiwan

⁵³ Neng-hsiang Wang: Wang left Taiwan and first attended the Kansas State University for a master's degree in political science in 1965-1967. After the program, he studied his PhD in the political science department at the University of Texas at Austin but switched to a master's program in professional accounting two years later. He received another master's degree in accounting in 1972. He left Austin for Washington DC in the September of 1972. In 1973-1977, Wang was WUFI's foreign minister and then served as WUFI's Vice President. In 1977-1985, Wang was Kuo Yu-shin's chief secretary, also chief secretary of the "Overseas Alliance for Democratic Rule in Taiwan" until Kuo passed away in 1985.

⁵⁴ Neng-hsiang Wang, Wen-long Chang, *Pioneer of D.C. Congressional Diplomacy: Wang Neng-xiang's 80 Memories and the Future of Taiwan* (Taipei: Vista Publishing, 2012), 100-104.

than other universities did. People became courageous or felt more encouraged to do something when surrounded by many people sharing the same beliefs or goals. Second, several professors from Taiwan at K-State such as Professor Fan Liang-zheng (范良政) in chemical engineering and his brother Professor Fan Liang-shin (范良信), Professor Hsu Zhen-rung (許振榮) in the math department, and Professor Huang Jing-lai (黃金來) in industrial engineering, were well-motivated to promote Taiwanese identity on their campus. To cultivate Taiwanese awareness among the younger generations, they served as advisors for the Taiwan Student Association, providing needed support and helping new students fit in to campus cultures. Senior students frequently invited junior students to join the association's social events and exchanged ideas about Taiwan with each other. Because of the efforts made by these professors and the Taiwanese Student Association's leaders, K-State students developed a strong sense of Taiwanese awareness and identity. Such events drew the attention of Taiwanese students from other universities, who also imitated them. Many living in the Midwest were willing to drive hours to participate in K-State's events for the Thanksgiving or Christmas holidays.⁵⁵

Inspired and empowered by campus student movements, Black civil rights activism, and anti-war sentiments in the 1960s, students started to openly criticize the KMT authoritarian rule in Taiwan through public speeches or campus student opinion forums. One prominent example of such student activism was the 1966 Letter to the Editor Controversy at K-State.

In January 1966, Ms. Margaret Baker, an authority on Asia, hosted a film screening

⁵⁵ Ming-cheng Chen, *Forty Years of Overseas Taiwan Independence Movement*, 103.

event at K-State. The showing of the film, entitled *Portrait of Free China: The Island of Taiwan (Formosa) and Its Quiet Miracle*, was registered as an academic cultural and educational campus event, but those who watched it commented that it was a “radical right propaganda line” (David McGown, Campus Minister, United Campus Christian Fellowship). Students at K-State were upset to see KMT’s propaganda infiltrating their school and angry about how “the amount of money spent on the famous China lobby has been staggering.” To stop the KMT propaganda, Taiwanese students wrote bylined articles to a campus public forum, initiating a one-month “Letter to the Editor” movement at K-State. This activism also drew attention from outside: Professor Douglas H. Mendal in the Political Science department at the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee and Chairman Dr. Robert Y. M. Huang of the Canadian Committee for Human Rights in Formosa wrote encouraging letters to students and expressed their support. After the Controversy ended, Taiwanese students bought a half-page advertisement in the *Kansas State Collegian* and published a report on Taiwan’s 228 event. They kept making noise about the KMT’s misrule until 1968.⁵⁶

Another example of Taiwanese student activism took place at the University of Oklahoma in Norman in 1967. In mid 1960s, Mark Chen (陳唐山) and Chen Rong-cheng (陳榮成)⁵⁷ were graduate students at the university and helped organize UO’s Taiwanese student association. On March 13, 1967, Robert Kennedy was invited to speak at the UO

⁵⁶ Michael S.K. Chen, “Taiwan Debates on the Kansas State University Campus in 1966-68,” in Yan-xian Chang, Qio-mei Zen ed., *Nation-building Stories of Students Studying in the United States: Youth, Dream, and Taiwan* (Taipei: Wu San-lien Taiwan History Foundation, 2009), 358-420.

⁵⁷ Chen Rong-cheng: a UFAI member in the 1960s. He went to Brazil to recruit Taiwanese diaspora to join the UFAI in 1969. Also, Chen translated George Kerr’s *Formosa Betrayed* into Chinese and published the Chinese version in 1973. http://www.twcenter.org.tw/thematic_series/character_series/overseas_taiwanese_interview/b03_us_11_0201 (downloaded and cited on Jan 15, 2020)

campus. Knowing the popularity of this event,⁵⁸ Taiwanese students gathered the night before the event in Mark Chen's place and brainstormed how to seize the opportunity to make Taiwanese issues visible on campus. They prepared several questions about Taiwan for Kennedy, aiming to draw public attention in the Q & A session. On the day of the event, right after Kennedy finished his speech, one Taiwanese student who was sitting near the microphones grabbed the mic immediately and shouted, "I have a question!" Because his voice pealed out over the auditorium's audience, he got the chance to ask the first question. "The US government has offered economic and military assistance to Chiang Kai-shek for so many years and supported his authoritarian regime in Taiwan. The efforts for Taiwan's self-determination were turned down and suppressed. When the US government announced support for the self-determination of Vietnamese people, the same government turned its back on Taiwan and denied the Taiwanese people's right to pursue self-determination. How would you explain this?" he asked Kennedy. Kennedy responded, "I can't explain it. The main problem is the Taiwanese are not allowed to get involved in the affair. The Taiwanese are not allowed to have their own voice.... I do not think we have a satisfactory reason for this...I think US government should make it clear to Chiang Kai-shek that the Taiwanese people should be included and be allowed to elect their own leader. They should also have the right to decide their own future. I support for self-determination of Vietnamese people, and I hope to see it happen to the Taiwanese people as well."⁵⁹

2. From Taiwanese Student Associations to Taiwanese Associations

⁵⁸ Around 7,000 people attended the event.

⁵⁹ Fong-Chuan Li, *Rising Winds: The Development of the Taiwan Independence Movement in North America*, 49-50.

Self-funded Taiwanese student associations or Taiwanese associations were unable to receive any financial support from their Taiwan government, which was hostile to their organizations. To reduce expenditures, they usually hosted membership meetings at one member's private residence. If the number of participants increased, organizers would instead rent a campus venue for free. This also explained why so many Taiwanese associations had developed from student groups initially. One prominent example was the establishment of the Taiwanese association at the University of Wisconsin at Madison. In October 1963, Taiwanese students at UW Madison submitted their non-profit student organization bylaws to the school and registered with the student affairs center as The Formosa Club of the University of Wisconsin. Since then, almost all events hosted by the regional Taiwanese association were held at UW Madison campus venues.⁶⁰ The founding and development of Taiwanese associations in other areas of the US, such as Texas and Columbus (Ohio), followed similar patterns.⁶¹

Like Taiwanese associations in pre-war Japan, Taiwanese associations in the US started with student networks and existing organizations.⁶² However, the Taiwanese Association in Tokyo was fully supported and encouraged by the Japanese colonial

⁶⁰ Sam Suy-ming Chou, "The Role of Taiwanese Students at the University of Wisconsin in Taiwan's Nation-Building Movement in the Early Years (1960-1970)," in Yan-xian Chang, Qio-mei Zen, Chao-hai Chen ed., *Self-consciousness and Identity: 1950-1990 Taiwanese Overseas Movements* (Taipei: Wu San-lien Taiwan History Foundation, 2003), 462.

⁶¹ Mu-sheng Wu, "Taiwanese Association of America," in Yan-xian Chang, Qio-mei Zen, Chao-hai Chen ed., *Self-consciousness and Identity: 1950-1990 Taiwanese Overseas Movements* (Taipei: Wu San-lien Taiwan History Foundation, 2003), 335 and 358.

⁶² Shi-Yeoung Tang, "Establishment of Native Place Associations of Overseas Formosans and Their Functions, 1945-48," 6-10.

government in Taiwan, while the KMT government, since the first day of the association's founding, did not tolerate it at all. Taiwanese associations received no help from the government and those who joined were intimidated and even blacklisted from returning to Taiwan.⁶³ Wu Mu-sheng is one example of such a situation. Mr. Wu was the founding leader of the Taiwanese association in Texas. One week after he founded the association, he received a prompt registered letter from the ROC embassy in Houston. In the letter, Ambassador Zhu Jin-kang (朱晉康) ordered Mr. Wu to dissolve the association immediately, and to help the ROC embassy monitor other local Taiwanese people.⁶⁴

3. World Federation of Taiwanese Associations

Since their establishment, organizers of Taiwanese associations made great efforts to make cross-regional and cross-national connections, even when building such linkages was not easy or safe.⁶⁵ The purpose of the efforts was to extend networks and increase

⁶³ The Governor-General of Taiwan during the Japanese colonial period allocated a portion of the funds from donations made by Taiwanese people to build a Takasago House for Taiwanese students studying abroad in Japan, which served as a meeting place for Taiwanese to socialize. The first Taiwanese Association was established in Tokyo in 1934, and the Vice-Minister (日本政務大臣) and the Mayor of Tokyo were both invited to the founding meeting. Shi-Yeoung Tang, "Establishment of Native Place Associations of Overseas Formosans and Their Functions, 1945-48," 7-8.

⁶⁴ Mu-sheng Wu, "Taiwanese Association of America," in Yan-xian Chang, Qio-mei Zen, Chao-hai Chen ed., *Self-consciousness and Identity: 1950-1990 Taiwanese Overseas Movements* (Taipei: Wu San-lien Taiwan History Foundation, 2003), 335.

⁶⁵ From the very beginning, Taiwanese Association of America faced the problem of poor connections with local chapters. The reasons included: 1) the United States is a vast country and difficult and expensive to contact local chapters before the advancement of communication technology; 2) local events usually did not need support from the nationwide association. In brief, the existence and activities of Taiwanese Association of America were not very important to the organizing work of local chapters. Mu-sheng Wu, "Taiwanese Association of America," in Yan-xian Chang, Qio-mei Zen, Chao-hai Chen ed.,

membership quickly, enabling the Taiwanese diasporic group to be more visible and representative in the international struggle against the KMT.

In the year between 1969-1970, one Taiwan association was founded after the other in the United States. Initiated by a joint letter drafted in early 1971 by the Taiwanese associations on the East Coast and in Los Angeles and Chicago, the Formosa Club of America (later renamed the Taiwanese Association of the United States) was established in July 1971 in New York.⁶⁶ To raise Taiwanese awareness, two years after its founding, the Formosa Club published the association's own journal. It also started to organize a worldwide Taiwanese association with the Taiwanese diasporic community in other countries.⁶⁷ In September 1974, the World Taiwanese Association was established in Vienna.⁶⁸ The founding members included the Taiwanese Association of Japan, Taiwanese

Self-consciousness and Identity: 1950-1990 Taiwanese Overseas Movements (Taipei: Wu San-lien Taiwan History Foundation, 2003), 338.

⁶⁶ Mu-sheng Wu, "Taiwanese Association of America," in Yan-xian Chang, Qio-mei Zen, Chao-hai Chen ed., *Self-consciousness and Identity: 1950-1990 Taiwanese Overseas Movements* (Taipei: Wu San-lien Taiwan History Foundation, 2003), 336-337.

NOTE: In 1977, Then President of Taiwanese Association of America referred to the by-law of Japanese American Citizen League and revised the by-law of the association. After consulting his fellows, he proposed to change the association's name from "the Formosa Club of America" to "Taiwanese Association of America." When Mark Chen became President of the association, he officially announced the name of the association to be "Taiwanese Association of America." The name is still used today. Mu-sheng Wu, "Taiwanese Association of America," in Yan-xian Chang, Qio-mei Zen, Chao-hai Chen ed., *Self-consciousness and Identity: 1950-1990 Taiwanese Overseas Movements* (Taipei: Wu San-lien Taiwan History Foundation, 2003), 347.

⁶⁷ Mu-sheng Wu, "Taiwanese Association of America," in Yan-xian Chang, Qio-mei Zen, Chao-hai Chen ed., *Self-consciousness and Identity: 1950-1990 Taiwanese Overseas Movements* (Taipei: Wu San-lien Taiwan History Foundation, 2003), 336-340.

⁶⁸ Mu-sheng Wu, "Taiwanese Association of America," in Yan-xian Chang, Qio-mei Zen, Chao-hai Chen ed., *Self-consciousness and Identity: 1950-1990 Taiwanese Overseas Movements* (Taipei: Wu San-lien Taiwan History Foundation, 2003), 341.

Association of Brazil, Taiwanese Association of the United States, Taiwanese Association of Canada, and Taiwanese Association of Europe.

4. Taiwanese Migrants in Brazil

Brazil became one of Taiwan's major postwar migration destinations starting in the 1960s. Due to a labor shortage in agriculture, the Brazilian government recruited a large number of foreign workers, especially from Japan, at least in the initial period. However, when the mounting influences and interests of Japanese immigrants and migrant workers grew into a threat to other minority groups in Brazil, the Brazilian government reached out to other countries for foreign labor. South Korea and Taiwan were targeted in the 1960s.⁶⁹

The KMT government had two concerns regarding the labor export to Brazil: on the one hand, it might help solve Taiwan's labor surplus problem caused by uneven rural-urban development in the period of domestic economic takeoff. On the other hand, however, immigrants would send foreign currency out of Taiwan that was sorely needed to stabilize the nation's financial security. Consequently, though the Brazilian government had expressed great interest in the government-to-government collaborative agricultural migration opportunity since the 1950s, Taiwan's government responded passively, only sending a small group of agricultural technicians to Brazil for short-term diplomatic missions.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ Shi-Yeoung Tang, "Brazil Attracts Taiwanese Immigrants: The Attitude of Taiwanese government and the Reaction of Taiwanese People in the 1960s," *Journal of Population Studies*, (46), 2013, 91-93.

⁷⁰ Shi-Yeoung Tang, "Brazil Attracts Taiwanese Immigrants: The Attitude of Taiwanese government and the Reaction of Taiwanese People in the 1960s," 94-98.

Taiwanese society responded to Brazil's recruitment quite differently. Due to the pressing domestic labor surplus problem and a growing concern about Taiwan's uncertain international status, many Taiwanese were willing to take the risk of immigrating to Brazil for better opportunities.⁷¹ In the 1970s, there were 30,000 to 50,000 Taiwanese immigrants in Brazil. Most engaged in farming-related economic activities, while those living in big cities were restaurant owners or small-scale traders.⁷²

When the Republic of China's government announced in 1971 that it was going to leave the United Nations, this set off a momentous migration flow out of Taiwan. Because it was easier to obtain a permanent visa in Paraguay, many chose to travel to Paraguay first and then seized any opportunity to enter Brazil.⁷³ The situation became difficult in 1974, when the Brazilian government terminated diplomatic relations with the Republic of China. The number of illegal immigrants travelling through Paraguay into Brazil reached a new historical record.⁷⁴ In July 1976, there were up to 5,000 undocumented Taiwanese migrants in Brazil. The Brazilian police started to crack down and ban illegal entry. Seven out of the 5,000 undocumented Taiwanese migrants were arrested and detained. The government in Taiwan ignored this and did not negotiate for the seven Taiwanese with the Brazilian government through diplomatic channels.⁷⁵

⁷¹Shi-Yeoung Tang, "Brazil Attracts Taiwanese Immigrants: The Attitude of Taiwanese government and the Reaction of Taiwanese People in the 1960s," 101-102.

⁷² George Chang, "Report on Brazil," in Zheng-xio Chen, Kang-lu Wang, Jia-Kuang Huang ed., *Thirty Years of Taiwan Independence Movement: Anthology of George Chang, Part 1* (Taipei: Avanguard Book, 1991), 78-79.

⁷³ George Chang, "Report on Brazil," 78.

⁷⁴ Ming-cheng Chen, Zheng-fong Shih, *The Story of the World United Formosans for Independence*, 44.

⁷⁵ George Chang, "Report on Brazil," 83-84.

The newly- established Taiwanese Association of Brazil and the WUFI branch in the western US therefore stood up and worked together to host a press conference in Brazil. They addressed the human rights of the undocumented Taiwanese and called for humanitarian aid. They also hired lawyers to assist in releasing the migrants from the detention center and made a temporary arrangement for the livelihood of the Taiwanese in the nation.⁷⁶ Since then, Taiwanese associations have grown stronger in Brazil.

D. Taiwanese Presbyterian Church

1. The Origin of the Taiwanese Presbyterian Church (TPC)

The first Presbyterian church in Taiwan was established by an English medical missionary, Dr. James Laidlaw Maxwell Sr., in Tainan in 1865. A few years later, after consulting with Dr. James Laidlaw Maxwell Sr., Canadian Presbyterian George Leslie Mackay arrived at Tamsui and established the first Presbyterian church in Northern Taiwan in 1872. The early Presbyterian missionaries were not only pioneers in bringing Western medical and education systems to Taiwan, which included the first Western clinic in Tainan/ Kaohsiung, established by Dr. James Laidlaw Maxwell Sr. in 1865, and the first Western school, founded by the Reverend Thomas Barclay in 1876; they also had a long tradition of promoting the use of Taiwan's local languages to translate the Bible, spread the religion, and convert people locally. They contributed to the Romanization of Taiwan's local languages

⁷⁶ Ibid.

and helped preserve local Taiwanese cultures.⁷⁷ Therefore, in contrast to other churches, especially those relocating to Taiwan from mainland China after 1949, the Presbyterian Church is believed to be deeply rooted in local Taiwanese society and culture, thus having a stronger Taiwan identity and greater empathy for what local people suffered after the KMT regime came to the island.

Furthermore, this church gathered local elites and had long facilitated Taiwanese elites to connect to Western society and culture. According to Wu Wen-Xing, though Presbyterians accounted for less than 1% of Taiwan's total population during the Japanese colonial period, more than one-fourth of Taiwan's medical school graduates (Western medicine), and more than two-fifths of Taiwanese students who went abroad to study in North America and Europe were Taiwanese Presbyterian church members.⁷⁸

The KMT regime was wary of the Taiwanese Presbyterian Church because of its strong local identity and history. When the church joined the World Council of Churches (WCC) in the late 1950s, thus becoming better-connected to world church organizations, this mistrust and suspicion was reinforced. Although the KMT used pro-communist bias as an excuse to compel the TPC to drop out of the WCC⁷⁹, the real underlying reason, many believed, was Chiang Kai-shek's worries that harsh criticism from the international community and even political intervention would respond to any government suppression.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ Fung-wan Tong, "The Presbyterian Church and Modernization in Taiwan," *Taiwan Journal of Theology*, 1995(17), 7-12.

⁷⁸ Yang-en Cheng, "The Presbyterian Church of Taiwan and Taiwanese Society: A Historical Review of the Past Century," *Taiwan Journal of Theology*, 2000 (22), 13.

⁷⁹ James Tyson, "Christians and the Taiwanese Independence Movement: A Commentary," *Asian Affairs: An American Review*, Vol 14, No 3, Fall 1987, 16.

⁸⁰ Munakata Takayuki, *Nation-Building of Taiwan: Forty-seven years with the Taiwanese* (Taipei: Avanguard book, 2008), 90-91.

In the 1970s, Chiang Kai-shek's concerns revealed themselves to be unfounded. In that decade, the TPC made three historic public statements in response to the changing international politics and its impact on the Taiwanese people's future. The TPC opposed the US and every superpower nation in the world taking Taiwan as a bargaining chip and disregarding their rights and human dignity. The TPC also demanded the KMT stop depriving the Taiwanese people of their basic human rights and democracy. These three statements are: "Statement on Our National Fate by The Presbyterian Church in Taiwan" (1973), "Our Demand" (1975) and "The TPC Declaration of Human Rights" (1977). Because of their tireless and bold efforts, the TPC not only drew international support for Taiwan's human rights, but they also inspired other Taiwanese diasporic groups to mobilize in solidarity with the spirit of fighting for Taiwan's human rights.

Even under great pressure and political prosecution, the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan still stayed strong and grew fast. In 1988, there were more than one thousand Presbyterian churches in Taiwan, with church membership totaling about 200,000 (around 40 percent aboriginal people and 60 percent Han Taiwanese people), the largest church, in terms of membership, on the island.⁸¹

Note: The WCC, to which the Taiwanese Presbyterian Church belonged in 1970, advocated that the People's Republic of China should be admitted to the United Nations, convinced that only when the PRC, with its strong indeterminacy, is admitted to international organizations will it be possible for the international community to regulate this hegemonic state. Because of the position, the Presbyterian Church came under unprecedented pressure from the KMT to withdraw from the WCC in 1970. The Presbyterian Church in Taiwan rejoined in 1980. It was a member of the WCC in 1950-1970, and from 1980 to the present.

⁸¹ Murray Rubinstein, *The Protestant Community on Modern Taiwan: Mission, Seminary and Church* (New York: An East Gate Book, 1991), 4.

2. Three Key Leaders in the 1950s-1980s

From the 1950s to the 1980s, three Taiwanese Presbyterian pastors, Hunag Wu-dong (黃武東), Shoki Coe (黃彰輝) and Kao Chun-ming (高俊明), played the most crucial roles in leading the church to fight against KMT authoritarian rule and to promote Taiwanese human rights and democracy both domestically and internationally.

Huang Wu-dong (黃武東, 1909-1994) Born in Tainan Prefecture under Japanese rule. Raised in a Christian family, he was baptized as a Presbyterian at the age of seven. In 1922, he was admitted to Taiwan's first Western-style middle school: Tainan Presbyterian Middle School (currently Chang Jung Senior High School). After graduating from the middle school, he entered Tainan Theological College and Seminary (TTCS), a private Presbyterian educational institution founded in 1876 by a Scottish missionary named Thomas Barclay. As a Taiwanese under Japanese colonial rule, he encountered discrimination and religious persecution, thus gradually developing his awareness of being a Taiwanese. The regime transition from the Japanese colonial government to the nationalist Chinese government in 1945 did not bring peace and a sense of liberation to Taiwan's religious groups. Huang's Presbyterian church in Chiayi suffered great losses from the February 28 Incident in 1947. Huang's one family member, the first Taiwanese artist whose painting was displayed at the Empire Art Exhibition in Japan, Tan Ting-pho (陳澄波) was killed. Tan, naively trusting that the KMT regime was as reasonable as Japanese colonial governance, formed the "February 28 Incident Committee" with a group of local Taiwanese elites and attempted to approach KMT military forces as a representative of peace. He was captured by the military and paraded in public before being shot dead. Witnessing the 228 Incident and its aftermath, the White Terror, with mass arrests and more killings, Huang and

his church detached themselves from the regime and refused to cooperate. He was smeared by the KMT as a communist sympathizer because of his non-cooperation. Huang, however, ignored the intimidation and often encouraged people that “Preaching the gospel to all creations is the strongest power against communism!”

On March 7, 1951, Huang merged the Presbyterian church of North Taiwan with that of the South and established a General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan. He was also elected as the first moderator of the General Assembly. Huang then went to the UK, where he studied for two years. While studying in the UK, Huang helped the Taiwan Presbyterian Church to be accepted as a member of both the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and the World Council of Churches. He returned to Taiwan in 1953 and was elected as the first general secretary of Taiwan Presbyterian Church Headquarters in 1957. He retired from the TPC in 1966 after 36 years of service. In 1972, Huang went to visit his family and committed to church service in the US for the next 22 years.

In March 1973, to support the TPC’s “Statement on Our National Fate,” Huang Wu-dong worked with other overseas Taiwanese Presbyterian pastors and organized the “Formosans Christian for Self-determination” movement in Washington, D.C., expressing extreme concerns about Taiwan’s basic human rights and calling for international justice. Huang returned to Taiwan from New York in September 1994 and passed away on the island in November of the same year.

Shoki Coe (also Ng Chiong-hui, Huang Zhanghui, or Chiong Hui Hwang 黃彰輝, 1914-1988) Born in a Christian family in Changhua Prefecture under Japanese rule. In college, he went to Japan and studied philosophy at the Imperial University of Tokyo. Witnessing Japan’s discrimination against people from colonies and Taiwanese students’

activism in Japan against discrimination and colonialism, he developed his own Taiwanese identity and awareness.⁸²

He left Japan for the UK in 1937 and became the first Taiwanese to study theology at Westminster College. He did not return to Taiwan immediately after graduation in 1941. Instead, he taught at SOAS University of London and married an English Presbyterian missionary, Ms. Winifrod Sounder. The couple decided to go back to Taiwan in 1947, when they heard the devastating news of the February 28 Incident. Many of their friends and family were victims of the political massacre.⁸³

In 1948, Huang first worked as a faculty member at Tainan Theological College and Seminary (TTCS) and was appointed as the president of TTCS the following year. Huang was TTCS's first Taiwanese president and the first president after the Second World War. In the following decade, he worked with Pastor Huang Wu-dong to establish a Taiwan Presbyterian Church General Assembly. He also worked with the United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia (the United Board) to support the founding of Tunghai University in Taichung. Huang was elected as Moderator of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan's General Assembly in 1957 and 1965.⁸⁴

From 1965 to 1979, Huang was invited by the World Council of Churches (WCC) to work in their Theological Education Foundation (TEF) in Europe. He built close communications and connections with the Taiwanese diasporic community in Europe and North America, Christians and non-Christians alike, to advocate for Taiwan's human rights

⁸² Bibliographical Dictionary of Chinese Christianity:
<https://web.archive.org/web/20090321055129/http://www.bdcconline.net/zh-hant/stories/by-person/h/huang-zhanghui.php> (downloaded and cited on November 22, 2019)

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

and democracy. In 1972-1973, Huang co-organized and established the “Formosans Christian for Self-determination” movement with other Taiwanese Presbyterian pastors in Washington, D.C. He also took solidarity actions from overseas to support the TPC’s three Statements made in Taiwan in the 1970s.⁸⁵

Huang retired from the WCC in 1980. It was not until 1987, 23 years after his departure, that he was permitted by the KMT to visit his family and hometown in Taiwan. He passed away in his residence in London in 1988.⁸⁶

Kao Chun-ming (高俊明, 1929-2019) Born in Tainan Prefecture under Japanese rule. His family was well-known as the first generation of Taiwanese Christians in the 1860s-1890s. When Presbyterian missionary James Laidlaw Maxwell arrived in Tainan and established the first Presbyterian church in Taiwan in 1865, Kao’s grandfather, Kao Zhang, served as a housekeeper for pastor Maxwell and then was baptized as the first Taiwanese Presbyterian on record. In 1939, at the age of eleven, Kao went to study in Japan and stayed with his uncle Tsai Poê-hoé (蔡培火). Tsai was one of the Taiwanese elites and political leaders campaigning for the “Petition Movement for the Establishment of a Taiwanese Parliament” in Japan. Influenced by his uncle’s political views and activism, Kao developed his Taiwanese identity and awareness. He returned to Taiwan after WWII and studied at TTCS. After graduation, he was stationed in Hualian, Eastern Taiwan, to do missionary work with aboriginal tribes. He founded and served as the Principal of Yu-Shan Theological College and Seminary (玉山神學院) in 1946, the first and only school of theological

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

education for Taiwan's indigenous peoples. From 1970 to 1989, Kao was appointed as general secretary of the TPC's General Assembly.

The intensifying conflict between the TPC and KMT due to Taiwan's changing position in Cold War international relations since 1970 empowered Kao to boldly make his three influential statements, addressing Taiwan's human rights and freedom issues to the world. Domestically, to cut off the TPC's international connections, the KMT compelled the TPC to withdraw its membership from the World Council of Churches (WCC) in 1970. The TPC was forced to leave the WCC until it was readmitted in 1980. Internationally, in May 1971, Henry Kissinger made his historic trip to China and later US President Richard Nixon also announced his China trip in the following year. In October of the same year, the People's Republic of China replaced the Republic of China and entered the United Nations Security Council. As a call for international justice and respect for Taiwan's human rights and democracy during these changing moments, Kao published his first political manifesto "OUR NATIONAL FATE BY THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN TAIWAN" in December 1971, opposing any international political bargaining that disregarded the rights and wishes of the Taiwanese people and demanding the rights of self-determination for the Taiwanese. Kao also demanded that the KMT should hold a fair and democratic reelection in the national legislature and abolish the current representatives who were elected 25 years before on the mainland.⁸⁷ This manifesto was translated into English and sent to the US Department of State, the Vatican's Roman Curia, the World Council of Churches in Geneva, the World Presbyterian Alliance, and many Christian councils in the UK, US, Germany,

⁸⁷ STATEMENT ON OUR NATIONAL FATE BY THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN TAIWAN, signed by H. Y. Liu (Moderator of the General Assembly) and C. M. Kao (General Secretary) on December 29, 1971. From Presbyterian Church in Taiwan website: <http://www.laijohn.com/PCT/Statements/1971-fate-english.htm> (downloaded and cited on November 23, 2019)

Japan, Canada, India, and the Philippines. It had supporting voices in the US Department of State and the Vatican's Roman Curia.⁸⁸

The second political manifesto is from 1975, when the Taiwan Garrison Command, a secret police/national security agency, broke into the Bible Society in Taiwan (BST, 聖經公會) and forcefully removed all Bibles written in the Taiwanese Hokkien romanization system. The Taiwanese Hokkien version of the Bible was first created and translated by James Laidlaw Maxwell in the 1860s. It was used as the standard version in the TPC, which had long been seen as a threat to national security because it was suspected of cultivating local Taiwanese identity and challenging the KMT's Chinese nationalist thoughts. This intrusion detonated a storm of criticism and further intensified tensions between the KMT and the TPC. In November 1975, Kao Chun-min publicized his second manifesto, "Our Appeal" (我們的呼籲), appealing to the KMT to uphold the ROC constitution and respect religious freedom and human rights of the people of Taiwan.⁸⁹

In 1977, in anticipation of the upcoming US-PRC normalization talk in August of the same year, Kao Chun-min released his third political manifesto, "The TPC Declaration of Human Rights" on August 16, 1977. In the declaration, Kao first required that President Jimmy Carter uphold the spirit of humanity and morality in his human rights diplomacy towards the people of Taiwan and keep the Taiwanese people safe, independent, and free. Kao then turned to the KMT, requiring that the regime face the international political reality,

⁸⁸ Hunag Wu-dong, *Memoirs of Hunag Wu-dong* (Taipei: Taiwan publishing house, 1986), 308.

⁸⁹ Released in November 1975. From Important Historical Archives and Documents of the TPC. Their official website: http://www.pct.org.tw/ab_doc.aspx?DocID=003 (downloaded and cited on November 23, 2019)

answer the Taiwanese people's desire for independence and freedom, and take effective actions in building Taiwan as a new and independent country.⁹⁰ This declaration was revolutionary because it was the first time since WWII that the word "independence" was used publicly by a group organization on the island. Kao sent an English version of the Human Rights Declaration to US Congress. Congressman Jim Leach responded promptly by proposing a resolution and a hearing on Taiwan's human rights issues in Congress in the same year.⁹¹

On December 10, 1979, also known as World Human Rights Day, *tangwai* movement⁹² leaders and supporters gathered in Kaohsiung and held a protest march demanding human rights and democracy in Taiwan. The event resulted in violent repression and mass arrest of the main leaders in the peaceful street demonstration. Since Kao was associated with helping Shih Ming-the (施明德) to escape and hide, Kao was arrested and sentenced to seven years imprisonment on June 5, 1980.

The imprisonment of Kao Chun-min and Meilidao movement leaders not only raised strong opposition and condemnation domestically; it also triggered international intervention into Taiwan's human rights violation cases. For example, in May 1980 during a fundraising event hosted by the Taiwanese American community in Los Angeles for the then presidential candidate Edward Kennedy, Mr. Kennedy expressed his support of and obligations to Taiwan's human rights and democracy based on the Taiwan Relations Acts.

⁹⁰ Released on August 16, 1977. From important historical archives and documents of the TPC. Their official website: http://www.pct.org.tw/ab_doc.aspx?DocID=003 (downloaded and cited on November 24, 2019)

⁹¹ Hunag Wu-dong, *Memoirs of Hunag Wu-dong*, 314-315.

⁹² During the 38-year martial law period, opposition parties were illegal and forbidden in Taiwan. *Tangwai* movement literally means political campaigns against the KMT, or "outside the party" movement.

He required the KMT government to release all Meilidao political prisoners, hold real democratic elections, and lift martial law.⁹³ US Congress also formed an investigation group for Taiwan and pressed the KMT to open the Meilidao judicial trial. Pope John Paul II sent a messenger on his behalf to the prison to meet with Kao Chun-min and convey his support. Because of these international pressures, Meilidao political prisoners did not receive death sentences.

3. The TPC and the Rise of the Human Rights Network in Taiwanese Diasporic Community

Overseas TPC community leaders, including the Reverend Huang Wu-dong (based in the US) and the Reverend Shoki Coe (based in Europe), organized the “Formosa Christian for Self-Determination” movement in the 1970s to respond in solidarity with the TPC’s three manifestos in Taiwan. In 1972-1973, Huang Wu-dong, the Reverend Zuong-yi Lin (林宗義, son of Lin Mosei 林茂生), the Reverend Choan-Shen Song (宋泉盛) and the Reverend Shoki Coe formed the movement in Washington D.C. Based on the basic human rights conferred by God and written in the Charter of the United Nations, they denounced 1) unilateral decisions made by any world power to determine Taiwan’s future; 2) the authoritarian rule of the KMT on the island; and 3) the PRC’s arbitrary claim that Taiwan was a part of China. The Washington rally in 1973 decided on the five missions and directions: 1) to encourage more Christians on and off the island to act together; 2) to cultivate the Taiwanese people’s political awareness; 3) to strive to gain more support and

⁹³ Munakata Takayuki, *Nation-Building of Taiwan: Forty-seven years with the Taiwanese*, 103.

sympathy; 4) to work with other groups with the same goal; And 5) to put pressure on political powers to answer the Taiwanese people's political demands.⁹⁴

This rise of the overseas self-determination movement in the US in the early 1970s was significant to the Taiwanese diasporic community and activism for two reasons. First, the movement set the tone and determined that Taiwanese diasporic activism should focus on “self-determination” and “human rights,” not “Taiwan independence.” This was well accepted by Taiwanese diasporic groups in general at the time. Peng Ming-min (also a Presbyterian) backed the idea at an international symposium on the future of Taiwan held on February 2-3, 1973, at the Arizona University by stating that “To us, the real issue is not whether Taiwan should or should not be an independent political unit or an independent country. The real issue is whether Taiwanese are given the right to decide our own future...”⁹⁵ Second, after an unsuccessful attempt to assassinate Chiang Ching-kuo in New York in April 1970, the Taiwanese American community got lost and confused about how to keep the movements going. The self-determination movement successfully consolidated many different and conflicting political ideologies and competing forms of activism, thereby doing away with political splits and apathy among the community and re-boosting people's morale.⁹⁶ What's more, this Christian-led movement did not limit its influence to the Christian community; instead, it exerted considerable influence on the non-Christian Taiwanese diasporic community. For example, to support the movement, Taiwanese associations in Europe, North America, and Japan decided to put together a global united

⁹⁴ Hunag Wu-dong, *Memoirs of Hunag Wu-dong*, 311-312.

⁹⁵ Hung-mao Tien, “Taiwan in transition: Prospects for Socio-Political Change,” *The China Quarterly*, No 64 (Dec 1975), 631.

⁹⁶ Hunag Wu-dong, *Memoirs of Hunag Wu-dong*, 311.

Taiwanese association. The establishment of the World Federation of Taiwanese Associations (TWFTA) in 1974 in Europe fulfilled this goal.⁹⁷

The movement also demonstrated its ability to sponsor diasporic Taiwanese mass mobilization. In April and May 1975, the self-determination movement leaders co-organized with Taiwanese associations and the WUFI to hold four mass rallies, the “Taiwanese People Rally” (民眾大會), in four US major cities: Chicago, Los Angeles, Houston, and Washington, D.C..⁹⁸ The rallies reiterated their support for Kao’s “Our Appeal” from 1975. According to local newspapers and television reports, an estimated 3,000 or more Taiwanese had participated in the rallies. The rallies deserved attention because around ten years before, when the first mass demonstration held by the Taiwanese diasporic community (the WUFI) took place in Washington, D.C. on February 29, 1964, there had only 50 participants.⁹⁹

In late 1978, when President Jimmy Carter announced that the US was terminating diplomatic relations with the ROC, the movement organizers, including Huang Wu-dong, immediately contacted Congressman Jim Leach for help. Mr. Leach invited them to discuss the issue in the House and Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs and the Department of State. When Taiwan Relations Act hearings were held in early 1979, Wei Rue-ming (魏瑞明), accompanying Peng Ming-min, and two TPC pastors Wang Zhai-Xing (王再興)

⁹⁷ Long Chen, Jin-fan Chen, Rong-jie Lu, “A Brief History of the World Federation of Taiwanese Associations,” in Yan-xian Chang, Qio-mei Zen, Chao-hai Chen ed., *Self-consciousness and Identity: 1950-1990 Taiwanese Overseas Movements* (Taipei: Wu San-lien Taiwan History Foundation, 2003), 373.

⁹⁸ Hunag Wu-dong, *Memoirs of Hunag Wu-dong*, 314.

⁹⁹ Hung-mao Tien, “Taiwan in Transition: Prospects for Socio-Political Change,” 631.

and Xie Xi-ming (謝禧明) were invited to attend and give testimony in Congress meetings.¹⁰⁰

Because of the successful experience in Congress, the movement later incorporated with other Taiwanese human rights and democracy organizations, including Peng Ming-min's Taiwanese American Society and Formosa Studies (台美協會), Chai Trong-rong's (蔡同榮) World United Formosans for Independence, Mark Chen's (陳唐山) Taiwanese Association of the United States, and Kuo Yu-shin's (郭雨新) Overseas Alliance for Democratic Rule in Taiwan (台灣民主運動海外同盟), and together they focused on lobbying matters in Congress. This paved the road for the establishment of the Formosan Association for Public Affairs (FAPA) in 1982.¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ Hunag Wu-dong, *Memoirs of Hunag Wu-dong*, 315.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

Chapter III. Transnational Organizations and Networks (PART TWO)

“The people in Taiwan have been under strong pressure and the persecution of the nationalist government...I sincerely hope that when the US government formulates its policy toward Taiwan, it will certainly take into consideration the honest desire of the people of Taiwan for freedom and for basic human rights...”¹⁰² This is excerpted from the Congressional testimony by Mr. Chang Chin-Tse¹⁰³ on human rights issues in Taiwan in 1977. It was the first Congressional hearing held to discuss Taiwan’s human rights violations since the United States had resumed its support for the Kuomintang government in the early 1950s. A group of Taiwanese American immigrants was behind the scenes planning, advocating, and making the hearing happen. The hearing signaled Washington policymakers’ new thinking about US-Taiwan affairs, and the beginning of different priorities being considered in relations with the Kuomintang government and the people of Taiwan.

¹⁰² “Human Rights in Taiwan,” Subcommittee on International Organizations, Committee on International Relations. House, Jun. 14, 1977, Hearing Id: HRG-1977-HIR-0079, Legacy CIS Number: 77-H461-67, pp.53-54

¹⁰³ Chang Chin-Tse (張金策) was one of Taiwanese political exiles to the United States since the 1970s. Due to changing US-Taiwan relations in that decade, more Taiwanese political leaders were able and willing to take the risk of being exiled to the United States. Like other Taiwanese exiles, Chang faced political persecution that restricted his activities. He was the former village chief of Chiao Hsi in the Ilan County of Northern Taiwan and deputy editor-in-chief of the *Taiwan Political Review*. The *Review* was the first native Taiwanese elite owned and led political magazine since 1949 and served as the major public forum promoting dialogues on freedom and democracy. Chang had a good relationship with many *tangwai* leaders like Kang Ning-Hsiang and Kuo Yu-Shin. Kang was a member of the Legislative Yuan and a co-founder of *Taiwan Political Review*. Kuo was one of the only five native Taiwanese who served in the Taiwan Provincial Consultative Council from the early 1950s to the early 1970s. Because of election fraud plotted by the Kuomintang, Kuo lost three major political campaigns in the 1970s and was under surveillance by government-sent intelligence before he decided to exile to the United States in 1977.

The 1960s-1970s witnessed a shifting US attitude toward its foreign policy. International violations of human rights turned out to be both a new approach and a priority. As Sarah B. Snyder explained, the transformation and expansion of American human rights activism can be attributed to “decolonization, the establishment of NGOs devoted to human rights, the achievements of the civil rights movement, attempts to address poverty in the United States, distress about the direction of US foreign policy and greater congressional activism in foreign affairs.”¹⁰⁴ In this context, the United States denounced the Kuomintang government for its human rights violation records. Also, the normalization of US-PRC relations in 1979 gave the United States an opportunity to openly push for democratization in Taiwan. The new US-Taiwan relations in the transition period, as envisioned by many Americans, was to be built upon encouraging the establishment of such fundamental rights as free general elections as well as freedom of assembly, speech, press and religion. This rare opportunity at the crucial historical moments became a blessing for the overseas Taiwanese community to leverage its power and fight for Taiwan’s human rights and democracy transnationally.

Taiwan’s human rights issues were first raised by foreign missionaries who had a history and tradition of more than two hundred years spreading Christianity on the island. In the 1960s, when anti-war and anti-imperial movements and sentiments were in full swing globally, a group of young passionate foreign journalists, missionaries, scholars, and travelers arrived and got involved in Taiwan’s human rights, and built a transpacific grassroots human rights rescue network between Taiwan-Japan-US to demand that the international community investigate and intervene in Taiwan’s situation.

¹⁰⁴ Sarah B. Snyder, *From Selma to Moscow: How Human Rights Activists Transformed US Foreign Policy* (Columbia University Press, 2018), 3.

The Taiwanese American community started to organize and speak up for Taiwan's human rights in the early 1960s. But it was small and helpless in the initial period. It was not until 1976 that the first Taiwanese American human rights association was established. The human rights association worked closely and transnationally with the overseas Taiwanese community in Japan and Europe as well as the grassroots human rights rescue network built by foreigners in Taiwan and Japan.

The arrival of Taiwanese political exiles in the US in the 1970s brought new blood and a new dynamic to Taiwanese American transnational activism. From then onwards, the Taiwanese American community had more connections to the *tangwai* movement on the island. Conversely, Taiwanese diasporic activists served as a bridge between the voices of *tangwai* activists from Taiwan and Congresspeople /policymakers in the US. A new approach toward their transnational activism was also gradually formulated.

Taiwanese political exiles, together with like-minded Taiwanese American activists, prioritized Taiwan's human rights and democracy issues over the agenda of sovereignty. They took advantage of the changing political climate in the United States to promote free elections, freedom of speech, and human rights protections for Taiwan. As a result, the first Taiwan human rights hearing was held in Congress in 1977. Thanks to the success of the hearing, a group of Taiwanese American political leaders were more determined to take a legislative route.

When the Taiwan Relations Act hearings were held in 1979, the voices of native Taiwanese people and Taiwanese Americans were presented and included in the hearings together with opinions representing the Kuomintang government. Beginning in 1980, the Taiwanese American community put greater efforts in lobbying Congress and demanding Congress's direct intervention and investigation of the authoritarian rule in Taiwan. This

forced the Kuomintang to open their trials of the cases of the Meilidao Incident and the murder of Dr. Chen Wen-Chen. The Kuomintang was also forced to make political compromises to *tangwai* forces. In terms of domestic affairs, efforts through Congressional lobbying gained Taiwanese immigrants a separate immigration quota from Chinese immigrants in 1982. Lobbying Congress soon proved an effective, and well-received approach to Taiwanese American transnational activism.

In addition to grassroots human rights rescue networks and Congressional lobbying, in the wake of the Meilidao Incident and the need to enable more people to be quickly organized and involved in Taiwan's democratic movement, the Taiwanese American community began to develop more diverse events and networking groups. The establishment of the North America Taiwanese Professors' Association (1980-), the Taiwanese United Fund in Chicago (1980-), the North American Taiwanese Women's Association (1988-), North American Taiwanese Medical Association (1984-), and so on are some prominent examples from the 1980s.

A. Grassroots Transnational Human Rights Advocacy Networks

1. 1950s-1960s: Foreign Missionaries on the Island

Taiwan's human rights issue was first raised by foreign missionaries, especially from the Presbyterian church, in the early 1950s. Witnessing the KMT's national language policy as well as political suppression, foreign missionaries put pressure on the US government and asked for direct investigation and intervention. Christian missionaries also offered help to Taiwanese political dissents to escape from KMT prosecution. For example, Milo L.

Thornberry prepared human rights documents to the US embassy and assisted Peng Ming-min in escaping from Taiwan to Sweden in January 1970.¹⁰⁵ Many foreign missionaries were intimidated and even deported by the KMT because of their actions. To the missionaries, the motivation to take this risk was for the love for the God and justice, not because of the 1960s anti-US or anti-imperial sentiments. Therefore, they were relatively conservative and tended to be tolerant to US policy when grappling with Taiwan's human rights issues.¹⁰⁶

2. 1960s-1980s: Anti-War and Anti-Imperialist Human Rights Activists in Taiwan

Things started to change in the 1960s, when anti-war and anti-imperialist sentiments and global protest movements were in full swing. Young and passionate human rights activists, scholars, journalists, and travelers from the US, Europe, and Japan came to Taiwan for justice and liberation. They harshly criticized human rights violations on the island and US diplomacy measures that sacrificed Taiwan's human rights in exchange for the KMT's

¹⁰⁵ Milo and his wife Judith Thomas served as a United Methodist Missionary to Taiwan in 1965-1971 (Because Chiang Kai-shek and Madame Chiang were Methodist church members, the church had very good relationship with the KMT. Many privileged Chinese mainland elite Christians in Taiwan joined Methodist church at the time.) He was assigned to teach Church history at Taiwan Theological College and Seminary (belongs to Taiwanese Presbyterian church system) and became involved in Taiwan's human rights issues. Milo worked with Amnesty International and the American Friends Service Committee before he and his family were accused as terrorists by the KMT and departed back to the US in 1971. Because of his human rights activism in Taiwan, Milo was in US government's blacklist and could not travel overseas (passport application denied) until the 1990s. Milo Thornberry, *Fireproof Moth: A Missionary in Taiwan's White Terror* (Sunbury Press, Feb 2011)

¹⁰⁶ Interview with Linda Gail Arrigo by Qian-feng Fu-Tai political channel, "Linda Gail Arrigo and Stelle Chen's Personal Memories of Lynn Miles," filmed on June 2015. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YBKEUe6gX4c> (downloaded and cited on January 15, 2020)

defense and security cooperation in the region. Lynn Miles, Linda Gail Arrigo, and Miyake Kyoko were among some of the key figures in Taiwan in the 1970s-1980s.

Lynn Miles was born in New Jersey in 1943. He first arrived in Taiwan to learn Mandarin in 1962. He stayed in the home of a college-mate whose father was Director-General of the National Security Bureau in Taiwan at the time. He went back to the US in May 1964 to continue his second-year college education at Central Methodist College in Missouri. Surrounded by campus student movements in the country, Miles started to hold critical views on civil rights issues. He returned to Taiwan in November 1964. From then on, he became interested in Taiwan's politics and history. He once met Peng Ming-min in Milo Thornberry's house. He recalled that the meeting with Peng was eye-opening. "That is the first time I heard about the US supporting a dictatorship. They said US involvement in Vietnam was like the US supporting Chiang Kai-shek in Taiwan."¹⁰⁷ He was also introduced to Li Ao (李敖) and Chen Gu-ying (陳鼓應) and developed very close friendships with them in his life-long journey to fight for human rights. During the Vietnam War, to avoid being drafted by the US government, Miles went to South Vietnam and worked for a civilian contractor. Because of the job, he was allowed to travel 3-4 times yearly between Japan-Vietnam-Taiwan. Aware of Miles's mobility, Li Ao asked Miles to smuggled politically sensitive letters from Taiwan to Japan. Miles did this for Li twice, once in 1968 for Bo Yang's (柏楊) arrest, and the other in 1969 for Peng Ming-min's escape.¹⁰⁸ Miles was blacklisted by the KMT and deported in 1971. He moved to Osaka, Japan and founded a

¹⁰⁷ Yan-xian Chang, Liang Shen ed., *Lynn Miles' Human Rights Related Correspondence Part 2: The Beginnings of Transnational Human Rights Rescue, 1968-74* (Taipei: Wu San-lien Taiwan History Foundation, 2009), 8.

¹⁰⁸ Yan-xian Chang, Liang Shen ed., *Lynn Miles' Human Rights Related Correspondence Part 2: The Beginnings of Transnational Human Rights Rescue, 1968-74*, 9-10.

human rights magazine called *Ronin* in 1972, reporting on human rights issues of Taiwan, South Korea, and Southeast Asia. He started to build a secret transnational human rights rescue network from Japan for Taiwan. The network relied heavily on young western travelers or missionaries, especially a Christian organization called Quakers or FRIENDS, to smuggle letters out of Taiwan. Most letters carried out of Taiwan in the 1970s and 1980s to international human rights associations went through the secret networks. In Japan, Miles worked closely with a Japanese woman Miyake Kyoko, the Taiwanese diasporic community (Japan/US West : Koh Se-kai and Qianhui Lu; Japan : Ng Yuzin;¹⁰⁹ Japan : Vicki Lo; US East : Tina Chang, etc.), and members of Amnesty International (AI)¹¹⁰ such as Yukata Ogita, Alette Laduguie, and James Seymour. Together, they put pressure on international societies and US Congress to pay attention to Taiwan's human rights.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹ Ng Chiautong (黃昭堂): He came to Japan in 1958 to study and was one of the founders of *Taiwan Youth*. In 1960, he started to engage in the Taiwan independence movement in Japan and was a member of the WUFI Japan. In 1962, the KMT confiscated his passport when he applied to extend it. He became another political victim on the KMT's blacklist. The first time Huang and Lynn Miles met was in 1973, when they were discussing the establishment of Amnesty International (AI) in Taiwan. Huang was one of the most important funding sources for Lynn Miles' transnational human rights rescue networks. Yan-xian Chang, Liang Shen ed., *Lynn Miles' Human Rights Related Correspondence Part 1: Taiwan's Democratic Activists* (Taipei: Wu San-lien Taiwan History Foundation, 2009), 61.

¹¹⁰ Amnesty International (AI) started its first human rights rescue mission for Taiwanese in 1969, collecting political prisoner information. In early 1970s, AI established sections in Japan, US and Germany. Yan-xian Chang, Liang Shen ed., *Lynn Miles' Human Rights Related Correspondence Part 1: Taiwan's Democratic Activists*, 7.

Some source indicated that AI Japan was founded by Taiwanese diasporic community in Japan.

¹¹¹ Lynn Miles's story in the paragraph also referred to: Yan-xian Chang, Liang Shen ed., *Lynn Miles' Human Rights Related Correspondence Part 1: Taiwan's Democratic Activists*, 5-14 and 275-279. Lynn Miles, "Formosa Found—1960s students Days," Linda Gail and Lynn Miles edited and written, *A Borrowed Voice: Taiwan Human Rights through International Networks, 1960-1980* (Taiwan: Hanyao Color Printing, 2008), 8-92.

In 1977, at the first Taiwan human rights hearing organized by Rep. Donald Fraser, Miles represented the International Committee for the Defense of Human Rights in Taiwan (ICDHRT) and testified in Congress. In his report, Miles addressed the importance of having foreign media cover Taiwan. Miles compared Taiwan to South Korea, arguing that because South Koreans were able to let foreign media know about their human rights stories, the situation in South Korea was therefore more visible and drawing greater attention than the situation in Taiwan. It encouraged more South Korean people to stand up without fear, which in turn forced the ROK regime to restrain itself and stop further suppression. By contrast, unfortunately, many things were still unknown due to a lack of publicity. Miles suggested that “If we want to exert our best efforts towards ridding Taiwan of the secrecy that surrounds arrests, detentions, interrogations, trials, sentencing, imprisonment, and even executions, we must first begin by bringing to each individual case the greatest amount of public attention possible.”¹¹²

As a firm believer in universal human rights values, Miles insisted on “human rights as ends not means.”¹¹³ Having been working with Taiwanese diasporic human rights activists (many were also independence movement activists) throughout his entire life, he could understand and could sympathize with what Taiwan independence activists were thinking. He supported Taiwan’s self-determination as well. However, he stressed that the goals of freedom, open trials, and democracy should be ends, a separate issue from Taiwan’s

¹¹² Lynn Miles, Report entitled “Dark Room Burials’: The Role of Government-Imposed Secrecy in the Suppression of Human Rights in Taiwan.” in “Human Rights in Taiwan,” Subcommittee on International Organizations, Committee on International Relations, House, Jun. 14, 1977, Hearing Id: HRG-1977-HIR-0079, Legacy CIS Number: 77-H461-67, p106-108

¹¹³ Yan-xian Chang, Liang Shen ed., *Lynn Miles' Human Rights Related Correspondence Part 1: Taiwan's Democratic Activists*, 9.

sovereignty issue. He disagreed with pro-conservative Taiwanese independent activists, for though they harshly criticized the PRC's human rights records, they stayed silent on the US torture of prisoners of war in exchange for US support for Taiwan independence.¹¹⁴ Miles burned his US passport in front of the American Institute in Taiwan in 2003 in opposition to the US war on Iraq. He was granted permanent residency in Taiwan by the Ministry of the Interior of the Republic of China (Taiwan) in 2006. He died of cancer in Taipei in 2015 at age 71.

Miyake Kyoko, an Osaka native, travelled to Taiwan in 1963 with a group of mountaineering club friends. She met a *tangwai* activist by chance and later became close friends with some important members of Taiwan's political movement such as Tian Chao-ming (田超明), Wei Ting-chao (魏廷朝) and Hsieh Tsung-min (謝聰敏). She married a Taiwanese man and the couple lived in Taiwan in the 1960s-1970s before she was blacklisted and deported in 1977. Because of her Asian skin color, facial features, and ability to speak fluent Mandarin, in contrast to Western human rights activists, she could easily camouflage herself as an ordinary Taiwanese woman in her activism in Taiwan. She was low-profile and not interested in getting credits, so she left very few articles that she wrote by herself about her human rights activism and stories.¹¹⁵

Linda Gail Arrigo first went to Taiwan in 1963 at age 14. Her father was a US military officer stationed in Taiwan. She attended Taipei American School and went back to the US for a college education. She started to get to know Taiwan's human rights reporting in the 1970s, when she was introduced by the Taiwanese American community to Annette Lu and

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ "The Story of Miyake Kyoko," *Taiwan People News*, February 4, 2019; "Interview with Mother of Taiwan's Human Rights: Miyake Kyoko," *Human Rights Magazine*, Issue 22 (Taiwan Association for Human Rights, 1992).

Kang Ning-hsiang (康寧祥) in the US. She met Chen Chu (陳菊) when she returned to Taiwan in 1975. At the time, she was a PhD student in anthropology at Stanford University working on her doctorate field work about Taiwanese women's marriage and labor issues. Working with the Taiwanese women and workers led her to become involved in human rights issues in Taiwan. She became active in Taiwan's opposition movement in the late 1970s. A friend had introduced her to Miyake and Miles in April 1977 and she decided to join Miles's transnational human rights rescue network. She married Taiwanese *tangwai* leader and former political prisoner Shih ming-teh in 1978. Shih was one of the leading organizers and political dissidents in the Meilidao demonstration. On December 15, 1979, a few days after the Maolidao demonstration was held, Arrigo was deported and blacklisted by the KMT. She and her mother started to campaign for and bring international media attention to the Incident from the US. In 1981, when she was protesting the murder of Dr. Chen Wen-cheng, Arrigo was arrested in the US. Not until 1990 was Arrigo allowed to return to Taiwan. She and Shih divorced in 1995. She is living in Taipei and retains her enthusiasm for Taiwan's human rights and democracy.¹¹⁶

These young (in their 20s and 30s at the time) and passionate foreign journalists, missionaries, scholars, and travelers helped build a transpacific grassroots human rights rescue network between Taiwan-Japan-US and demanded international investigations and intervention. This network is significant for two reasons. First, because of their English communication skills and their access to international (English) media and organizations, Taiwan's human rights issues began to be widespread and visible in the international media. Particularly, Miles knew how important it was to influence the international media and he

¹¹⁶ Linda Gail Arrigo, Rose Chia-yin Lin, *A Beautiful View from the Brink: Linda Gail Arrigo and the Taiwan Democratic Movement* (Taipei: Vista Publishing, 2011)

was really good at getting the foreign media's attention on Taiwan. Second, before the late 1980s, almost all human rights rescue letters smuggled out of Taiwan went through the secret network built by Lynn Miles and others. The network helped the outer world gain first-hand information and thus rescue countless political victims. Finally, they inspired and helped the Taiwanese American community to build the Formosa Human Rights Association in the US. The Taiwanese diasporic community worked closely with Miles and his transnational human rights networks.

3. 1960s-1980s: Taiwanese American Human Rights Activism in the US

Taiwanese American and other overseas Taiwanese communities took action toward rescuing Taiwan's political prisoners and protesting the Kuomintang's human rights violations beginning in the early 1960s. Initially, when the overseas Taiwanese community learned of political persecution or human rights abuse cases, World United Formosans for Independence (WUFI) members and other Taiwanese diasporic activists would organize public demonstrations on campus or in the streets. They marched with their self-made banners and flyers. Their group used to be small and weak. Family members often went together hand-in-hand in the protests.¹¹⁷

The first Taiwanese American human rights association was founded in 1976. The wife of the WUFI chair at the time, Ms. Tina Ding-lan Chang (張丁蘭), organized Taiwanese diaspora in the New York area and established the Committee for Taiwan Human Rights.

¹¹⁷ Ken S. Huang, Tai-he Wang, Strong Chuang, "The Story of Taiwan Association for Human Rights, 1970s-1990s," in Yan-xian Chang, Qio-mei Zen, Chao-hai Chen ed., *Self-consciousness and Identity: 1950-1990 Taiwanese Overseas Movements* (Taipei: Wu San-lien Taiwan History Foundation, 2003), 230.

After receiving advice from James Seymour, a Professor at Columbia University and a representative of Amnesty International's New York office, Chang changed their association's name to the Formosan Association for Human Rights. Meanwhile, Taiwanese American activists in the Los Angeles area, including Ms. Qian-hui Hsu (許千惠) also organized another non-profit organization focused on human rights and named the Taiwan Human Rights and Cultural Association. The two human rights organizations shared the same goals and missions, working side by side across the United States. It is worth mentioning that both Taiwanese American human rights organizations were led by female organizers.¹¹⁸

Chang stepped down from her leadership position in the Association in 1977 and handed it off to Qian-Hui Hsu. Qian-Hui Hsu had lived in Japan before migrating to the United States. Since 1964, Hsu engaged in overseas Taiwanese human rights activism in Japan. She worked closely with other Taiwanese diasporic women and Japanese activists, including Mr. Masanari Kobayashi (小林正成) and Ms. Miyake Kyoko (三宅清子) to rescue Taiwan's political victims. Because of the experiences and networks, Hsu was able to receive the most updated information about political prisoners and human rights abuses from Japan when she chaired the human rights association.

The effort to link human rights networks between North America, Japan, and Taiwan finally urged Amnesty International in thirty-five countries around the world to pay attention

¹¹⁸ Ken S. Huang, Tai-he Wang, Strong Chuang, "The Story of Taiwan Association for Human Rights, 1970s-1990s," in Yan-xian Chang, Qio-mei Zen, Chao-hai Chen ed., *Self-consciousness and Identity: 1950-1990 Taiwanese Overseas Movements*, 230-231.

and commit to monitoring and intervening in Taiwan's human rights abuses cases in mid-1970s.¹¹⁹

4. The Arrival of Political Exiles in the 1970s

Several barriers prevented Taiwanese diasporic activists from engaging in Taiwan's democratization movement transnationally before the 1970s. The first was limited access to Taiwan's news. The Kuomintang's censorship almost completely controlled the media production and circulation on the island. Opposition views could hardly be disseminated in public channels. This made it difficult for the overseas Taiwanese community to gain updated and accurate news.¹²⁰ Second, most Taiwanese Americans came to the United States first as graduate students, with the vast majority majoring in science and engineering. Due to their young age, professional training, and limited access to alternative information, many were apolitical when they were in Taiwan. They became "politically awakened" in the United States. Because of this, the transnational activists had little "real-world" experiences of Taiwan's opposition movement. This made democratic movement quite disjointed in and out of Taiwan.¹²¹ Things started to change when Taiwanese political leaders were exiled to the United States. The exiles had a long history of sophisticated resistance experiences, *tangwai* networks, and some had served as *tangwai* local/national

¹¹⁹ Ken S. Huang, Tai-he Wang, Strong Chuang, "The Story of Taiwan Association for Human Rights, 1970s-1990s," in Yan-xian Chang, Qio-mei Zen, Chao-hai Chen ed., *Self-consciousness and Identity: 1950-1990 Taiwanese Overseas Movements*, 231.

¹²⁰ Wen-long Chang, Yi-shen Chen, Wen-tang Hsu, *Interview with People Associated with Kuo Yu-shin Their Memories about Kuo* (Taipei: Academia Historica, 2008), 252.

¹²¹ Wen-long Chang, Yi-shen Chen, Wen-tang Hsu, *Interview with People Associated with Kuo Yu-shin Their Memories about Kuo*, 375.

legislators. Their arrival helped connect opposition forces on and off the island. Last but not least, since some of the exiles were in a high position of power in Taiwan, their political reputation and influence raised the visibility and credibility of Taiwanese American activism to a new level in US-Taiwan politics. But in the diasporic community, being presidents of Taiwanese associations might be the highest position.

The escape of Peng Ming-min (彭明敏) to the US in 1970 is one prominent example. Peng, born in 1923 in Taichung to a prominent doctor's family, went to Tokyo for his secondary education and studied law and political science at the Tokyo Imperial University (now the University of Tokyo) during the war. After Japan's surrender, Peng went back to Taiwan and enrolled in the law school at National Taiwan University. After receiving his bachelors' degree, he went to McGill University for a master's degree and France for his doctoral degree in law at the University of Paris. He earned his PhD in 1954. A few years after he returned to Taiwan, he started on a promising career as the youngest full professor in international legal and politics at National Taiwan University. Many of Peng's family members were Presbyterian Christians, so he was often invited to talk about Taiwan democracy and self-determination at church and at Tainan Theological College and Seminary. Peng recalled in his memoir that during the 228 Incident, his father was involved in negotiations with the government, but was treated with violence. He was later released, but became disillusioned with Chinese politics and even ashamed of his own Chinese heritage.¹²² In 1964, Peng was arrested for sedition because he wrote and printed the manifesto *A Declaration of Formosan Self-salvation* together with his students Wei Ting-

¹²² Peng Ming-min, *A Taste of Freedom*, the Second edition published in 1994 by Taiwan Publishing House, free online book available here: "Chapter Four: The March Uprising, 1947"
<http://www.romanization.com/books/peng/chap04.html>

chao (魏廷朝) and Hsieh Tsung-min (謝聰敏). They advocated for overthrowing the Chiang Kai-shek regime and establishing a democratic government in Taiwan.¹²³ He was sentenced to eight years in prison. Under international pressure, the Chiang Kai-shek regime released Peng from military prison 14 months later, but still had him under home surveillance.

Having endured the KMT's six-year harassment and surveillance, Peng finally decided to escape Taiwan. He first arrived at Sweden in January 1970. Later, he was issued a visa by the State Department and was invited to teach and conduct research at the University of Michigan in September of the same year. Under pressure from the KMT, Peng made a promise to the state department that during his exile in the US, he would only focus on academic work and avoid getting involved in any political organizations or activities. Nonetheless, Peng's arrival was still significant to Taiwanese diasporic movements in two respects: first, he was invited to give speeches about Taiwanese issues at various universities and for Taiwanese diasporic communities in North America. These events increased the visibility of Taiwan's issues internationally. His theory about Taiwan's future also changed and turned out to be more moderate during this period. For example, he used "inhabitants of Taiwan (mainlanders who support Taiwan democracy and have Taiwan identity also were included)," instead of "Taiwanese," to make his state-building theory more inclusive of the four different ethnic groups in Taiwan. Also, he avoided using "Taiwan independence," but instead referred to "self-determination" while advocating for his position to gain US liberals' support of Taiwan issues. Second, Presbyterian pastor Shoki Coe mobilized

¹²³ Peng Ming-min, *A Taste of Freedom*, the Second edition published in 1994 by Taiwan Publishing House, free online book available here: "Chapter Eight: My Arrest" <http://www.romanization.com/books/peng/chap08.html>

Taiwanese diasporic communities in Europe and North America and raised a twenty thousand-dollar fund for Peng to establish a Formosa studies center in the New York/New Jersey area. The center was established to separate Formosa (Taiwan) studies from China studies and conduct independent Taiwan studies research in North American academic circles. It also endeavored to consolidate all overseas Taiwanese organizations and diasporic powers through Peng's fame. In the early 1970s, it appeared the goals would most likely be achieved only by relying on Peng's reputation and international influence. In September 1971, Peng called together an assembly (台灣民眾大會), which more than one thousand overseas Taiwanese attended, voicing their opinions.¹²⁴ Peng was quite active in the Taiwanese American community in the 1970s-1980s. He represented the native Taiwanese voice when he attended the Taiwan Relations Act hearings in 1979. In the 1980s, he was elected as the FAPA's president for one term. Peng returned to Taiwan in 1992. In 1996, Peng became the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) presidential candidate and ran against Lee Teng-hui in Taiwan's first direct presidential election.

Another influential political exile in the 1970s was Kuo Yu-shin. Kuo, born in 1908 in Yilan, received a B.S. degree from Taihoku Imperial University in 1934. After the war, he became one of a few native Taiwanese members of the Taiwan Provincial Council from 1949-1971. In Taiwan's early stage (1950s-early 1970s) of democratic struggle in the postwar era, Kuo Yu-shin with Guoji Guo (郭國基)、Wu San-lien (吳三連)、Li Wan-ju (李萬居)、Li Yun-zhan (李源棧) and Hsu Shi-xian (許世賢) were known as native

¹²⁴ Yi-Shen Chen, "Peng Ming-min and Overseas Taiwan Independence Movement (1964-1972)-A Perspective from the Foreign Ministry's Archives," *Bulletin of Academia Historica*, (10), 2006, 203-214.

Taiwanese “five dragons and One Phoenix” of the Taiwan Provincial Council. They were also respected as the founding fathers of Taiwan’s *tangwai* movement.

Kuo was exiled to the United States in 1977. A few months after his exile, Kuo publicly announced his intention to compete with Chiang Ching-kuo for the presidency of ROC in Washington, D.C. Of course there was no election and nothing happened in Taiwan after the announcement. Chiang Ching-kuo succeeded his father smoothly and became the sixth president of the ROC. However, many regarded it as politically symbolic, demonstrating the Taiwanese people’s commitment to self-determination. His supporters in the Taiwanese American community took this opportunity to promote self-determination in Congress.¹²⁵ In early 1979, Kuo mobilized the Taiwanese diaspora to lobby for the Taiwan Relations Act legislation. Kuo also presented as a leading native Taiwanese political figure and submitted his testimony at the Senate and House hearings. When the Meilidao Incident broke out, within five days Kuo put together all major overseas Taiwanese political organizations in Japan, Europe, and North America to form the Coalition of Taiwan Independence¹²⁶, making a clarion call to rescue the Meilidao political activists. Kuo passed away in Washington, D.C. in August 1985.

Hsu Shin-liang (許信良) and Stella Chen (陳婉真) were among the influential political exiles of the 1980s. They were about one generation younger than Peng Ming-min and Kuo Yu-shin. When the Meilidao Incident broke out in Taiwan, they quickly mobilized and

¹²⁵ Wen-long Chang, Yi-shen Chen, Wen-tang Hsu, Interview with People Associated with Kuo Yu-shin Their Memories about Kuo, 41.

¹²⁶ The Coalition of Taiwan Independence was established on December 15, 1979. Founding members included: Xian Chang from the WUFI, Peng Ming-min from Taiwanese American Society and Formosa Studies, Kuo Yu-shin from Overseas Alliance for Democratic Rule in Taiwan, Shoki Coe from Formosa Christians for Self-Determination, Su Beng from Taiwan Independence Association, Hsu Hsin-liang from *Formosa Magazine*, and Stelle Chen from *Tide Magazine* (潮流雜誌社) and so on.

joined the Coalition of Taiwan Independence with other Taiwanese diasporic activists against the KMT authoritarian rule. On August 26, 1980, they relaunched the *Meilidao Weekly* in Los Angeles. In the headline, they wrote, “The flame of hope lit by Meilidao in the hearts of Taiwanese is not extinguished by the incident. A prairie fire is just waiting for the spring breeze to blow. Now the spring breeze is blowing! (We are pleased to announce) the resumption of the *Meilidao Weekly* on the first anniversary of its first issue...”¹²⁷ In the 1980s more and more economic migrants came to the US from Taiwan. Most of them chose to live in the greater Los Angeles area in Southern California. Because of the large number of Taiwan immigrants, it was easier to mobilize and fundraise for movements. Los Angeles became a new base for the organization of the overseas Taiwanese democracy movement. Hsu Hsin-liang and Stella Chen's main activities were all in Los Angeles. This was a departure from the previous Taiwanese diasporic activism centered in New York or Washington, D.C.¹²⁸ The founding of Taiwan’s first opposition party, also the current ruling party, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), started from overseas. In July 1985, Hsu Hsin-liang began to plan for the Taiwan Democratic Party (台灣民主黨), and in May 1986 he announced the formation of the Taiwan Democratic Party Building Committee in Los Angeles. A few months later, Hsu returned to Taiwan and, with lightning speed, announced the formal establishment of the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP, 民主進步黨) at the

¹²⁷ Wei-jia Chang, “Overseas Re-issue of *Meilidao Magazine* and Taiwan Independence Movement,” Yan-xian Chang, Qio-mei Zen, Chao-hai Chen ed., *Self-consciousness and Identity: 1950-1990 Taiwanese Overseas Movements* (Taipei: Wu San-lien Taiwan History Foundation, 2003), 590-591.

¹²⁸ Wei-jia Chang, “Overseas Re-issue of *Meilidao Magazine* and Taiwan Independence Movement,” Yan-xian Chang, Qio-mei Zen, Chao-hai Chen ed., *Self-consciousness and Identity: 1950-1990 Taiwanese Overseas Movements*, 592.

Grand Hotel in Taipei in September 1986.¹²⁹ Hsu served as the DDP's fourth president in 1991.

B. Taiwanese American Transnational Lobbying and Diplomacy

1. The First Human Rights Hearing in the Congress in 1977

Congress finally held the Taiwanese human rights hearing in 1977. This was the first time Taiwan's human rights issues were discussed publicly within the context of US-Taiwan relations. Since then, concerns about Taiwan's human rights emerged as an important factor when the United States government considered its policy and relations with Taiwan.

However, I argue in the following that without the accumulating transnational activism and networks generated by the Taiwanese diasporic community, Japanese and American human rights advocates, and in particular the Taiwanese American behind-the-scenes lobbying for the coordination and communication between Congress and Taiwan's political prisoners, US Congress might not have held the hearing for Taiwanese human rights in 1977 and the testimonies at the hearing might not have reflected the true voices and struggles of the native Taiwanese.

One person, Neng-hsiang Wang, also a Presbyterian, played the key role in coordinating and communicating behind the scenes, ultimately leading to the 1977 Taiwan human rights hearing. Neng-hsiang Wang was born in 1933 in Kaohsiung. His father was a

¹²⁹ Wei-jia Chang, "Overseas Re-issue of *Meilidao Magazine* and Taiwan Independence Movement," Yan-xian Chang, Qio-mei Zen, Chao-hai Chen ed., *Self-consciousness and Identity: 1950-1990 Taiwanese Overseas Movements*, 600-601.

Chinese citizen who lived in Taiwan under Japanese colonial rule and married a Taiwanese woman. Because of his father's nationality, his family faced some discrimination and political persecution during the war.¹³⁰ Wang went to National Taiwan University and studied political science in 1955-1959. He left Taiwan in 1965 and studied at Kansas State University for a master's degree in political science. In 1967, he attended a PhD program in the political science department at the University of Texas at Austin. Two years later, he switched to a professional accounting program, which he graduated from in 1972.¹³¹ Wang left Austin and moved to Washington, D.C. in 1971, when Taiwan's international situation was becoming increasingly gloomy. He wanted to advocate for Taiwan near the center of US politics and in particular advocate for human rights in Congress. It took him almost a year of consulting with Cambodian human rights activist Jackie Senor to figure out how to coordinate Congressional human rights hearings before he approached Donald M. Fraser,¹³² Chair of the International Organization and Human Rights Subcommittee in the 1970s. The most difficult part was to convince the US that their ally, the Kuomintang, had a pattern of gross human rights violations behaviors. Wang was a member of the Taiwan Human Rights

¹³⁰ Neng-hsiang Wang, Wen-long Chang, *Pioneer of D.C. Congressional Diplomacy: Wang Neng-xiang's 80 Memories and the Future of Taiwan* (Taipei: Vista Publishing, 2012), 62-64.

¹³¹ Neng-hsiang Wang, Wen-long Chang, *Pioneer of D.C. Congressional Diplomacy: Wang Neng-xiang's 80 Memories and the Future of Taiwan*, 100-107.

¹³² Don Frazer was best known for his work of holding hearings on human rights violations in American allies in the 1970s. According to historian Barbara Keys, Don Frazer was a leading figure from 1973-1976 drafting legislation to reduce US aids to countries whose government had gross human rights abuses records. Frazer efforts was regarded as laying the foundation for President Carter's human rights diplomacy and mandated the State Department to write annual country reports on human rights so US diplomatic policy would be watchful of the human rights issues. Barbara Keys, "Congress, Kissinger, and the Origins of Human Rights Diplomacy," *Diplomatic History*, November 2010; Barbara Keys, *Reclaiming American Virtue: The Human Rights Revolution of the 1970s* (Harvard University Press, 2014)

and Cultural Association and a vice chair of the WUFI. Wang finally persuaded the Congressman's aide to conduct a human rights investigation trip to Taiwan. The result of the trip was the impetus behind Congress deciding to hold the hearing. To better reflect the voice of the Taiwanese people, Wang coordinated with Donald Fraser's aide to discuss the best candidates for testimonies. Without Wang's continuing communications and development of mutual trust between Congress and Taiwanese human rights activists, many problems, including miscommunications and misunderstandings caused by Taiwan's political censorship, may not otherwise have been smoothly resolved in the process.¹³³

2. Taiwan Relations Act Hearings in 1979

The most remarkable part of US-PRC normalization and US-ROC termination in the late 1970s is the almost unilateral decision made by the Carter administration without consulting Congress in the final stage of negotiations. Members of Congress, beyond partisanship, were irked at how the administration, on a whim and at Taiwan's expense, was denying the recognition of a staunch ally and leaving the people of Taiwan with no means of a security guarantee or determination of their own future. In response, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee immediately began its research in preparation for legislation on Taiwanese relations.

When President Jimmy Carter announced US termination of diplomatic relations with the ROC, the Taiwanese diasporic community in the US quickly re-organized. The overseas self-determination movement organizers immediately contacted Congressman Jim Leach.

¹³³ Neng-hsiang Wang, Wen-long Chang, *Pioneer of D.C. Congressional Diplomacy: Wang Neng-xiang's 80 Memories and the Future of Taiwan*, 118-120.

Neng-hsiang Wang and Kuo Yu-shin (郭雨新) also approached Congress. To make sure that native Taiwanese voices would be heard, Kuo drafted a letter entitled *The People of Taiwan Demand Self-Determination and Independence* and passed it on to Senator Claiborne Pell.¹³⁴ Senator Pell was one of the senior members of Congress primarily concerned about human rights issues in the Taiwan Relations Act hearings.¹³⁵

In February 1979, the Senate held six days of Taiwan legislation hearings on the 5-8 and 21-22 and the House held four days of hearings on the 7-8 and 14-15 for the same purpose. Those in attendance represented a diverse world: politicians, businesspeople, academics, governmental and non-governmental, US citizens and Taiwanese citizens, Kuomintang representatives and native Taiwanese representatives alike, were all invited to attend and testify. Among them, there were around 100 native Taiwanese attendees, including Wilbur Chen (US citizen, representing the Overseas Alliance for Democratic Rule in Taiwan¹³⁶), Parris Chang (US citizen, Professor of Political Science at Penn State University), Kuo Yu-Shin (non-US citizen, President of the Overseas Alliance for Democratic Rule in Taiwan), Peng Ming-min (non-US citizen, Director of the Taiwanese American Society and Formosa Studies), Mark Chen (US citizen, President of the

¹³⁴ Neng-hsiang Wang, *What You Should Know About the Taiwan Relations Act: Don Quixote Knocks at the Door of the United States Congress* (Taipei: Headquarter of Presbyterian Church in Taiwan, 2019), 114-115.

¹³⁵ David Tawei Lee, *The Making of the Taiwan Relations Act: Twenty Years in Retrospect* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp.100-101 and pp. 164-165.

¹³⁶ The Alliance was a political organization to promote a constitutional democracy in Taiwan. Their member organizations include Action for Majority Rule in Taiwan, Formosa Christians for Self-Determination, and the World Federation of Formosan Clubs and cover all spectrums of Formosans interests inside and outside Formosa. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Title: Taiwan, Feb. 5-6, 8, 22, 1979, hearing ID: HRG-1979-FOR-0020. p 546

Taiwanese Association of the United States), the overseas self-determination movement organizers, the Reverend Wei Rue-ming (魏瑞明), two TPC pastors, Wang Zhai-Xing (王再興) and Xie Xi-ming (謝禧明)¹³⁷ and Neng-hsiang Wang (non-US citizen).

Though not all their testimonies were accepted and included in the Taiwan Relations Act legislation, their participation reflected the rising Taiwanese people's voices in US policymaking, especially with regard to policymaking regarding Taiwan's human rights and democracy issues.

Taiwanese voices were best presented in Wilbur Chen's statement. When Chen, officer of the Overseas Alliance for Democratic Rule in Taiwan, responded to the question about which of the three different versions of legislation proposed by Congress was regarded as best for the future of the Taiwanese people, Chen explained why he considered that the Danforth-Bayh version would best protect the long-term interest of US-Taiwan relations compared to the Barry Goldwater and Kennedy-Cranston versions. "Senator Goldwater's version is to continue the United States-Republic of China Mutual Defense treaty. If passed, this would give the effect of maintaining political order, not for the people, but for the ruling Kuomintang. For a quarter century, the KMT has relied on martial law and the United States-Republic of China Mutual Defense Treaty as a two-edged sword to suppress the progressive forces... It seems that Senator Kennedy and Cranston will only provide minimal, and hence inadequate security guarantee to the people of Taiwan. Withal, they expect that the Taiwan issue will be settled by the Chinese themselves. To this we take strong exception. We strongly maintain that the Taiwan issue be settled by the Taiwanese themselves. The 900 million Chinese on continental China have been foreign to Taiwan and therefore must be excluded from such settlement. The best defense of the island of Taiwan must come from

¹³⁷ Hunag Wu-dong, *Memoirs of Hunag Wu-dong*, 315.

the people of Taiwan through national consensus and around patriotism. This is currently lacking, primarily due to the popular resentment to the reactionary, repressive KMT's regime. From Vietnam to Iran, there is no shortage of examples that advise against supporting reactionary, repressive regimes. The resolution co-sponsored by Senators Danforth and Bayh will most likely foster growth of progressive forces inside Taiwan. Its security guarantee is both effective and sufficient. We therefore will give it our full support.”¹³⁸ In the final version of Congressional legislation, the Danforth-Bayh version, which best ensured long-term security in the Taiwan Strait and protected the people of Taiwan, was accepted.

Since 1979, because the protection of human rights was officially written in the Taiwan Relations Act, stating that, “Nothing contained in this Act shall contravene the interest of the United States in human rights, especially with respect to the human rights of all the approximately eighteen million inhabitants of Taiwan. The preservation and enhancement of the human rights of all the people on Taiwan are hereby reaffirmed as objectives of the United States,” the Act became the legal basis for Taiwanese American activists in their transnational diplomacy campaigns.

Because of the successful experience in Congress, the self-determination movement later incorporated with other Taiwanese human rights and democracy organizations, including Peng Ming-min's Taiwanese American Society and Formosa Studies (台美協會), Chai Trong-rong's (蔡同榮) WUFI, Mark Chen's (陳唐山) Taiwanese Association of the United States, and Kuo Yu-shin's (郭雨新) Overseas Alliance for

¹³⁸ Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Title: Taiwan, Feb. 5-6, 8, 22, 1979, hearing ID: HRG-1979-FOR-0020. p 547

Democratic Rule in Taiwan, to lobby in US Congress together. This laid a foundation for the establishment of the Formosan Association for Public Affairs (FAPA) in 1982.¹³⁹

3. The Meilidao Incident in 1979

Dissatisfied with the martial law that had been in effect in Taiwan for 30 years (1949-1979), on December 10, 1979, also the World Human Rights Day, pro-democracy *tangwai* activists held a rally in Kaohsiung to commemorate the World Human Rights Day. KMT riot police blocked off the streets in an attempt to preventing people from marching. When that failed, riot police threw tear gas into the crowd to stop them from leaving the parade venue. A conflict therefore broke out between the two parties. The Kuomintang took advantage of this situation, and within a few days of the Incident, arrested many pro-democracy activists who had planned the march.

After learning of the Incident, Taiwanese diasporic groups approached their congressmen for help in rescuing the political prisoners of the Incident. At the suggestion of Senator Ted Kennedy's aide Thomas Dine, Chai Trong-rong (FAPA's first president) started a letter writing campaign in the US, asking for Senator Kennedy's attention on the Meilidao Incident. Within a few weeks, Kennedy received more than 8,000 letters from Taiwanese immigrants, a record number for his office regarding a single incident or policy. Later, Chai and several other Taiwanese diasporic leaders went to meet with Ted Kennedy, which led to Kennedy's official statement in March 1980 condemning the KMT for violating human rights and suppressing the democratic movement. Kennedy also prompted former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark to lead a delegation to Taiwan to investigate the truth about

¹³⁹ Hunag Wu-dong, *Memoirs of Hunag Wu-dong*, 315.

the Meilidao. Clark's report listed the KMT's crimes as: one-party dictatorship, restriction of freedom of speech, prolonged martial law, and oppression of outsiders. The report later influenced the State Department's Human Rights Report.¹⁴⁰

4. Taiwanese Immigration Quota in 1981

On May 24, 1980, Chai held a presidential campaign fundraiser for Congressman Ted Kennedy in Los Angeles. Thousands of people attended and donated to the fundraiser, which raised the highest amount of money Ted Kennedy had ever raised in California that year. Because of this fundraiser, Kennedy promised to help Taiwanese Americans pass the Taiwanese immigration quota. The Amendment (House Amendment 447) was first proposed by Stephen Solarz on December 9, 1981 and attached to House Resolution 3566-1 982/1983 appropriations bill (proposed by Representative Clement J. Zablocki). The amendment demanded: "an amendment to grant immigrant visa status to Taiwan." Kennedy also proposed Resolution 1935 in support of an immigrant quota for Taiwan. The Immigrant Quota Act was passed on Christmas Eve 1981 and signed by President Reagan immediately. The annual 20,000 immigrant quota was officially restored to Taiwanese immigration in 1982.¹⁴¹

¹⁴⁰ Chai Trong-rong, "Preface: Twenty Years of FAPA and Congressional Diplomacy," in John Chen, *Taiwanese American Citizen Diplomacy* (Taipei: Avanguard book, 2001), 1-2; John Chen, *FAPA and Congressional Diplomacy, 1982-1995* (Taipei: Avanguard book, 2004), 3.

¹⁴¹ John Chen, *Taiwanese American Citizen Diplomacy*, page 2 and 415. John Chen, *FAPA and Congressional Diplomacy, 1982-1995*, 4.

5. The Murder of Dr. Chen Wen-chen in 1981

Chen Wen-chen, a native of Taipei, died at the age of 31. He was an assistant professor in the Department of Statistics at Carnegie Mellon University. In May 1981, he returned to Taiwan to visit his family. In July of that year, he was interviewed by the Taiwan Garrison Command about his political activities in the United States. He was found dead outside the library on the National Taiwan University campus twelve hours after the interview. The police said Chen committed suicide by jumping off the building for fear of being arrested for a crime. But many believed that he was murdered by the KMT. The truth about the death of the Taiwanese American scholar remains unknown until today.¹⁴²

Taiwanese immediately contacted Stephen Solarz. In July and October 1981, Solarz held two Congress hearings on the murder of Chen Wen-chen case and invited several Taiwanese to testify. In addition to the murder case, the hearings also discussed the KMT's support for secret surveillance in the United States. In December of the same year, the "Chen Wen-chen Clause" was passed. This clause prohibits foreign governments from harassing US residents in the US, and the US government may not sell arms to them if they violate the clause.¹⁴³

6. The Establishment of FAPA and Its Activities in the 1980s

¹⁴² Academia Historica ed., *Historical Documents of Chen Wen-cheng* (Academia Historica, 2019)

¹⁴³ John Chen, *FAPA and Congressional Diplomacy, 1982-1995*, 3.

The mission of FAPA when it was first established in February 1982 stated¹⁴⁴ : 1) Complementing with the forces of democracy on the island of Taiwan, to promote freedom and democracy for Taiwan. 2) To create an international environment friendly to the self-determination and self-rule for the Taiwanese people through publicizing Taiwanese people's determination to pursue democracy and freedom. 3) To protect and promote the rights of the societies of the overseas Taiwanese people.

The main goals of the FAPA in Congress at the time were twofold:

First main goal was to lift martial law, release political prisoners, lift the blacklist, and promote democratization in Taiwan. In 1987, the Senate and the House of Representatives passed a resolution on democracy on Taiwan, demanding the KMT to end martial law, abolish the party ban, and speed up the implementation of democratic politics.¹⁴⁵

Second was in response to the Shanghai Communique signed 11 years ago, to demand the US to ensure that the future of Taiwan be resolved by peaceful means. On November 15, 1983: Senate Foreign Affairs Committee passed the Resolution 74, stating that "Taiwan's future should be settled peacefully, free of coercion and in a manner acceptable to the people on Taiwan and consistent with the Taiwan Relations Act enacted by Congress and the communiques entered into between the United States and the people's Republic of China."¹⁴⁶ Because of the PRC's protests, the resolution was held up for a vote until the Tiananmen Square Incident broke out.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁴ John Chen, *FAPA and Congressional Diplomacy, 1982-1995*, 5.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid, pp 47-48.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid, 314.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid, 64.

7. Formosa Lobby and China Lobby: In Comparison

Rising in the late 1970s and becoming most active since the 1990s, the Formosa Lobby is currently the most influential political organization in the Taiwanese American community. By contrast, the China lobby, which was organized in the late 1940s, faded away after US-PRC diplomatic normalization. The second part of Chapter Three answers how transnational activism matters in terms of the rise and development of the Formosa lobby. By comparing the Formosa lobby to the China lobby, I would like to highlight the characteristics of Taiwanese diasporic diplomacy.

Members: The China lobby was composed of Kuomintang officials in collaboration with right-wing anti-communist US elites who strove to keep the Chinese Kuomintang alive and demolish Chinese communism. These US elites were either ideologically or materially driven. Members included politicians, scholars, businesspeople with financial stakes, missionaries expelled from mainland China after 1949, and military leaders frustrated by the loss of China.¹⁴⁸ Famous China lobby US supporters include Alfred Kohlberg (New York businessman) and Henry R. Luce (*Time* and *Life* news magazine publisher). The Formosa lobby, by contrast, mainly consisted of native Taiwanese immigrants who had come to the United States after the Second World War in collaboration with a group of liberal members of Congress who sympathized with and advocated for Taiwan's democratization movement. These supporters in Congress included Jim Leach and Stephen J. Solarz in the House and Edward Kennedy and Claiborne Pell in the Senate.

¹⁴⁸ Tsung Chi, "From the China Lobby to the Taiwan Lobby: Movers and Shakers of the U.S.-China-Taiwan Triangular Relationship," in Peter H. Koehn and Xiao-huang Yin ed., *The Expanding Roles of Chinese Americans in US-China Relations* (New York: An East Gate Book, 2002), 109.

Historical Context: Founded in late 1940s, it was not until the outbreak of the Korean War with the Chinese communist military forces entering the Korean Peninsula, that the anti-communist pro-Chiang Kai-shek lobby group increased its influence in Congress. The China lobby's success can be attributed to how it took advantage of the US political climate to sway US-China policy. Similarly, the rise of the Formosa lobby also can be attributed to the specific historical moments in US political history. In the context of the anti-war and anti-imperialist political climate, US policymaking was forced to make compromises on human rights issues domestically and internationally. The switch to unofficial ties between the US government and the ROC provided a timely opportunity for Taiwanese American lobbyists to promote democracy, freedom, and human rights in Taiwan.

Goals and main concerns: In the 1950s-1970s, the main concerns of the China lobby were to oppose the PRC's entry into the United Nations and to prevent US-PRC diplomatic recognition. The China lobby members claimed that there was only one China, and that China was temporarily settled in Taiwan and its name was the Republic of China (ROC, or free China). To support Free China as the only representative of all of China, they propagandized heavily in order to damage the PRC's international image. Some of them even attempted to assist Chang Kai-shek's recovery of mainland China from Mao's communist forces.

In the early and mid-1980s, the China lobby focused on framing US-Taiwan relations under the threat after US-PRC normalization. By contrast, the Formosa lobby was concerned not so much about the threat from the PRC but the need for Taiwan to democratize and for

its people to have the right to self-determination. Nonetheless, in terms of the PRC's threat and Taiwan's defense, the China lobby and the Formosa lobby were in an agreement.¹⁴⁹

To confront the China lobby's one China, the Formosa lobby advocated for Taiwan's reentry into the United Nations under the name of "Taiwan," not "the Republic of China." The Formosa lobby also disagreed with the idea of two Chinas in the UN, i.e. parallel representation/one country, two seats. They wanted Taiwan to be counted as an independent seat and the name of it in the United Nations should be therefore to be "Taiwan," not anything related to "China." Lastly, the Formosa lobby demanded that the Kuomintang government abandon the idea of reunification.¹⁵⁰

Methods: The China lobby was a loose organization without centralized structural leadership. The China lobby's views were widely accepted because of the anti-communist climate in US domestic politics in the 1950s-1960s and the effectiveness of the lobby's propaganda efforts targeted at the public and foreign policy decisions through the media and publications. The main affiliations of the China lobby include the Committee of One Million, the American Chinese Policy Association (ACPA), the China Emergency Committee, and the Committee to Defend America by Aiding Anti-Communists.

Compared to the China lobby, the FAPA is more coherent in shape. They have a central committee and local chapters dealing with local outreach. They are constituted of several pro-Taiwan Taiwanese American political organizations, including the Taiwanese

¹⁴⁹ CONGRESSMAN STEPHEN SOLARZ, the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training Foreign Affairs Oral History Project, Interviewed by Charles Stuart Kennedy, Initial interview date: November 18, 1996, P 60-61 (downloaded and cited on Dec 26, 2019: https://www.adst.org/OH%20TOCs/Solarz,%20Stephen.toc.pdf?_ga=2.135907252.426984927.1577387608-120122414.1577387608)

¹⁵⁰ John Chen, *Taiwanese American Citizen Diplomacy*, page 47, 50-51 and 158; John Chen, *FAPA and Congressional Diplomacy, 1982-1995*, page 62 and 360.

Chamber of Commerce of North America, the Center for Taiwan International Relations, World United Formosans for Independence (WUFI), the Democratic Progressive Party in the United States, and the Formosan Association for Public Affairs (FAPA). Different from the China lobby, the Formosa lobby is a grassroots movement supported mainly by Taiwanese diasporic groups in America. In terms of organizational structure, in the 1980s-1990s the FAPA consisted of a Central Committee of 100 members. It's possible to become a member of the Central Committee by paying a membership fee, and it's possible to start a chapter by paying a fixed amount of money to the Central Committee. In this way, the FAPA has developed a network of contacts and set up one local chapter after another across the United States. Through the networks of each local chapter, the FAPA can connect with local legislators. The grassroots movement depends heavily on the action of each Taiwanese American citizen to connect with and influence Congresspeople in their district. Taiwanese American activists are organized to visit Congresspeople in person, or through letters/phone calls, to get their attention and elicit their interest in Taiwan issues. For more detail, the FAPA's lobby kit is shown below in appendix D.

Influences on US-China-Taiwan Policy: The China lobby prevented US-PRC diplomatic recognition in the 1950s-60s and opposed the PRC's entry into the United Nations. The Formosa lobby was effective when it came to adopting legislation and passing resolutions for the purposes of encouraging respect for human rights and democracy in Taiwan. It put pressure on the Kuomintang to improve its human rights and democracy policies in the 1980s, including the release of the Meilidao political prisoners, the removal of blacklists, lifting martial law, freedom of speech and press, holding free elections, and so on. Nonetheless, due to its One-China policy, the United States did not respond fairly to the Formosa lobby's demand for Taiwan's self-determination.

8. Third World Diplomacy

As the diplomatic ties between the US and the Republic of China gradually weakened in the 1970s, more and more political leaders outside the KMT party (or *tangwai* movement leaders) were allowed and willing to take risks of exiling to the United States for protection as well for engaging in political campaigns from overseas. One famous example, as mentioned in the previous section of the chapter, is Taiwanese political leader in exile Kuo Yu-Shin. While in Washington, D.C., Kuo announced he was running to be Taiwan's president against Chiang Ching-kuo in 1978. Although many argued that this overseas presidential campaign was more politically symbolic than having any real impact, Kuo did draw attention. Raul Manglapus, former Foreign Minister of the Philippines before he was exiled¹⁵¹ to the United States in 1972, reached out to Kuo through the connection with Neng-hsiang Wang, who served as Kuo's campaign manager, secretary, and spokesperson at the time, and proposed to form a multinational alliance with Kuo for his transnational free Filipino movement.¹⁵²

Initially, Raul Manglapus invited Wang to give a lecture about Taiwan in his

¹⁵¹ In 1972, when Foreign Minister of the Philippines Raul Manglapus attended an annual General Assembly of the United Nation in the United States with other Filipino delegates, Director Ferdinand Marcos declared Martial Law in the Philippines. Raul Manglapus was therefore forced to stay in the US. He organized the Movement for a Free Philippines in Washington DC while teaching international political at America University. He was in exile for 14 years before returning to the Philippines in 1986.

¹⁵² Neng-hsiang Wang, Wen-long Chang, *Pioneer of D.C. Congressional Diplomacy: Wang Neng-xiang's 80 Memories and the Future of Taiwan*, 153.

international relations class at America University. After the lecture, Manglapus formally proposed to Wang and Kuo a new political organization focusing on global democracy issues. Manglapus' idea was inspired by Lenin's concept of the Communist International, or the Third International. They all agreed and then named the new political group, "The Democracy International." The organization was officially established in 1979. It created a political solidarity among political dissents in exile around the world, including South Korean Kim Dae-jung, and many from Eastern European and Central/South American authoritarian countries. Taiwanese voices and experiences carried weight in the group. Kuo Yu-shin and Peng Ming-min, for example, sat on the board of advisors and Neng-hsiang Wang served as a board member as well as treasurer for the organization.¹⁵³

George Chang, Chairperson of the World United Formosans for Independence (WUFI) in the 1970s, also connected with Raul Manglapus through Wang's introduction. Both Chang and Manglapus later worked for a DC-based, non-governmental think tank, International Center for Development Policy (ICDP),¹⁵⁴ together as the Center's senior research fellows.

¹⁵³ Ibid, 154-155.

¹⁵⁴ The Director of the Center, Lindsay Mattision, was a leading figure of anti-War student movements in the 1970s. After the end of the Vietnam war, Mattision switched her focus to Third World democratization movements. Instead of promoting a congressional and legislation approach, she dedicated to supporting grassroot non-governmental organizations and individuals for democracy and economic growth of the Third World. The center was established in 1977, Board of Directors including politicians, educators, artists and lawyers. The aim of the Center was to gather a group of influential people together and solve regional conflicts and promote democratization in a collective effort. Raul Manglapus was once President of the Center. South Korean opposition party leader, Kim Dae-Jung, was a research fellow and returned to South Korea by the support of the Center's members. Another South Korean opposition party leader, Kim Young-sam, also had close connections with the Center. George Chang not only served as a senior fellow, but also was selected in the Board of Directors once. In 1986, Robert White became the Center's Director. White was an ambassador to El Salvador during the Carter Administration. He committed to human rights issues as well as democratization in Latin America. Reference: George Chang,

George Chang developed good relations with Raul Manglapus at the Center. In 1986, when Manglapus ended his exile and returned to the Philippines, he organized the first annual meeting of the Movement for a Free Philippines. Manglapus invited George Chang and other Taiwanese American community leaders (for example, Mark Chen and Fu-chen Lo) to attend the meeting in the Philippines and to give a speech as the first guests. Manglapus also introduced President Corazon C. Aquino and other top officials of the government to Chang and they exchanged ideas about Taiwan with each other.¹⁵⁵

In 1986, also through the connections at the Center, George Chang formed a political alliance, the International Commission for Democracy, with political exiles from South Africa and South Korea, as well as Paraguay's Domingo Laino.¹⁵⁶ The purpose of the alliance was to build contacts and communication, and to gain support from the democratic opposition leaders of the four countries. They also reached an agreement on the agendas: 1. Call for and co-organize an international anti-authoritarian opposition party leader meeting; 2. Make a joint statement with all alliance members; 3. Build a database collecting information about opposition party movements around the world and share intelligence about political, economic and immigration issues to each other; 4. Collaborate on

“Radio Project Memorandum,” in Zheng-xio Chen, Kang-lu Wang, Jia-Kuang Huang ed., *Thirty Years of Taiwan Independence Movement: Anthology of George Chang, Part 1* (Taipei: Avanguard book, 1991), 60. George Chang, “George Chang appointed as Director of the ICDP,” in Zheng-xio Chen, Kang-lu Wang, Jia-Kuang Huang ed., *Thirty Years of Taiwan Independence Movement: Anthology of George Chang, Part 2* (Taipei: Avanguard book, 1991), 726-727.

¹⁵⁵ Zheng-xio Chen, Kang-lu Wang, Jia-Kuang Huang ed., *Thirty Years of Taiwan Independence Movement: Anthology of George Chang, Part 2*, 573-577.

¹⁵⁶ The opposition party leader of Paraguay Domingo Laino is a PhD in economics. He once chaired Paraguay's National Accord. In 1982, because of writing a Paraguay dictator's biography, Laino was expelled from his own country. Zheng-xio Chen, Kang-lu Wang, Jia-Kuang Huang ed., *Thirty Years of Taiwan Independence Movement: Anthology of George Chang, Part 2*, page 629 and 636.

propaganda work.¹⁵⁷ Invited by Domingo Laino, George Chang flew to Argentina in 1987 for a joint meeting with opposition party leaders from South Korea, South Africa, Chile, and Paraguay. At the meeting, they called for a united action against authoritarian governments around the globe and to fight for democracy.¹⁵⁸

In June 1988, Taiwanese American leaders were invited again by Raul Manglapus and President Corazon C. Aquino to attend a 16-nation joint meeting called “Restore Democracy” to be held in Manila. These nations had all gone through experiences of restoration from dictatorship or authoritarianism to democracy, including the Philippines, Argentina, Brazil, Portugal, Spain, Greece, Peru, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Bolivia, Ecuador, Honduras, Guatemala, Paraguay, and South Korea. Participants included foreign ministers as well as three presidents from these nations.¹⁵⁹

The joint meeting upset the United States government because the host nations invited Nicaragua to attend the conference. Under US pressure, a German foundation at the last moment cancelled its sponsorship of the meeting. Many participants expressed their dissatisfaction with the US intervention. They were also discontented with the hegemonic intervention of both the US and the Soviet Union into other nations’ domestic development and democracy. Taiwan’s KMT government was not invited to the meeting. In response, the government used a party-run newspaper, *World Journal*, to make the statement that it was

¹⁵⁷ Zheng-xio Chen, Kang-lu Wang, Jia-Kuang Huang ed., *Thirty Years of Taiwan Independence Movement: Anthology of George Chang, Part 1*, 39-40; Zheng-xio Chen, Kang-lu Wang, Jia-Kuang Huang ed., *Thirty Years of Taiwan Independence Movement: Anthology of George Chang, Part 2*, 635.

¹⁵⁸ Zheng-xio Chen, Kang-lu Wang, Jia-Kuang Huang ed., *Thirty Years of Taiwan Independence Movement: Anthology of George Chang, Part 2*, 629-631.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid*, 602-605.

sorry about the decision made by the Filipino government to invite the Taiwanese Independence separatist force to the meeting. It also claimed that Taiwan's foreign aid program and investment in the Philippines would be withdrawn because of it.¹⁶⁰

C. North America Taiwanese Professors' Association (NATPA)

1. "Learners Know Limitless Boundaries, but Scholars Know Their Motherland": The Founding President of NATPA

Professor Shut-sung Liao (1931-2015), born in Tainan, Taiwan. His father, Chi-chuan Liao (廖繼春) was a well-known Taiwanese oil painter. Liao graduated from Taichung First High School in 1949 and entered the Department of Agricultural Chemistry at National Taiwan University. He earned his B.S. degree in 1953 and M.S. degree in 1956 in the same department before he came to the United States. Liao earned his PhD in Biochemistry & Molecular Biology at the University of Chicago in 1961. After graduation, Liao taught at his alma mater, specializing in the biochemical mechanism and pharmacology of sex hormones.

Chicago was the second-largest city in the United States and one of the major cities for Taiwanese migration in the 1960s. In the mid-1960s, with the number of Taiwanese students living in greater Chicago increasing, migrant students started to organize a Taiwanese student association in the city. Professor Liao served as the advisor of the Association and took care of students like the head of a big family. Because of his

¹⁶⁰ Zheng-xio Chen, Kang-lu Wang, Jia-Kuang Huang ed., *Thirty Years of Taiwan Independence Movement: Anthology of George Chang, Part 2*, 606-609.

involvement in the Taiwanese student association, he was blacklisted by the KMT. In 1967, when his father died of illness in Taipei, he was denied a visa to return to Taiwan for his father's funeral. It was not until the early 1980s that Liao had an opportunity to return to Taiwan.¹⁶¹

In the wake of the Meilidao Incident of 1979, Dr. Liao and 137 Taiwanese professors in North America wrote an open letter published in *The Washington Post* condemning the KMT's mass arrests and calling for a fair and open judicial trial. Furthermore, Liao decided to form an association composed of Taiwanese academics in North America to support Taiwan's democratization movement. On February 16, 1980, a group of Taiwanese academics gathered at the University of Chicago to discuss the formation of the "North American Taiwanese Professors' Association" (NAPTA). On April 24, 1980, the NATPA was officially established in Chicago, with Dr. Liao being elected as the founding president of the association and Parris Hsu-cheng Chang (張旭成), Fu-Mei Chang (張富美), David Tsay (蔡丁財), Kim Lai Huang (黃金來), De-min Wu (吳得民), C.Y. Tsai (蔡嘉寅), Bing-chi Chen (陳炳杞), and Robert Y Lai (賴義雄) as regional and general board members.¹⁶²

2. NATPA's Political Campaigns in the 1980s

¹⁶¹ Carole Hsu, "Life's Persistence: The Story of Professor Shut-sung Liao of the University of Chicago," article published in Taiwanese American Historical Society, July 2014.
<http://www.tahistory.org/%E7%94%9F%E5%91%BD%E7%9A%84%E5%9F%B7%E8%91%97-%E2%94%80%E8%8A%9D%E5%8A%A0%E5%93%A5%E5%A4%A7%E5%AD%B8%E5%BB%96%E8%BF%B0%E5%AE%97%E6%95%99%E6%8E%88%E7%9A%84%E6%95%85%E4%BA%8B1-23-%E2%97%8E/> (downloaded and cited on August 20, 2020)

¹⁶² Ibid.

Headquartered in Chicago, the NATPA is a non-profit organization registered by the state government of Illinois. The organization grew to 11 local chapters across the United States by the end of 1986, with membership increasing from 100 people in 1980 to 494 people in 1987. The aims of the NATPA are 1) to promote scientific and professional knowledge and its utilization; 2) to facilitate international understanding, educational exchange, and cultural contact among people in Taiwan, the United States, and other countries; 3) to sponsor research and education on subjects related to Taiwan; and 4) to further the general welfare of Taiwanese communities in North America. NATPA receives their funding support from public donations, membership dues, and government agencies.¹⁶³

To address Taiwan's most pressing national issues and provide policy consultation to Taiwan government, NATPA, functioning as a think tank, organized different research groups based on the members' interests and strengths: Nuclear Power, Higher Education, Environmental Protection, Taiwan Economy, Taiwan Stock Market, Medical Surveys, Taiwan Culture, Taiwan History, February 28 Incident Surveys, Taiwan Agricultural Economy, Congress Re-elections, Cross-Strait Politics, etc., and, through their association's publications or public policy conferences cohosted with scholars in Taiwan and Japan, to openly allow their views and advice to be heard by the government.¹⁶⁴

NATPA intervened directly in Dr. Chen Wen-cheng's autopsy investigation. As soon as Professor Liao heard about Dr. Chen's death in Taiwan, he convened a board member meeting and set up an NATPA ad hoc group for Dr. Chen's investigation. The NATPA

¹⁶³ *A Decade of NATPA, 1980-1990*, a publication of North America Taiwanese Professors' Association (NATPA headquarters, Chicago), June 1990, page 61-62, 103-104

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid*, 68-69.

recruited Dr. Robert Kirschner, a humanistic forensic scientist in Chicago, to conduct the autopsy. Dr. Liao also talked to Dr. Chen's employer, Carnegie Mellon University, and explained Taiwan's political situation. Dr. Cyril Wecht, another forensic pathologist in Pittsburgh, was hired by Carnegie Mellon University to conduct a field autopsy in Taiwan. After a careful examination, the two American forensic pathologists came up with a shocking report, stating that Dr. Chen did not commit suicide, but was beaten and pushed down from a campus building while he was alive.¹⁶⁵

In August 1982, Professor Liao returned to Taiwan and met with KMT officials to discuss the release of the political prisoners of the Meilidao Incident. Liao went back to Taiwan with an NATPA delegation again in 1983 to observe the first election since the Meilidao Incident and made suggestions to the government.¹⁶⁶ The 1983 NATPA delegation to Taiwan represented the first time an overseas Taiwanese group held a press conference in Taiwan. NATPA Taiwan election observers also could and did make their position clear at the press conference that Taiwan voters and candidates should have the right to discuss self-determination for the first time. Less than one month before their Taiwan trip, on October 15, 1983, the US Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs had just passed Resolution 74, stating that "The future of Taiwan should be settled peacefully free of coercion, and in a manner acceptable to the people of Taiwan..." They published an English report on their

¹⁶⁵ Carole Hsu, "Life's Persistence: The Story of Professor Shut-sung Liao of the University of Chicago," article published in Taiwanese American Historical Society, July 2014. <http://www.tahistory.org/%E7%94%9F%E5%91%BD%E7%9A%84%E5%9F%B7%E8%91%97-%E2%94%80%E8%8A%9D%E5%8A%A0%E5%93%A5%E5%A4%A7%E5%AD%B8%E5%BB%96%E8%BF%B0%E5%AE%97%E6%95%99%E6%8E%88%E7%9A%84%E6%95%85%E4%BA%8B1-23-%E2%97%8E/> (downloaded and cited on August 20, 2020)

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

observation of the 1983 Taiwan election. This report was not only published in the NATPA bulletin, but also presented at a hearing on Recent Political Developments in Taiwan held by the Asia Pacific Subcommittee of the US House of Representatives Committee on Foreign Affairs in May 1984.¹⁶⁷

The NATPA's C.Y. Fund helped Yi-hsiung Lin (林義雄), a human rights lawyer for the Meilidao trial and political prisoner, to study in the US, UK, and Japan after his release. The C.Y. fund also sponsored the publications of a Taiwanese musical collection called "Poems of the Taiwanese" written by Tyzen Hsiao (蕭泰然).¹⁶⁸

The Taiwan Association of University Professors was founded in Taiwan in 1990 under the influence of NATPA. Both have maintained close ties with each other ever since it was established.

D. Taiwanese United Fund (TUF)

1. Dr. Jer-shung Lin (pen name: 林衡哲, 1939-) and the founding of the TUF

¹⁶⁷ Shut-sung Liao, "The First Ten Years of the North America Taiwanese Professors' Association," Yan-xian Chang, Qio-mei Zen, Chao-hai Chen ed., *Self-consciousness and Identity: 1950-1990 Taiwanese Overseas Movements*, 256-259. 9

¹⁶⁸ Carole Hsu, "Life's Persistence: The Story of Professor Shut-sung Liao of the University of Chicago," article published in Taiwanese American Historical Society, July 2014.
<http://www.tahistory.org/%E7%94%9F%E5%91%BD%E7%9A%84%E5%9F%B7%E8%91%97-%E2%94%80%E8%8A%9D%E5%8A%A0%E5%93%A5%E5%A4%A7%E5%AD%B8%E5%BB%96%E8%BF%B0%E5%AE%97%E6%95%99%E6%8E%88%E7%9A%84%E6%95%85%E4%BA%8B1-23-%E2%97%8E/> (downloaded and cited on August 20, 2020)

Born in 1939 in Yilan, Taiwan from a political elite family. Lin's uncle was Kuo Yu-shin (郭雨新), one of the most important *tangwai* leaders in Taiwan's early democratic movement period of 1949-1970. Though Lin studied medicine, he had always been passionate about literature. During his medical school years at National Taiwan University (NTU), he translated and compiled several biographies of great Western thinkers for the New Wave Bunkobon (新潮文庫), including a biography of Bertrand Russell and Bertrand Russell's memoirs. The Bunkobon was highly regarded by many Taiwanese students and intellectuals from the 1960s to the 1990s as a window onto the exploration of foreign cultures when the society was closed and conservative to foreign knowledge due to stifling political control.¹⁶⁹ Lin graduated from medical school in 1967 and came to the United States in 1968 for an internship and later was promoted to a position as a pediatrician in a New York hospital.

In his memoirs, Lin recalled the journey of his political awakening and consciousness of his Taiwan identity: "Before I came to America, I had no Taiwanese consciousness at all. Influenced by my favorite Chinese scholars such as Hu Shih (胡適), Liang Qichao (梁啟超), and Lin Yutang (林語堂), I had always viewed the world from the perspective of and regarded myself as a Chinese intellectual. I knew almost nothing about Taiwan cultures and historical figures in Taiwan. When I was in New York in 1968, I attended a Taiwanese association's event. After listening to the speeches of Chou Shih-ming, R.S. Lin, and Chen Lung-chi (陳隆志), I was shocked and realized that the future of Taiwan is not necessarily just a choice between the KMT's reunification or the CCP's liberation, but Taiwanese people also have the right to decide their own fate and can be the masters of their own

¹⁶⁹ Jer-shung Lin, *80 Years Memoir of Jer-shung Lin* (Taipei: Vista Publishing, 2020), 74-84.

country. Witnessing Taiwanese diasporic activism all throughout the 1970s further reinforced my Taiwanese identification: the April 22 assassination of Chiang Ching-kuo in New York, Peng Ming-min's speech at a Taiwanese assembly, and the overseas Taiwanese Christian self-determination movement led by Reverend Huang Chang-hui..."¹⁷⁰

During his 30 years of practicing medicine in the US, Dr. Lin has never forgotten his love for literature. After moving from New York to Southern California in 1978, Lin founded Taiwan Publishing House (台灣出版社) in 1983 to publish Taiwanese biographies and excellent Taiwanese literary works that are banned in Taiwan, such as *The Fig Tree: Memoirs of a Taiwanese Patriot* written by Wu Zhio-liu (吳濁流), and Peng Ming-Min's *Taste of Freedom*. While in Taiwan, Dr. Lin endeavored to translate and introduce Western masterpieces to Taiwanese readers; after he moved to the United States, he still devoted himself to publishing Taiwan's outstanding literary works and biographies from overseas for readers on the island, hoping to enlighten the society so as to produce better culture and a better future on their own.¹⁷¹

In addition, together with several other founding members, Lin established the Taiwanese United Fund (TUF) of Southern California chapter in Los Angeles in 1986. During his presidency, Lin was the strongest supporter of the Taiwanese American musician Tyzen Hsiao (蕭泰然). Because of Lin's encouragement, Hsiao created three concerti for Taiwan. Among one of the three concerti is Taiwan's Cui-Ching (台灣翠青), a song composed by Hsiao and lyrics by Taiwanese Presbyterian Church Pastor E.Y. Cheng (鄭兒

¹⁷⁰ Ibid, 93-94.

¹⁷¹ Ibid, 97-99.

玉), has become the national anthem of the Taiwanese diaspora due to its beautiful melody and deep love for Taiwan. Dr. Lin is regarded as one of the most dedicated promoters of Taiwanese culture in the Taiwanese diasporic community.

2. The TUF in the Taiwanese diasporic community

The TUF was initially founded in Chicago in 1980 by Taiwanese diasporic community members in the Midwest who, inspired by the spirit of Meilidao political activists, wanted to contribute to the making of Taiwan subjectivity and promoting Taiwan culture in their local community. The organization gradually withered away because of leadership problems. In 1985, at the suggestion of Dr. Lin, the TUF established a Southern California chapter, which became independent from the Chicago branch three years later. In the first decade of its founding in Los Angeles, the TUF hosted the highest quality cultural events of their kind in the Taiwanese diasporic community. At its peak, thousands of people would buy tickets for TUF's Taiwan cultural shows. These events were dedicated to promoting cultural exchange between Taiwan and the US by introducing Taiwanese musicians, writers, and artists to the US, and supporting the development of Taiwanese literature, music and art that was not allowed in Taiwan at the time. As Dr. Lin indicated, "By doing so, we were hoping to rediscover or create the subjectivity of Taiwan cultures, to establish Taiwanese people's own cultural identity, and to expect the cultural miracle of Taiwan in the twentieth first century!"¹⁷²

¹⁷² Ibid, 131-146.

Chapter IV. Imagining a New Nation

*“During the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895, Taiwan was ceded to Japan as compensation for the defeat of the Qing Dynasty, and was given to Japan without regard to the will of Taiwan residents. Japan took over Taiwan by force. However, the lands on the island were plowed by our ancestors without any help from the Qing government...They had cultivated and built their homeland on their own efforts. How could the Qing government cede it without their consent?” --- Wu Zhio-liu, *The Fig Tree*¹⁷³*

“The February 28 Incident has a great meaning to Taiwanese people. People in Taiwan have been engaged in struggles against foreign oppression and alien rule for four hundred years. But until 2.28, these struggles had always had the desire of seeking and identifying with China. 2.28 has taught us Taiwanese a lesson and made us realize that if we want to be free and save ourselves, we must cut off the shadow of China and bravely take the road to independence. Therefore, 228 was a turning point in the Taiwanese people's struggle for identity, and it can also be said to be the starting point of the modern Taiwan independence and nation-building movement.” --- George Chang¹⁷⁴

¹⁷³ Wu Zhio-liu, *The Fig Tree* (Taipei: Grassroots Culture Publishing, 2016), 2-3.

¹⁷⁴ Zheng-xio Chen, Kang-lu Wang, Jia-Kuang Huang ed., *Thirty Years of Taiwan Independence Movement: Anthology of George Chang, Part 2*, 374.

As analyzed in previous chapters, the Taiwanese diasporic community in the US was composed of students, missionaries, high- skilled professionals, and political exiles. The consensus in the diverse community was to overthrow the KMT's authoritarian rule, but there were various views among different groups on how to achieve the goal. As far back as the assassination attempt of then-Vice Premier Chiang Ching-kuo in New York on April 24, 1970, internal divisions had been revealed inside the community between radical versus moderate approaches, and between those who emphasized human rights/democracy issues versus those who emphasized Taiwan's struggle for sovereignty. With the arrival of highly respected and "experienced" political exiles from the island in the late 1970s, and the increased exchange of information among the transnational members of the community, debates on how to conduct the political campaigns became even more diverse: with the left versus the right, the moderate versus the revolutionary radicals, the American locals (e.g. WUFI) versus the political exiles (e.g. *Formosa Magazine Weekly*), and so on. This chapter does not intend to over-simplify the variance in opinion. However, the main purpose of the chapter is not to discuss their differences, but to demonstrate how the Taiwanese diasporic movements had inspired Taiwanese subjectivity and influenced democratic thoughts from the late 1970s to the late 1980s. I argue that the ideas of addressing and promoting Taiwanese subjectivity are the most important contribution of the Taiwanese diasporic movement to the democratization of Taiwan.

A. Taiwanese Subjectivity as Resistance

Taiwan's democratization movement contains a nationalistic implication. While

promoting democracy, it simultaneously emphasized Taiwanese nationalism, or the argument that the "Taiwanese are not Chinese." This is very different from South Korean democratization, although both, since the 1970s, belonged the third wave of the global democratization movement, both were under Japanese colonization in the first few decades of the twentieth century, and both had experienced postwar authoritarian rule in the 1950s-1980s (thirty-year period of war in East Asia during the Cold War¹⁷⁵). Since the late 1980s, after martial law was lifted and Taiwan became a democratic society, we have seen the tension and diversified development of Taiwan's democratic politics and national identity issue, swaying between two poles: ethnic politics (native Taiwanese versus Chinese mainlanders) and ethnic identity (Taiwanese versus Chinese). This emphasis of the difference and the promotion of "Taiwanese subjectivity" and "Taiwanese consciousness" is particularly evident in Taiwanese diasporic communities in the United States.

The meaning of "Taiwanese" and "Taiwan identity" was determined and dominated by the Chinese elite and a Chinese perspective brought to the island by the KMT regime. To native Taiwanese, especially those who had lived through the regime transfer in late 1940s, what they saw of "Chinese" or "Chinese subjectivity" from the Chinese nationalist government was backwardness, corruption, feudal dictatorship, lack of freedom and democracy, no human rights, and the erasure of individual identity. To protest against this unequal top-down relationship of domination, the emphasis on Taiwanese subjectivity therefore had become a weapon and a tool for the Taiwanese to fight against China. This is why, especially before democratization, Taiwanese subjectivity usually also meant "de-

¹⁷⁵ "East Asian thirty-year war period": the concept developed by South Korean leading public intellectual and philosopher Doh-ol Kim Yong-ok (1948-). Doh-ol Kim Yong-ok, Li-xi Chu translated, *Koreans Heart and Taiwan Love* (Taipei: Yun-chen Culture, 2006), 24.

sinicization.”¹⁷⁶ It is thus not surprising that this emphasis on Taiwanese subjectivity was first put forward by native Taiwanese.

The next logical question would be why the KMT regime (which promoted Chinese subjectivity) was unable to accommodate Taiwanese subjectivity in its Chinese perspective. Are “Chinese subjectivity” and “Taiwanese subjectivity” in conflict, from the KMT’s point of view? Why? Some scholars¹⁷⁷ have tried to explain the nature of KMT rule in Taiwan by applying the concept of a settler state and a colonial state. Using the concepts to understand KMT rule in Taiwan help answer the question.

The concept of settler states was first introduced by Ronald John Weitzer in his *Transforming Settler State: Communal Conflict and Internal Security in Northern Ireland and Zimbabwe* in 1990. A settler state refers to a newly-arrived immigrant group that has established a dominant position in the social system vis-à-vis the native population and based on the principle of political domination, and the establishment of a self-sustaining national authority independent from their home country. Unlike colonial states, settler states not only cut off resources and pressures from the colonial center (colonial home country), but also often rooted themselves in the immigrants' places as a permanent settlement. For this reason, to guarantee security and full control, the high-handed rule of settler states over

¹⁷⁶ Tsai Ing-wen, “From Resistance and Reconstruction to the Real Establishment of Taiwan's Subjectivity,” in Taiwan Association of University Professors, *The Republic of China's 60 Years of Exile in Taiwan and Taiwan's Post-War International Situation* (Taipei: Avanguard book, 2010), 3-4.

¹⁷⁷ For example, Masahiro Wakabayashi, Mau-Kuei Chang, Ong Iok-tek, Su Beng and so on. See: Chih-Huei Huang, “the ROC in Taiwan, 1945-1987,” in Taiwan Association of University Professors, *The Republic of China's 60 Years of Exile in Taiwan and Taiwan's Post-War International Situation*, 163-189.

the original inhabitants was refined to ensure their superiority. Often, settler states are authoritarian regimes.¹⁷⁸

However, unlike other settler states, the Kuomintang regime, or at least the regime before 1975 (in Chiang Kai-shek's era), did not want to permanently resettle in Taiwan. Settlers came to Taiwan because they lost the Chinese Civil War. They went into exile in Taiwan with the aim of returning to mainland China. They kept claiming the sovereignty of the entire China and wanted to go back to regain rulership. In addition, the government of the Republic of China (ROC) before democratization kept denying that its territory was in fact limited to Taiwan, Penghu, Kinmen and Matsu, and refusing to claim the independence of the island's territory. Because of the Civil War and reunification mentality, the government of the Republic of China (Taiwan) kept claiming that it never left or was independent from the mother country China and suppressed those voices who declared Taiwan was independent.¹⁷⁹

Su Beng (1918-2019), a lifelong advocate of the Taiwan independence movement living in Japan, was the first and most important scholar writing about Taiwan's history and analyzing the KMT's rule in Taiwan through the lens of a colonial state. Su wrote, "Ever since the Chinese rulers discovered Taiwan, none of them had regarded it as a part of China, but an isolated island on the sea outside China. After retreating his military to Taiwan in 1949, all Chiang Kai-shek was thinking was to return to mainland and revive his regime. That is why the KMT: 1) divided the island into two political/social/economic classes: the rulers/ruled are divided based on ethnicity; 2) dominated and even monopolized all political,

¹⁷⁸ Chih-Huei Huang, "the ROC in Taiwan, 1945-1987," in Taiwan Association of University Professors, *The Republic of China's 60 Years of Exile in Taiwan and Taiwan's Post-War International Situation*, 168.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid*, 173-175.

economic, and cultural sectors in the upper and middle levels; 3) used 600,000 troops as the backbone of its colonial rule and for international diplomacy; 4) maintained the fiction of reunification to exploit the Taiwanese and deceive the international community; 5) had a regime that was also characterized by antiquated Chinese feudal bureaucracy, warlord dictatorship, and secret agency fascism. As a result, the Taiwanese were politically, economically, and culturally exploited by the KMT. Su particularly emphasized the aspect of the regime's economic exploitation in Taiwan.¹⁸⁰ But other scholars such as Ng Chiau-tong (黃昭堂) questioned the parallel and indicated that the KMT was a colonial power without a colonial motherland.¹⁸¹

Taiwanese historian Xiaofeng Lee argued that regardless of whether it was a settler state or a colonial state, the KMT regime in Taiwan designed the ROC's constitutional system based on a vision of China that included the mainland China whole of China. Although it had withdrawn from the mainland and no longer had legitimacy over it, the KMT still upheld this vision to defend its legitimacy in the international community and domestically. Therefore, under such constraints, Taiwanese subjectivity could not exist.¹⁸²

The ideas of democracy passed down and perpetuated by overseas Taiwanese through transnational experiences had been brought back to Taiwan by the Taiwanese elite abroad and had become important components in the Taiwanese democracy of today. In the following, I focus on the cultural aspects of diasporic activism in terms of Taiwanese

¹⁸⁰ Ibid, 178-180.

¹⁸¹ Ibid, 184.

¹⁸² Ibid, 185.

subjectivity, such as the study of Taiwanese history, the Taiwanese language movement, and the production of Taiwanese music, literature, and art.

B. Taiwanese History

Two years after the February 28 Incident broke out in Taiwan, the KMT retreated to the island in 1949. Subsequently, Taiwan was subject to 38 years of imposed martial law. At that time, there were three major political taboos on the island: the party ban, the February 28 Incident, and Taiwan Independence/Chinese Communist Party. Anyone who was involved in or who mentioned any of these taboos would be thrown into a political prison. Because of the high pressure on the island, things and people related to the taboos could only be passed on and continued overseas. The Taiwanese diasporic groups, especially the Taiwanese community in Japan, made the greatest contribution to the preservation and publicity of the February 28 history in the early stage of Taiwan's democratization movement.

Some Taiwanese who had participated in the incident and had a sense of rebellion sought a way to leave Taiwan in late 1940s. They made major contributions to the preservation of historical truth, so that it would not be forgotten. Thomas Liao, one Taiwanese leader and participant in the Incident, was exiled to Hong Kong before moving to Japan. Liao used Japan as his anti-KMT Taiwan Independence base before he gave up and returned to Taiwan in 1965. Ong Iok-tek (王育德), whose brother, the former Hsinchu District Attorney Wang Yulin, was killed in the February 28 Incident, was blacklisted by the KMT before he decided to go to Japan. In 1960, Wang and other Taiwanese students studying in Japan, including Ng Chiau-tong (黃昭堂), founded the *Taiwan Youth* magazine

to promote Taiwan independence and self-determination.¹⁸³ In the sixth issue of *Taiwan Youth* the magazine editor published a special issue about the February 28 Incident. This was the first time the history of the February 28 Incident was publicized after it took place in 1947.¹⁸⁴ Subsequently, there were more discussions about the February 28 Incident in the magazine. Prior to the 1970s, *Taiwan Youth* was one of the most important sources for overseas Taiwanese to learn about the incident.

The magazine later became the official newspaper of the WUFI. It was the most important publication in the early overseas Taiwanese democratic movement. Its influence on the island was also significant. Chen Chu recalled what she learned when she had just become Kuo Yu-shin's secretary. "Soon after I joined Mr. Kuo's office in 1969, I read the *Taiwan Youth Magazine* (passed on by Kuo)... Kuo trained me explicitly. It was very clear that our goal was the pursuit of Taiwan independence and autonomy. And that is how I first connected with overseas independence activists, through their writing..."¹⁸⁵

Another Taiwanese historical researcher in Japan was Mr. Su Beng, who was born in 1918 in Shihlin, Taipei, to a wealthy family. After graduating from Waseda University, he went to China and joined the Chinese Communist Party as an underground informer. The experience with the CCP made him realize the repressive nature of Chinese communist party and that the Taiwanese never would be trusted by the party. He returned to Taiwan before the war ended. He organized and joined a militia force against the KMT during the 228

¹⁸³ Ming-cheng Chen, *Forty Years of Overseas Taiwan Independence Movement* (Taipei: The Independence Evening Post, 1992), 3-5.

¹⁸⁴ Koh Se-kai, "What does the February 28th Incident mean to the people of Taiwan? How did it change the way Taiwanese view Chinese and Japanese people?" *Taiwan New Century Foundation Forum*, issue 85, 2019. <http://www.taiwanncf.org.tw/tforum/85/85-07.pdf>

¹⁸⁵ Ming-cheng Chen, *Forty Years of Overseas Taiwan Independence Movement*, 5.

Incident. After that, he was exiled to Japan and stayed there for the next four decades advocating for Taiwan. His book *Four Hundred Years of Taiwanese* marked the first time Taiwanese history was written from a leftist colonial perspective. Until now, the book is still one of the must-read classics for the study of Taiwanese history.

Another historical campaign conducted by the Taiwanese diasporic group is war reparations for WWII Taiwanese-native Japanese soldiers (TJS). Between 1937-1945, there were around 200,000 Taiwanese recruited to serve in the Japanese Army, with a total of over 30,000 casualties. After World War II, the former soldiers and military workers who survived lost their Japanese nationality because the Allies put Chiang Kai-shek's ROC in charge of Taiwan. On October 25, 1945, Chiang declared that he would "restore" the nationality of the Taiwanese to the Republic of China. They were thus unable to qualify for and directly apply to the Japanese government for pensions for former Japanese soldiers and compensation programs for former military workers. Later, the Treaty of Taipei between Tokyo and Taipei in 1952 stated that all war claims "shall be the subject of special arrangements between the government of the Republic of China and the government of Japan." However, since Chiang Kai-shek announced at the end of the war that he would not seek war reparations from Japan, the demand for war pensions and compensation for the Taiwanese who served in the Imperial Japanese Army were not processed.

Japan broke diplomatic ties with Taiwan and terminated the Treaty of Taipei in 1972. This meant a change and hope for the Taiwanese veterans to fight for their World War Two compensation. But the real turning point was in December 1974, when a Taiwanese aboriginal soldier in the Japanese Army named Suniuo (his Japanese name was Nakamura Teruo) was found on a remote Indonesian island, drawing public attention to the issue of former Taiwanese soldiers. Suniuo received 8 million yen in compensation and donations

from the Japanese government and society, which inspired other former Taiwanese veterans to act and demand compensation from the Japanese government.

After World War II and until the mid-1970s, the ROC Ministry of Foreign Affairs was reluctant to deal with the issue of TJS. After the end of the war, Chiang Kai-shek gave up his right to demand war reparations from Japan in order to cooperate and make friends with Japan to counter the rising communist forces in Asia. Article 3 of the Sino-Japanese Peace Treaty provided that the claims (including claims for debts) of the two countries and peoples against each other should be settled by special arrangements between the two governments. However, after the signing of the Sino-Japanese Peace Treaty, although the Japanese government had asked the Chinese government three times to deal with the matter, the Chiang Kai-shek government had a very passive attitude and ignored the request. In the 1960s, some Taiwanese directly and indirectly negotiated with Japan, but the Japanese government refused to accept individual requests on the grounds that the matter should be dealt with by the two governments in accordance with the Sino-Japanese Peace Treaty. When diplomatic relations between Taiwan and Japan broke off in 1972, the Japanese government declared the Sino-Japanese Peace Treaty null and void. Therefore, when the Taiwanese presented their claims to the Japanese government in the 1970s, the Japanese government evaded its responsibility on the grounds that there was no longer an agreement regarding diplomatic relations between Taiwan and Japan.

The situation is comparable to what George Chang, chairman of the WUFI, once described in a speech about TJS: "The Koreans, who were also colonized by Japan during the World War II, were no longer Japanese citizens after the war, but their compensation was reasonably and satisfactorily settled in 1964. Why does the Japanese government have two different policies for the same cases? The reason is simple: the Koreans have their

government to back them up and speak for them to uphold justice. We Taiwanese have only a foreign regime who oppresses and betrays the interests of the Taiwanese."¹⁸⁶

However, the problem between the TJS and the Japanese government was actually the settlement of civil debts, including unpaid war debts and pensions for dead and wounded soldiers, which had been confiscated by Japan during the war. The government of the Republic of China (Taiwan) was unable to help the Taiwanese in this matter, so overseas Taiwan people's organizations intervened to seek civil compensation from the Japanese government. In February 1975, the WUFI's Japan branch and Taiwan Associations in Japan established the "Thinking Group on Compensation for Former Japanese Soldiers in Taiwan" to seek civil reparations from the Japanese government. On the one hand, it petitioned the Japanese Diet and on the other hand, it publicized Japan's WWII history. After thirteen years of petitioning, the Japanese Diet finally unanimously passed the "Law Concerning the Support of Condolence Payments to the Survivors of the War Dead and Seriously Injured and Survivors of Former Japanese Soldiers Who Are Taiwanese" in 1987. Since fiscal year 1988, the government of Japan has paid 2 million yen per person for 28,000 Taiwanese soldiers and workers who were killed while serving in the Japanese Imperial Army. Japan officially accepted and released the applications in Taiwan on September 1, 1988, and the cases were formally closed on March 31, 1995, with a total of 29,645 applications approved (421 cases of severe disability / 29,224 deaths) and a total amount of 59,929,000,000 yen. This was less than amounts for Japanese nationals and was only sympathy money, not compensation.

¹⁸⁶ Zheng-xio Chen, Kang-lu Wang, Jia-Kuang Huang ed., *Thirty Years of Taiwan Independence Movement: Anthology of George Chang, Part 1*, 242-245.

C. Taiwanese Culture

Language was a “pass code” and identity maker in the Taiwanese American Community. When Taiwanese got together in either Taiwanese student associations or Taiwanese associations, they spoke Taigi (Taiwanese local languages) only. Speaking Taigi itself was regarded as an important tool or even weapon against the KMT’s suppression of Taiwanese local identity. When the KMT banned Taigi in Taiwan in the 1970s, the Taiwanese diasporic community in North America published *Taiwanese Language and Culture Monthly* (台灣語文月報) and started classes for learning Taigi, helping preserve and promote the mother language and prevent it from becoming extinct. Influenced by their parents, more than a few second-generation Taiwanese American kids grew up speaking only English and Taigi at home.¹⁸⁷

The language policy of the KMT regime went through several changes before being radicalized. The initial idea in 1945 was to transform the island from a Japanese-Taigi bilingual society into a Mandarin-Taigi bilingual society.

Due to the Japanese colonial education and language policy, by the end of 1944, up to 71% of Taiwan’s population spoke Japanese. The Taiwanese spoke Japanese in the public sphere, such as in school or in governmental settings, while speaking Taigi in their private spaces such as the home. The language use reflected generational differences. Overall, most middle-aged adults in 1946 spoke fluent Japanese and Taigi, but their Taigi was mixed with Japanese grammar and vocabulary. The older generation received less Japanese language

¹⁸⁷ Chi-ting Peng, “Keeping the Taiwanese Language Alive: Taiwanese Americans Promoting the Taiwanese Language Movement in North America,” *Pacific Times*, February 28, 2019.

education in school, so their Japanese was relatively inarticulate. The younger generation (in the 20s and under), by contrast, spoke fluent Japanese while some barely spoke Taigi.¹⁸⁸

The purpose of the initial language policy after Japan surrendered was to replace Japanese with Mandarin. Taigi at the time was not banned but instead used to help the Taiwanese learn Mandarin easily.¹⁸⁹ However, the enthusiasm for learning Chinese did not last long, and a series of mistakes made by the policymakers was the main reason for the decline in enthusiasm. Firstly, the language policymakers did not understand the social and psychological foundation behind the language policy, and insisted on promoting a hardline Chinese language movement, hoping to eradicate the Taiwanese people's memory of Japanese colonization and slavery within a short period of time. Second, some mainlanders discriminated against Japanese and Taigi speakers in a high-profile manner, not understanding the context of the language policy and making the Taiwanese resent the mainlanders. Third, the government had made Chinese language proficiency a major consideration in personnel appointments to public agencies. The Taiwanese resented the fact that the Chinese speakers were not more capable, were more corrupt, and yet were in high positions because of their superior linguistic skills in Mandarin. Finally, the government abolished the Japanese editions of newspapers and magazines and banned writers from writing in Japanese, which made Taiwanese intellectuals semi-literate or illiterate, unable to express themselves freely or create their own works.¹⁹⁰

In 1956, the KMT government, eager to see the results of its Mandarin-speaking

¹⁸⁸ Xuan-fan Huang, *Language, Society and Ethnic Consciousness: A Study of Linguistic Sociology in Taiwan* (Taipei: Wen-her publishing, 1995), 98-99.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid, 103-105.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid, 106-107.

policy, launched a comprehensive Mandarin-speaking campaign. In October 1957, the Ministry of Education ordered that the Roman-alphabet Bibles in all counties and cities be replaced by Mandarin-language Bibles, as the former hindered the use of Mandarin, and that missionaries of native Taiwanese should use Mandarin instead of their dialects, and in 1959 the Ministry of Education stipulated that Mandarin-language films could not be shown with Taiwanese subtitles, and that violators would be corrected or shut down.¹⁹¹

By the 1970s, the Mandarin language policy had expanded into a policy of monolingualism, emphasizing the importance of rapid assimilation. The argument was that all other languages in Taiwan were dialects, non-statutory and harmful to nationalist ideology, and should be abandoned quickly and that Taiwan should become a monolingual society with Mandarin as the dominant language to dictate the national language development policy. This thinking led to the passage of the Taiwan Radio and Television Act in 1975, which restricted the use of any dialect in Taiwan's radio and television. The discourse on mother tongue education did not gain traction until 1987; this included the founding of the Taiwan Pen Club, which advocated respect for Taiwan's mother tongue and bilingual education, and the launch of *Hakka Feng Yun* magazine. Mother-tongue education in post-World War II Taiwan was not implemented until 1989, when the Democratic Progressive Party came to power.¹⁹²

The first to promote the Taiwanese language movement overseas was Ong Iok-tek in Japan. Ong was not only an influential figure in the overseas Taiwan independence movement; he was also a leading linguistic scholar on Taiwanese and Minnan. In 1960, he founded Taiwan Youth, a group that combined the Taiwanese independence movement with

¹⁹¹ Ibid, 109-111.

¹⁹² Ibid, 113-114, 119-120.

the Taiwanese language movement and emphasized the importance of the language revolution to Taiwanese independence.¹⁹³

In the United States, the first bimonthly Taiwanese-language newsletter was published in New York in 1975 by Feng-ming Lee, Liang-wei Cheng, and Ching-feng Chen. The purpose of the journal was to promote the teaching of Taiwanese and to provide a space for Taiwanese writing.¹⁹⁴ It is worth noting that the most powerful figures and venues for promoting the Taiwanese language movement in the U.S. were the Presbyterian Church, where the founders of the bimonthly newsletter were all pastors. Some Presbyterian churches even offer Taiwanese language classes for those who are interested in learning the language.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹³ Yaw-Chien Fang, "Taiwanese Literature's Battle from the Margin: A Survey of the Solidarity among Overseas Taiwanese Societies and Magazines," *Journal of Taiwanese Vernacular*, 3(1), 2011, 44-45.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid*, 46.

¹⁹⁵ Interview with Simon Cheng

Chapter V. The KMT and Taiwanese Diasporic Groups in the 1980s

The postwar overseas Taiwanese movement against the KMT mainly focused on criticizing the KMT government's undemocratic governance and human rights violations in Taiwan and questioning its legitimacy to rule Taiwan, and the very legality of its doing so. The regime always stressed in public that the so-called "Taiwan independence movement" was just an "absurd proposition" made by "a small group of people," and their intention was to "split their mother country" through a "sinister conspiracy." The regime also regarded diasporic activists as traitors and accomplices of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), dismissing and ignoring their demands for freedom and human rights.

However, unlike in Taiwan where the KMT was able to fully control the media, imprison political dissents, and suppress the progress of the opposition movement, the KMT could not do whatever they wanted in the US. Besides, gaining US support was the foundation of the regime's survival in the world. Therefore, the KMT had gradually developed a series of strategies to deal with diasporic opposition activism, which focused on strengthening propaganda and "counter-propaganda" in the US, covert surveillance of suspicious dissidents, denial of passport renewal, and blacklisting dissidents from returning to Taiwan.

The situation had started to change starting in the 1970s, when the US and the PRC initiated normalization talks. The regime suffered a major blow to its international standing. Moreover, the rising diasporic powers had become a threat to the regime, given that their lobbying in Congress were effective in pushing the US to do more for democracy and human rights in Taiwan; and with the growing number of Taiwanese migrants in the US, the Taiwanese diasporic community was no longer just "two or three kittens." Nonetheless, the regime's main concern remained the threat from the Communist Chinese Party. Since the

1970s, the CCP had adopted a new policy attempting to draw the Taiwanese people's support and help for its "liberation" of the island.

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss how the KMT responded to the rising Taiwanese diasporic forces in the face of the national security challenges due to US-PRC normalization in 1979 as well as the PRC's attempt to lure Taiwanese diaspora into their united front. Using an investigation report conducted by a US-based KMT scholar Hungdah Chiu for President Chiang Ching-kuo, entitled *Strategy and Tactics Analysis of the Taiwanese Independence Movement in the 1980s*, I shed light on how the KMT changed their policy in the 1980s in response to the PRC's moves. I also use the Los Angeles Taiwanese Association's Taiwan tour in December 1984- January 1985 as an example to reveal how the KMT was thinking about the changing power dynamics between the regime, PRC influences, and the rising Taiwanese diasporic power at the time.

A. The KMT's Policy toward Taiwanese Diasporic Activism in the 1960s-1970s

The KMT government had placed the issues of the overseas Taiwanese opposition movement under the "Fight Against Bandits" steering committee to coordinate with overseas offices and respond to the problems. The overseas Taiwanese opposition movement was considered to be linked to the Chinese Communist Party, or having been instigated by the Chinese Communist Party, posing a serious threat to national security.¹⁹⁶ In 1961, after Edward Y.T. Chen (陳以德) held a press conference to officially announce UFI's activities, the Kuomintang instructed its US Embassy to pay close attention to the group's activities.

¹⁹⁶ Yu-chi Chen, "Strategy of the KMT government on Taiwan independence movement in the United States (1961-1972)," Master's Thesis, National Chengchi University Graduate Institute of Taiwan History, 2012, 57.

Between 1964 and 1968, the Kuomintang established the Taiwan Independence Task Force in New York, Chicago, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Houston, with the task force convened by consul generals of each district to address Taiwan independence activities in their areas of responsibility. The US ambassador in Washington, D.C. served as convener to coordinate all related affairs across the United States. In 1970, the KMT set up a security team (安詳專案) by integrating the Ministry of Education, the National Salvation Corps, the National Security Agency, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to create a cross-party administration special project team. At this point, the work on overseas Taiwanese activism had become one of the main points of focus for the KMT's affairs in the US.¹⁹⁷

For Taiwanese students and scholars submitting articles or other forms of publications, when an article was published in a well-known US journal/channel, the KMT would ask a senior diplomatic official or renowned scholar to write a rebuttal article back. Interestingly, the KMT also often looked for suitable "native Taiwanese" to put up their names as the authors of the rebuttals, pretending that the submissions were written by native Taiwanese, so as to enhance the credibility of the rebuttal arguments. In addition to writing rebuttals, the KMT would also investigate these people's family members in Taiwan, and "punished" some by denying passport renewal, putting them on the most wanted list, or even expelling them from Taiwan.¹⁹⁸ The refusal to renew passports was the most powerful intimidation for most Taiwanese students, because before they graduate and successfully find a job in the US,

¹⁹⁷ Ibid, 78-79.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid, 100-101.

the “punishment” would make them have no status in the US and unable to return to Taiwan, becoming a stateless person.¹⁹⁹

Targeting protesters on the streets or protest organizers, the KMT would mobilize “loyal students” or “patriotic compatriots” to discourage them from participating. Local consulates would also contact US police and immigration authorities in their districts, and attempt to intimidate participants. During a march, someone would be assigned to observe the demonstration, report back on the situation, take photos to collect evidence, and establish a blacklist. People on the list would usually be punished by refusal of passport renewal and denial of entry to Taiwan.²⁰⁰

B. The KMT’s Changing Attitudes and Practices in the 1980s

Chiu Hungdah (丘宏達), born in Shanghai in 1936. One of his elder brothers died in the White Terror in Taiwan in 1950. He graduated from National Taiwan University Law school in 1958 and received his S.J.D. from Harvard University in 1964. He returned to Taiwan and taught at National Taiwan University and National Chengchi University and was recognized by the ROC government as one of Ten Outstanding Youth in 1971. From then on, he became highly regarded and was relied on by the KMT’s top policymakers, including Chiang Ching-kuo. Chiu went to the US and taught at the University of Maryland School of Law in 1974. Since then, he became one of the most important US-based KMT “patriotic” scholars providing consultations for government policymaking. During the Taiwan Relations Act legislation, Chiu represented the KMT in the hearings and helped the

¹⁹⁹ Ibid, 167.

²⁰⁰ Ibid, 120-121.

Republic of China regain ownership of Twin Oaks, among other things. Chiu was also one of few KMT scholars who wrote publicly about the lifting of martial law. Former Taiwan president Ma Ying-jeou was his student.²⁰¹

In the following, I used his report to expose, first, the changes in the Chinese Communist Party's policy towards Taiwan in the context of the US-PRC normalization, and second, the KMT's new thinking on how to deal with overseas Taiwanese groups.

Before the US-PRC talks began in the 1970s, the Chinese Communist Party's policy towards Taiwan was liberation by force. The approach changed to peaceful reunification as normalization talks continued. Believing that disrupting KMT rule from within was an important way to achieve peaceful unification, the CCP began to actively engage in a united front and the rallying of Taiwanese diaspora. Since then, the CCP not only invited overseas Taiwanese leaders to visit China frequently, but also actively participated in the activities of Taiwanese diasporic groups.

In 1971, an informal and non-public office was set up under the State Council of the PRC to handle Taiwan affairs, with Liao Cheng-Chi (廖承志) as the leader, responsible for gathering information, development plans, and providing policy advice. Starting from 1973, the annual commemoration of the February 28 Incident was hosted by the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. The commemoration was conducted in the form of seminars, usually with 110 to 138 participants. Among them, 46% were Taiwanese. Attendees included political party leaders, military officers,

²⁰¹ Zhen-xiang Li, "We all share the same roots, but our fates are too different: the tragic and comedic life of the Chiu family." *Taiwan People News*, Oct 23, 2016; Central Agent News, "Insightful analysis of the controversy: The International Law Expert of Chiu Hungdah." *Central Agent News*, April 13, 2011.

administrators, professors, writers, young people, women, former KMT generals, and diplomats.²⁰²

On March 4, 1980, Deng Ying-chao, Vice Chairman of the National People's Congress of the Chinese Communist Party, said in a speech: "Taiwan's independence is literally opposed to our policy. Therefore, we do not support Taiwan's independence. However, we are willing to exchange views with those who advocate for Taiwan's independence and welcome them to visit China." Since then, the CCP had been in contact with Taiwan independence advocates.²⁰³ Relevant examples include:

- In 1980, the Chinese ambassador in the United States, Chai Zemin, kept in touch with the Taiwan independence activists, inviting Kuo Yu-shin (郭雨新), Shoki Coe (黃彰輝), and Hsu Hsin-liang(許信良) to mainland China, but was unsuccessful, as they refused the invitation.
- In June and September 1980, George Chang and Kuo Yu-shin sent their secretaries separately to visit mainland China.
- In October 1981, Chai Zemin met with local Taiwan independence leaders in Houston.
- From August to September 1982, Kuo Yu-shin's secretary visited the mainland again.
- On August 9, 1982, Chai Zemin invited Kuo Yu-shin, Wang Neng-Hsiang, and former president of the Taiwan Association in Washington, D.C., to a banquet in Washington, D.C., and again invited Kuo Yu-shin to visit the mainland.

²⁰² "Letter from Chiu Hungdah to the Presidential Office on the Strategic and Tactical Analysis of the Taiwan Independence Movement in the 1980s." Volume: Overseas Activities of *Tangwai* Organizations (II), at Academia Historica, Collection of Cultural Relics of the President and Vice President, 1984, Catalog No.: 011-100400-0022

²⁰³ Ibid.

After reviewing their efforts in 1980-1982 and knowing that Taiwanese diasporic leaders in the United States were not interested in their united front plan at all, the CCP pushed further by sending their representatives to join Taiwanese associations' events. The Taiwanese associations' annual events were usually well-attended. In the 1980s, over 2,000 people on average, would drive (from different states) or fly to the United States for a single summer camp.²⁰⁴

In the summer of 1983, a series of summer camp activities were held in the Taiwanese American diasporic community. The Chinese Communist Party sent Peng Teng-yun (彭騰雲), Vice President of the All-China Taiwan Compatriots Association, to participate. This association was set up for contacting and caring for over 20,000 Taiwanese living in mainland China. Peng attended a meeting of the World Federation of Taiwanese Associations in Sacramento and participated in the Eastern US Taiwanese Summer Camp in July. The Chinese Communist Party also sent Pan Yuan-ching, PRC's consul general in Washington, D.C., to attend the annual meeting of the World Federation of Taiwanese Associations. On August 12, the Institute for Taiwan Studies in New York (chaired by Peng Ming-min) held a lecture inviting Su Beng (史明) as the speaker. Su is a well-known

²⁰⁴ Carole Hsu, "Taiwanese American Summer Camp Special Issue," the article published in Taiwanese American Historical Society Website, May 23, 2013. <https://www.tahistory.org/%E6%9C%89%E9%97%9C%E7%BE%8E%E6%9D%B1%E5%A4%8F%E4%BB%A4%E6%9C%83%E8%88%87%E7%B4%80%E5%BF%B5%E5%B0%88%E8%BC%AF-%E6%A5%8A%E9%81%A0%E8%96%B0/> (downloaded and cited in August 2020)

Taiwanese diasporic activist living in Japan and author of *400 years of Taiwanese History*. Peng attended the lecture in person.²⁰⁵

On August 9 and 12, 1983, the Chinese Communist Party held a seminar on the Taiwan issue at the Xiangshan Hotel in Beijing, organized by the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and Peking University, in order to learn about and investigate Taiwan independence and the views of Taiwanese scholars on solutions for Taiwan's future. It was also an opportunity to promote the Chinese Communist Party's unification policy. The nine Taiwanese scholars who traveled to Beijing were Tien Hung-mao (田弘茂), Hsiao Hsin-yi (蕭欣義), Kuo Huan-gyi (郭煥圭), Chiou Chui-liang (邱垂亮), Lin Tsung-kuang (林宗光), Liu Chin-ching (劉進慶), Weng Song-an (翁松燃), Fan Liang-shi n(范良信), and Chang Tsung-ting (張宗鼎). Hung-Mao Tien, Hsiu-Hsin-Yiu, and Fan Liang-Shin were committee members of the Formosa Association for Public Affairs. The conference was the first time that Taiwanese scholars openly and formally engaged in dialogue with mainland scholars.²⁰⁶

Chiu worried about the CCP's connections and engagement with Taiwanese diasporic groups for several reasons. First, Chiu believed that some Taiwanese had a superficial and ignorant understanding of the CCP. For example, based on the CCP's pro-Taiwan independence propaganda in the 1920s-1940s, some Taiwanese believed that the Taiwan issue was the result of an internal power struggle between the CCP and the KMT. As long as Taiwan was autonomous, the CPC would not attack Taiwan. Second, some Taiwanese diasporic leaders were dissatisfied with the fact that the CCP only negotiated with the KMT

²⁰⁵ "Letter from Chiu Hungdah to the Presidential Office on the Strategic and Tactical Analysis of the Taiwan Independence Movement in the 1980s." Volume: Overseas Activities of *Tangwai* Organizations (II), at Academia Historica, Collection of Cultural Relics of the President and Vice President, 1984, Catalog No.: 011-100400-0022

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

on the Taiwan issue. They also wanted a say. The CPC spotted this as an opportunity. Third, the CCP was aware of the lack of a unified approach to the CCP in the Taiwanese diasporic groups and was taking advantage of this weakness. Forth, some Taiwanese diasporic activists had illusions about the CCP, thinking that by communicating with the CCP, they could gain understanding. Through understanding, the CCP then would allow Taiwan to be independent, or at least respect the Taiwanese people's wishes to solve the Taiwan problem. Last, due to funding problems, some Taiwanese diasporic groups wanted financial support from the CCP. To them, they and the CCP and shared one common enemy: the KMT government. So why not take advantage of each other?²⁰⁷

Based on the analysis, Chiu suggested to Chiang Ching-kuo: first, communicate more with moderate diasporic groups and strive for their trust and cooperation with the government. For radical groups, on the other hand, Chiu suggested that their violent actions be exposed through academic papers in the US and for domestic firearms and ammunition control be strengthened in Taiwan. Their radical actions were not to be overreported, so as to avoid the effect of increasing their visibility. Second, the dealings with Taiwanese expatriates in the US was to be extended to all, not only limited to students. The mentality and motivation of those involved in the Taiwan independence movement were to be analyzed through a pathological lens. Third, Chiu stressed being aware of the development of international terrorism and preparing for it. Fourth, FAPA's work had been very effective, and it was important to re-examine the expatriate policy and be flexible towards those who had proven themselves to be beneficial. Chiu said not to get hung up on their interpretations of the two Chinas, or one China one Taiwan; otherwise, the CCP might manipulate the

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

weakness. Last, he stressed the importance of focusing on the progress of domestic democratization, bringing in talented people to participate in decision making, and expanding the implementation of constitutional government.²⁰⁸

*C. The Southern California Taiwanese Association's Taiwan visit in December 1984-
January 1985*

From the case of the Southern California Taiwan Association's Taiwan visit in late 1984, we can see that the KMT did compromise with political reality and had softened some of their stands. The Chiang Ching-kuo regime accepted Chiu's suggestions and tried its own experiment by interacting with moderate Taiwanese diasporic groups to build a good relationship with Taiwanese American community. In the following, I analyze the KMT's discussion and decision-making process from the time it considered the application to its acceptance, as well as its interactions with Taiwanese diasporic groups from the preparation to the on-site stage. I attempted to observe whether the relationship between the KMT and Taiwanese diasporic groups improved in the 1980s. What could the KMT government accept, and what could it not accept? What was the bottom line that KMT insisted on? And what leverage did the Taiwanese diasporic groups have in the process?

The homecoming tour was initiated by the Southern California Taiwan Association. It was the first time since Taiwanese associations were founded in the 1960s that the KMT allowed the groups to visit Taiwan. The homecoming tour therefore drew a lot of attention and discussions in the Taiwanese American community.

²⁰⁸ Ibid.

It all started in October 1984, when about 20-25 couples from the Southern California Taiwanese Association wanted to visit their families in Taiwan. Initial members included: Taiwan Association of Southern California President Shen Ying-Chung (沈英忠), former presidents Hsieh Ching-Chi (謝清志) and Hsu Ying-Chi (許英智), and Formosan Association For Human Rights President Lin Hsin-Chi (林心智). They expected to return to Taiwan before Christmas and stay for two weeks to visit their families. They also hoped to meet with some important people in the ruling party as well as *tangwai* leaders, and to understand the operation of the Legislative Yuan and provincial councils. They insisted on traveling as a group, not on individual tours (because they were too afraid that if they were to go back to Taiwan alone, they might become the next Dr. Chen Wen-cheng.)²⁰⁹

The LA Consulate office staff who handled their case considered it difficult to refuse their application. The reasons are as follows: first, the Association had issued a formal statement begging the government to allow them to return to Taiwan. The humble approach would easily attract great sympathy for the association. Second, the Executive Yuan had recently announced that Taiwanese Associations were not associated organizations of the Taiwan independence movement. If they were not allowed to visit Taiwan, this could lead many to be confused about the government's announcement and policy. Third, the CCP had repeatedly invited Taiwanese Associations to visit the mainland, but the Associations never accepted their invitations. Now they wanted to go home but if they were not allowed, they might turn to the CCP. Fourth, although the person in charge of the Southern California Taiwanese Association had criticized the government before, he was not the major enemy or

²⁰⁹ “Southern California Taiwanese Association for Interculture, (SCTAI),” documents of ROC foreign affairs collected and digitalized in the institute of Modern History at Academia Sinica, Ref. no:11-07-02-07-01-149, Ref.: 409/0018, Date: October 1984 -Feb. 1985, Image No: 11-NAA-10041

“Head of all evil.” Most of them had not be able to return to their hometowns in Taiwan for many years. Fifth, the Taiwan Independence Movement had been divided and fragmented. Strengthening communications could turn enemies into friends. In September 1984, the president of the Taiwan Association of Greater New York (TATN), Yang Huang, returned to Taiwan individually under the name of the Taiwanese Association of New York, saying that her trip opened up a new relationship between Taiwanese associations and the ROC government, paving the way for Taiwanese associations to form a delegation to return home. Last, the ROC government had frequently invited many Provincial Associations of China to visit Taiwan, but no Taiwanese associations had been invited yet. It was quite contradictory to the reality that when the government established Taiwan as a base for anti-communist battles, it was unable to accept Taiwanese migrants from Taiwan and Taiwanese associations, who were the true representatives of overseas Taiwanese immigrants, to go back to their homeland.²¹⁰

In November 1984, the LA Consulate office sent another official document, suggesting that, first, since the establishment of the British-Hong Kong Agreement, Taiwanese people in general have had the feeling of uncertainty about the future of Taiwan. This might have formed the basis for their solidarity with the government. Second, Taiwanese people have a deep affection for Taiwan and have been abroad for many years, hoping to return home together to learn more about Taiwan's progress. Due to some rumors, some of those who had criticized the government in the past are worried and therefore would like to travel in group to enhance their sense of security. Third, the statement issued by the association is sincere and moderate. The Executive Yuan also has declared that Taiwanese association in the US is

²¹⁰ Ibid.

not a traitorous organization. If the government refuses them their request to return to Taiwan, it will prove that the government still regards Taiwanese associations as rebel organizations. Forth, based on the premise of harmony and solidarity of the nation and its people, is it possible to grant conditional permission for individual Taiwanese association delegations to return to Taiwan? 5) If not, could you let us know what the reasons for disagreement are so that we can convey your message?²¹¹

On November 24 1984, the KMT replied to the LA Consulate office: First, if the association can publicly declare their support for the government, we will agree to let them organize a delegation to Taiwan in the name of the "Taiwanese Association." Second, all are welcome except Lin Hsin-Chi (林心智) and Hsu Ying-Chi (許英智). Third, there will be no public meetings or statements with *tanwai* people when they visit Taiwan. Personal contacts will not be interfered. Fourth, for those who are making use of the press statement to negotiate with the government, Ambassador Chien Fu can arrange an interview, asking a Chinese newspaper reporter to conduct an interview on the topic of the Taiwanese Association's return home, and take the opportunity to reiterate the government's position (its firm opposition to the entry of Taiwan independence advocates).²¹²

On November 26-29, the KMT replied to the LA Consulate office again, stating: first, they are allowed to come back, but only in the name of the Taiwanese Association's "return to (the Republic of) China," not a "return to Taiwan."²¹³ Second, Lin Hsin-chi is the

²¹¹ Ibid.

²¹² Ibid.

²¹³ Note: Some Taiwanese diasporic activists do not recognize the Republic of China, and they are all US citizens. So they insist that they are returning to their hometown "Taiwan," instead of returning to (the Republic of) China.

secretary of WUFI US headquarters office. His brother, Lin Hong-xuan (林弘宣),²¹⁴ is currently in jail. *Tangwai* people are looking for an opportunity to make a big deal out of this. If Lin Hsin-chi can publicly announce his withdrawal from the WUFI, he will be allowed to return.²¹⁵

On December 4, 1984, the Southern California Taiwanese Association released their second participant list and made another statement concerning their homecoming tour. “After several months of discussions and efforts... we will depart on December 23, 1984. The purpose of this trip is to give back to our motherland, to learn more about the development of Taiwan, and to express our concern for the future of democracy and politics in Taiwan. In addition, we also express our concerns about Taiwan’s current international situation, and the Chinese Communist Party’s ambitions for Taiwan and its united front against Taiwanese people overseas. We hope that through this visit, people overseas who are concerned about the security and future of their motherland will be able to participate in the construction and development of Taiwan without fear.”²¹⁶

Their group visas were granted on December 11.

On December 28, the KMT official released a news report telling the behind-the-scenes stories and compromises for the association’s homecoming. First, Tsai ming-xian (蔡明憲) and Lin Hsin- chi were originally not allowed to return, but now they could join the tour. Second, they didn’t want to take a Chinese airline; instead, they would fly with Pan

²¹⁴ Lin Hong-xuan is one of the Meilidao incident political prisoners.

²¹⁵“Southern California Taiwanese Association for Interculture, (SCTAI),” documents of ROC foreign affairs collected and digitalized in the institute of Modern History at Academia Sinica, Ref. no: 11-07-02-07-01-149, Ref.: 409/0018, Date: October 1984 - Feb. 1985, Image No: 11-NAA-10041

²¹⁶ Ibid.

American World Airways. Third, we arranged for them to visit the ministry of foreign affairs and the Association for Unity and Empowerment (團結自強協會). We cancelled the itinerary because they said they are not interested. Fourth, they want to attend the funeral for Lin Yi-hsiung's mother on January 1. Last, the relationship between the government and the Taiwanese association has entered a new phase of mutual trust. If this tour is successful, it will greatly improve the relationship between the government and Taiwanese associations in the future, and more Taiwanese associations in other places will also organize homecoming delegations.²¹⁷

On the second day after the release of the official news report, Chong Bao also published their editorial, providing different behind-the-scenes perspectives from what the government officials had stated the previous day. "For the first time in more than 20 years, a delegation of the Southern California Taiwanese association has been allowed to return to Taiwan. This is a meaningful communication between the government and overseas Taiwanese people, and its historical significance should not be overlooked... Such a benevolent change is in response to the actions and competition of the Chinese Communist Party... In contrast to the Chinese Communist Party, the KMT government's rigid policy is worrying. The government has always treated Chinese and Taiwanese differently, which has caused great discontent among overseas Taiwanese. The World Federation of Taiwanese Associations was originally planned to be held in Taipei this year, but this was rejected by the Chinese government. This is one of the disappointing examples. Now the CCP has been making a lot of moves, coupled with the outstanding performance of the CCP in this year's Olympic Games and the Hong Kong issue, the KMT government therefore decided to play catch-up by starting with the least political Taiwanese diasporic group... The KMT

²¹⁷ Ibid.

government has imposed many restrictions on the Taiwanese association's homecoming visit, e.g. that the status of the delegation members be verified individually, the use of "returning to Taiwan" not allowed, but "returning to China." Sticking to these names and stuff makes the government's welcome policy look petty-minded... Even after Lin Hsin-chi signed three pledges stating that he is not a WUFU member and he would not have any private contacts with *tangwai* people in Taiwan, Lin still failed to pass the vetting process. As a result, he had no choice but to force his way through customs at the airport. This is also a shame. Fortunately, the Taiwan Customs allowed him to enter the country... A few days before the delegation's visit, the Taiwanese association released a "Letter to Taiwan folks at home and abroad," which used words like "Taiwan motherland" and "Friends and relatives who are suffering"... The government then asked the association to declare that they "support the government of the Republic of China" and that the statement is null and void, if they still want to return to Taiwan. At the last minute, both sides gave in and the delegation submitted another statement, replacing the words "return to the motherland" with "return to the Republic of China." The problem was finally solved and the delegation tour was able to proceed smoothly...²¹⁸

On January 7, 1985, the *Taiwan Tribune*²¹⁹ published a news report entitled "Southern California Taiwanese Association's Homecoming Visit Raises Controversies; the KMT has Turned against Taiwanese Folks for no Reason; All Schedules Have Been Cancelled." In the report, it is first revealed that the government worried that the delegation's travel from north to south, with visits to many different communities, would attract too much attention. As a result, almost all their schedules were changed. Second, as soon as they got off the plane,

²¹⁸ Ibid.

²¹⁹ Taiwan Tribune was WUFI's official newspaper

they cancelled the visit to the Association for Unity and Empowerment arranged by the government. They went to a schedule arranged by *tangwai* people. The KMT thus cancelled their meeting with Jiang Yanshi (蔣彥士). Third, when the delegation attended the funeral of Lin Yi-hsiung' s mother on January 1, there was a tense standoff with the KMT. The KMT therefore cancelled the Taipei City Council's seminar on "Observing Taiwan from Overseas." The delegation in return cancelled the meeting with Kaohsiung Mayor KMT party member Xu Shuide. Finally, Lin Shin-chi was accompanied by a legislator to meet his brother at Green Island prison. But after two days of waiting, he was still unable to see Lin Hong-xuan face to face, returning disappointed.²²⁰

²²⁰ “Southern California Taiwanese Association for Interculture, (SCTAI),” documents of ROC foreign affairs collected and digitalized in the institute of Modern History at Academia Sinica, Ref. no: 11-07-02-07-01-149, Ref.: 409/0018, Date: Oct. 1984- Feb 1985, Image No: 11-NAA-10041

Chapter VI. US Human Rights Diplomacy and Its Setbacks

The geopolitical power relations of the Cold War in Asia began to take a turn as the United States got bogged down in the messy Vietnam War. To end the war as soon as possible, US strategy towards China changed. Negotiations on normalization between the US and the People's Republic of China (PRC) were initiated in the early 1970s. After Nixon's historic China visit, the two decades of US debates on Taiwan-China relations finally were settled with the so-called "One China" Policy. Looking back on US-ROC-PRC relations from the late 1940s to the early 1970s, it is possible to see that the debates on cross-strait relations and Taiwan's sovereignty had evolved over time, depending on the dynamics of Cold War superpower struggles in the region and the needs of different US foreign policies to protect US national interests in Asia Pacific. The US and the PRC formally formed diplomatic ties in 1979.

In the chapter, I revise a popular contention that the human rights policy of the US Congress contributed greatly to the democratization of Taiwan. By analyzing, on a case-by-case basis, how US policymakers weighted Taiwan's security against human rights/democracy issues after US-PRC normalization, I contend that US policymakers had a tendency to put security issues ahead of democracy and human rights. It is true that US congressional and human rights foreign policy since the 1970s had put great pressure on the KMT to conduct political reforms in Taiwan, but that was only when the US judged that the Chinese Communist Party posed no threat to Taiwan and that the Chiang Ching-kuo regime was, to a large extent, yielded to follow the trend and cooperate with the reforms. I will show that when Taiwan's security was considered to be threatened, US policymakers would not hesitate to stop pressuring for human rights and democratic reforms.

A. The Gang of Four in Congress

Human rights issues had, since the 1960s, become a pivotal guide in US foreign policymaking. The Carter administration even announced that human rights diplomacy was prioritized in his foreign policymaking. Congress played an important role in pressing for the reformation of the KMT's authoritarian regime in the 1970s-1980s. Starting in the middle of the 1970s, Congress began to look more closely and criticize more publicly the KMT's repression of human rights in Taiwan's human rights. Representative Donald Fraser, chairman of the House International Relations Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements, held the first congressional hearing on human rights in Taiwan in 1977. While the majority of members of Congress supporting Taiwan supported the KMT government in Taipei, a few worked with Taiwanese Americans and sought congressional support for a free, democratic, and independent Taiwan.

Congressional actions included hearings, statements, resolutions, meetings with Taiwanese Americans, FBI briefings, and investigation trips to Taiwan. Congress members even sought arms sales as leverage to influence Taiwan's human rights policy and democratization. Senator Claiborne Pell (D-RI), Senator Edward Kennedy (D-MA), Representative Jim Leach (R-IA), and Representative Stephen Solarz (D-NY) were the best known among the Taiwanese American community as staunch supporters of Taiwan's human rights and democracy in Congress. The shared liberal views of universal basic human rights and the values of democracy impelled them to stand up against the Kuomintang's authoritarian rule and speak for the Taiwanese people. They were also called "The Gang of Four" in the Taiwan Caucus. Their work during the late 1970s and all throughout the 1980s

laid the foundation for democratic reforms in Taiwan, the abolishment of martial law, and the release of political prisoners. Nonetheless, the sovereignty of Taiwan (台灣前途決議文) proposed by the Taiwanese American community could not gain equal support from Congress.

The analysis that follows focuses on the questions: Who were the gang of four in Taiwan caucus? What was their social, political and intellectual profile? Why did they speak out on Taiwanese issues and were they influential on Capitol Hill?

Claiborne Pell (1918-2009) Born in New York City in 1918. He was son of diplomat and Congressman Herbert Claiborne. After graduating from St. George's School in Rhode Island, Pell went on to Princeton and then Columbia University. He entered the Coast Guard prior to World War II. Before he was elected to Congress, he spent seven years in US Foreign Service and the State Department. He served as a Democratic Senator from Rhode Island for the period of 1961-1997.²²¹

His understanding of Taiwan traced back to the Second World War. In the 1940s, Pell joined the Coast Guard and was trained as an officer to serve in a military government that was prepared for liberation of Formosa.²²² This naval training experience enabled him to understand the complex history and relationship between Taiwan and mainland China. Pell recalled from his schooling that the US Navy was supposed to go out to Taiwan and spend a year or two guiding Formosa into self-governance. The proposal, which was called

²²¹ Official Congressional Directory: Volume 104, U.S. Government Printing Office, January 1, 1995, 239.

²²² According to George H. Kerr, the US Navy began a plan to attack Japanese forces on Formosa in late 1943. The Navy also began a program to train officers for duty on the island after Japan's surrender. The training named "Formosa Unit" was taken place at Columbia University until November 1944. George H. Kerr. *Formosa Betrayed: The Definitive First-hand Account of Modern Taiwan's Founding Tragedy* (Camphor press, first edition in 1965; this edition 2017), 20.

“Operation Causeway,” was initiated by United States Pacific Fleet Commander-in-Chief Chester William Nimitz. The Cairo Conference and the promise to return Taiwan to Chiang Kai-shek changed the US naval scenario regarding Taiwan’s postwar rearrangement. Another scenario proposed by the US Army, supported especially by Douglas MacArthur, was accepted by President Franklin Roosevelt. Roosevelt decided to attack and take back the Philippines in 1944. Taiwan became a mandated territory under the rule of the Supreme Commander of Allied forces and was assigned to Chiang Kai-shek. Accordingly, there was no American occupation of the island at the end of the war in 1945.²²³

Because of his naval training and understanding of this political background, Pell became a strong supporter in Congress for the principle of self-determination to guide Taiwan’s issues. Pell testified in the 1979 Taiwan Relations Act (TRA) Congressional hearings and explained why he supported self-determination for Taiwanese. “The Kuomintang’s rule over Taiwan since the end of WWII alienated the native Taiwanese and denied them from sharing equal rights and power in the land which they had inhabited for twelve generations.” For this reason, “the US should devote careful thought to how the institutional structures we are creating to deal with the people of Taiwan can be utilized to promote a greater participation by the native Taiwanese majority in running the affairs of their territory.”²²⁴ Furthermore, Pell used US support of Rhodesia/South Africa independence as an example to defend the Taiwanese people’s human rights. “It has always

²²³ Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Title: Taiwan, Feb. 5-6, 8, 22, 1979, hearing ID: HRG-1979-FOR-0020, p.549; Thomas Hughes, “Claiborne Pell, Former U.S. Senator,” *Taiwan Communique*, November/December 2007; Neng-hsiang Wang, Wen-long Chang, *Pioneer of D.C. Congressional Diplomacy: Wang Neng-xiang’s 80 Memories and the Future of Taiwan*, 158.

²²⁴ TAIWAN, Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb. 5-6, 8, 22, 1979, hearing ID: HRG-1979-FOR-0020, 549-550.

been such a mystery to me that the voice of 14 million Taiwanese has been so muffled that the world is not aware of this restraint... We are aware of it in Rhodesia. We are aware of it in South Africa. We are aware of it in other countries, but not in Taiwan. Why was there not made more of an effort on the part of the Taiwanese to tell the story nationally, to appear before the United Nations and so forth?"²²⁵

Pell and Senator Ted Kennedy were leading figures in Congress to convene Senate Resolution 74 hearing concerning the issue of self-determination for Taiwanese. On November 9, 1983, Congress re-discussed the issue of the future of people on Taiwan, particularly in consideration of the fact that the Shanghai Communiqué had been signed 11 years before. The purpose of the Senate Resolution, as Pell stated, was to "ask that Taiwan's future be settled peacefully, free of coercion, and in a manner acceptable to the people on Taiwan." He further explained, "All of us recognize that good relations between the United States and the People's Republic of China are in the US national interests. But too often we forget that we also have an obligation to protect the rights and freedoms of the Taiwanese. Senate Resolution 74 is meant as a reminder of that obligation."²²⁶

Jim Leach (1942-) Born in Iowa in 1942, Senator Leach received his Bachelor of Arts degree in political science from Princeton University and Master of Arts degree in Soviet Studies from Johns Hopkins University. He also researched Soviet Studies in the London School of Economics. He began his public service career in 1965 as a staff person to then-Congressman Donald Rumsfeld. In the decade between the mid-1960s to the mid-

²²⁵ TAIWAN, Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb. 5-6, 8, 22, 1979, hearing ID: HRG-1979-FOR-0020, 552.

²²⁶ THE FUTURE OF TAIWAN, Hearing Date: Nov. 9, 1983, Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Congressional Publication Number: S. Hrg. 98-482, Hearing Id: HRG-1983-FOR-0033, 1.

1970s, Leach worked for the State Department, the United Nations, the United States Advisory Commission on International Education and Cultural Affairs, and the Federal Home Loan Bank Board before he was elected to Congress in 1976.²²⁷ Leach's knowledge about Taiwan was drawn from his graduate/ postgraduate education at elite American universities and his public service experiences prior to his Congressional position.

His commitment to Taiwan affairs and connections with the Taiwanese American community started in 1977, when he was first introduced by his assistant Cindy Sprunger to a Taiwanese American WUFI member and DC Taiwanese Presbyterian Church pastor, Neng-hsiang Wang. Wang was Vice Chair of the WUFI, and at the time handled major public and diplomatic affairs for the organization. Cindy Sprunger was the daughter of a Mennonite missionary couple. She had grown up in Taiwan with her parents and spoke the local Taiwanese language fluently. She and Mr. Wang went to the same Taiwanese language-speaking church in Washington, D.C.²²⁸ After the introduction, Leach was invited to join the hearing on Human Rights in Taiwan in May 1977, organized by Mr. Wang. Since then, Mr. Leach became one of the Congressmen who was friendliest to the Taiwanese people and was a strong supporter in Congress of Taiwan's human rights.

In the TRA hearings, Leach argued that Sino-American normalization implied "not only the realistic assessment of the effective control and given political jurisdiction of Communist authority in Beijing within China, but also an opportunity for America to monitor closely the functioning of democratic processes on Taiwan and to promote greater

²²⁷ House Report 111-31 From the U.S. Government Publishing Office:
<https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/CRPT-111/hrpt31/html/CRPT-111hrpt31.htm>
(downloaded and cited on Dec 26, 2019)

²²⁸ Neng-hsiang Wang, *What You Should Know About the Taiwan Relations Act: Don Quixote Knocks at the Door of the United States Congress*, 107-108.

freedom and self-representation on native Taiwanese.” He pushed further for Taiwanese human rights, arguing that “for the past 30 years we... [have placed] a higher value on Taiwan’s status as an ally than on the fundamental rights of its citizens. And it is time to change the situation. Taiwan shall be built upon encouraging the establishment of such fundamental rights as free general elections, freedom of assembly, speech, press and religion...”²²⁹

Edward Kennedy (1932-2009) Born in Boston, Massachusetts, on February 22, 1932, Kennedy grew up in a privileged Irish Catholic and political family. His mother was the daughter of a Boston mayor. His father, Joseph P. Kennedy, was a millionaire businessman who held many important positions in and out of government, including in Congress. Kennedy was the brother of President John F. Kennedy and US Attorney General and US Senator Robert F. Kennedy. He received his B.A. in government from Harvard University in 1956, attended the International Law School at The Hague (Netherlands) in 1958, and obtained his LLB from the University of Virginia in 1959. He was first elected to the United States Senate in 1962 and re-elected a total of eight times for 47 years, the third longest-serving United States Senator in American history.²³⁰

Known as the "Lion of the Senate," Ted Kennedy was a staunch liberal who spearheaded many legislative reforms. President Obama has described his breathtaking span of accomplishment: “For five decades, virtually every major piece of legislation to advance

²²⁹ Statement of Hon. Jim Leach in Congress on Feb 15, 1979

²³⁰ About Edward M. Kennedy, from John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum website: https://www.jfklibrary.org/learn/about-jfk/the-kennedy-family/edward-m-kennedy?gclid=Cj0KCQjwhb36BRCfARIsAKcXh6Fn4BJ4xwq0Y7nd-ZFYpSKFhaJ5ZocDvrbK1fAq7VIIv8DCjvq-N6kaAhyhEALw_wcB (cited on 31st August 2020)

the civil rights, health, and economic well-being of the American people bore his name and resulted from his efforts.”²³¹ After his brother’s assassination in the 1960s, Ted had become the promising candidate in his family to run for the US presidency. In the 1980 election, Ted attempted to compete with incumbent president, Jimmy Carter, for the Democratic presidential primary campaign, but failed. He died of brain cancer at his home in Cape Cod, Massachusetts, in 2009.

The Senator’s interest in Taiwan was prompted by contacts with the Taiwanese American community in the mid-1970s, partially because of his brother President John F. Kennedy’s “two China” policy. But his understanding of Taiwan started from his involvement Chinese affairs in the 1960s, when he was planning to emulate his two elder brothers as a recognized leader of the Democratic Party and, eventually, a possible presidential candidate. According to Professor Jerome Cohen, who assisted him from 1966 through the 1970s, he and Kennedy made a secret trip to Ottawa to meet with Chinese diplomat Huang Hua in the spring of 1971. Kennedy wanted to negotiate the normalization relations with Huang before Republicans did. Their meeting with the Chinese ambassador went well, except Huang repeatedly sought Kennedy’s commitment to the position that Taiwan was a part of China and should someday fall under the jurisdiction of the PRC. Kennedy refused. That is why he did not get to visit mainland China until the end of 1977. However, as Cohen wrote, in view of Ted’s speeches and actions between 1971 and 1977, this is probably why “Taiwanese American watchers had become convinced of the Senator’s sincere continuing concern for Taiwan’s security.”²³²

²³¹ Ibid.

²³² Jerome A. Cohen, William P. Alford, and Chang Fa-Lo edited, *Taiwan and International Human Rights: A Story of Transformation* (Springer Singapore, 2019), 23.

His leadership was most prominent after the 1979 Meilidao Incident, when the KMT authorities arrested virtually all leaders of the peaceful movement. Ted called on the KMT to release the political and religious leaders who had been imprisoned after the Kaohsiung Incident, including Reverend Kao Chun-ming (高俊明) of the Presbyterian Church, and then Provincial Assembly member Lin Yi-hsiung (林義雄), whose mother, as well as two of his three daughters, were murdered while Lin was in prison. In 1980, the Taiwanese American community in Los Angeles organized a fundraising dinner banquet at the downtown LA Century Plaza Hotel for Kennedy's Democratic presidential primary campaign. That fundraiser, attended by over a thousand people, raised over \$100,000 in campaign funds for the Congressman.²³³ In return, Senator Kennedy pushed legislation in Congress to allot a separate immigration quota of 20,000 for Taiwan in 1982. His office often and openly expressed his concerns to the KMT government about human rights and democracy in Taiwan in the 1980s.

Stephen Solarz (1940- 2010) A Jewish politician who was born in New York City. He received his B.A. from Brandeis University in 1962 and M.A. in public law and government from Columbia University in 1967. From 1969 to 1974, Solarz served in the New York State assembly. In November 1974, Solarz was elected as a Democrat to represent New York's 13th district in the US House of Representatives and was subsequently re-elected eight times, serving until January 1993. After his congressional

²³³ Wei-Ling Zhou ed., "Kenjohn Wang (1931-2012)," the article published in Taiwanese American Historical Society, September 14, 2014. <https://www.tahistory.org/%E7%8E%8B%E6%A1%82%E6%AE-1931-2012-%E5%82%B3%E7%95%A5-%E2%97%8E%E5%91%A8%E5%A8%81%E9%9C%96%E5%8F%B0%E7%BE%8E%E4%BA%BA%E6%AD%B7%E5%8F%B2%E5%8D%94%E6%9C%83/> (download on August 31, 2020)

career, Solarz served as chairman of the Central Asian-American Enterprise Fund in 1993-1998. He died of cancer in Washington, D.C. at the age of 70.²³⁴

In the 1980s, he took over the subcommittee on Asian and Pacific affairs. There, he helped end the genocide in Cambodia, and in 1986, Solarz exposed President of the Philippines Ferdinand Marcos's misuse of US foreign aid, uncovering the vast United States real estate empire held by Marcos and his wife. Marcos was ousted from the presidency mostly because of Solarz. In an interview, Robert Dallek, the presidential historian, praised Mr. Solarz's commitment to building democracy in places like the Philippines, South Korea, Lebanon, and Taiwan.²³⁵

Congressman Solarz's relationship with the Taiwanese American community dated back to 1979, when diplomatic relations were established between the United States and the People's Republic of China. Taiwanese Americans were concerned about Taiwan's future and therefore had many contacts with the Congressman. One pressing issue at the time was the immigration quota. Worrying that immigrants from the PRC would share the fixed quota with immigrants from Taiwan, Taiwanese American leaders approached Solarz for help. Mrs. Nina Solarz, with her experience in an international organization for immigrants, suggested that Taiwanese Americans should ask Congress to give Taiwan an individual quota of 20,000. Thanks to the efforts of Taiwanese American community leaders Tsai Tong-rong, Mark Chen, Wang Kenjohn (王桂榮), and many others in 1981, Congress did

²³⁴ Stephen Solarz, Jewish Virtual Library: a Project of AICE : <https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/stephen-solarz> (downloaded and cited on August 31st, 2020)

²³⁵ Douglas Martin, "Stephen J. Solarz, Former N.Y. Congressman, Dies at 70," *the New York Times*, November 29, 2010.

pass the bill in 1982 and the separate immigration quota policy has been implemented to date.²³⁶

Solarz was also a staunch supporter of Taiwan's *tangwai* movement and rallied behind the Meilidao political leaders who were charged with sedition for inciting an anti-government rally in the 1980s. Shortly after Dr. Chen Wen-cheng (陳文成), a Taiwanese American professor who aligned with the *tangwai* movement by financially supporting the publication of *Formosa* magazine, was allegedly beaten to death by security agents during his trip to Taiwan in 1981, Solarz drafted an amendment to the Arms Export Control Act that prohibited arms sales to countries with "consistent patterns of intimidation and harassment" against the people of the US. This ended up enacting legislation prohibiting arms sales to any country which engaged in the surveillance and harassment of their nationals in the United States. He also condemned and held hearings on the government-directed 1984 assassination in Daly City, California, of Henry Liu, who had written and published a critical biography of Chiang Ching-kuo after immigrating to the US.²³⁷

B. US Human Rights Diplomacy and Its Setbacks

After US-PRC Normalization of Relations, the most important goal for the US authorities when considering the Taiwan issue and the relationship between Taiwan and the US was how to democratize Taiwan. Taiwanese diasporic activists also kept linking

²³⁶ Qiao-rong Wang, "Mr. and Mrs. Solarz." *Liberty Times*, April 5, 2017. Ms. Wang is the current executive director of FAPA headquarter office since 1999. The article was written by her recalling some memories of Senator Solarz and his wife Nina Solarz with Taiwanese American community.

²³⁷ Catherine Sung, "Champion on Taiwan's Reforms: Stephen Solarz," *Taipei Times*, Feb 21, 2000.

Taiwan's democracy with Taiwan's security issues. In his *Taiwan Authorities' Response to US Taiwan Independence Advocates' Human Rights Offensive in US Congress---The Analysis from the Angle of US-China Normalization of Relations*, Zhong Yi-cheng pointed out that since 1977, when the first Taiwan Human Rights Hearings were held, the US had been consciously pressuring the KMT to carry out democratic and human rights reforms. The US executive branch and Congress even threatened to reduce arms sales to Taiwan in order to achieve the goal.²³⁸

In the face of the human rights lobbying campaign by Taiwanese diasporic groups in Congress, the KMT tried to use the accusation of double standards on human rights issues in the United States from the very beginning by comparing the human rights situation of the CCP and the KMT, mocking the United States for establishing diplomatic relations with the CCP while criticizing the human rights situation in Taiwan.²³⁹ But this approach seemed to have no support in the US Congress or in the executive branch. As the PRC and the United States continued to strengthen their diplomatic ties, the United States continued to exert pressure on the KMT over human rights issues.

However, some of the violent acts of the Taiwanese diasporic movements had been the biggest setbacks for US Congress in pushing for democratic and human rights reform in Taiwan. On the eve of the Meilidao Incident, the KMT received information from overseas that Taiwanese diasporic groups intended to return to Taiwan at the end of 1979 to start a joint armed riot. In order to make the march look like a violent gang and the government's

²³⁸ Yicheng Zhong, "Taiwan Authorities' Response to US Taiwan Independence advocator's 'Human Rights Offensive' in US Congress: The Analysis from the Angle of US-China Normalization, 1977-1980," Master Thesis, Si-Mian Institute for Advanced Studies in Humanities at East China Normal University, May 2017, 36-49.

²³⁹Ibid, 51.

handling of the situation appear rational and non-violent, on the day of the march, December 10, also the World Human Rights Day, the KMT ordered the police and military to refrain from using weapons, to refrain from fighting back, and to show restraint and tolerance during the riots. Then, the KMT arranged for the media to play up and replay the clashes between the police and civilians at the march, as well as footage of the marchers attacking the police, so as to emphasize the violent behavior of the marchers. In late December, following the mass arrests from the Meilidao Incident, protesters from Taiwanese diasporic groups broke into and occupied the offices of the Coordination Council for North American Affairs offices in Los Angeles and San Francisco. Protesters in Los Angeles also tore down a statue of Chiang Ching-kuo from the Coordination Council for North American Affairs office and threw it to the ground. In the ROC's representative office in Washington, D.C., windows were blown out, and in the Seattle office there was furniture destroyed. These actions drew the attention of the FBI and led to an investigation.²⁴⁰

The US government was under tremendous pressure because of the violent actions of some Taiwanese diasporic activists. At a meeting on December 19, Director of the American Institute in Taiwan, David Dean, gave a piece of advice to overseas Taiwanese leaders Peng Ming-min, Kuo Yu-sin, and Hsu Hsin-liang, asking them to persuade some of the protesters to renounce the use of violence; otherwise the protesters would be vulnerable to prosecution under US law. Professor Douglas Mendel, who had always sympathized with the independence of Taiwan, also questioned the legitimacy of the violent protests, and his sense

²⁴⁰ Ibid, 91-93.

of alienation and discontent with the KMT started to shift.²⁴¹ The radical line did not seem to work well in the United States.

On February 4, 6, and 7, 1980, the House Foreign Affairs Committee's Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs and the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee's Committee on International Organizations jointly held hearings on "Human Rights in Asia: Non-Communist States" concerning Taiwan, South Korea, the Philippines, and Indonesia. At the comprehensive review of Taiwan and South Korea on February 4 and 6, Rep. Jim Leach, who had been very supportive of the native Taiwanese and Taiwanese diasporic groups, softened his tone, saying that Taiwan had shown a significant trend in recent years towards political power being shared between a minority of *waishengren* and a majority of *benshengren*. Leach was quite critical of the violence in the US perpetrated by *tangwai* forces and Taiwanese diasporic activists and called on the two sides not to seek retaliation and further confrontation. He disagreed with the violent approach that some *tangwai* people were using to push political reform and believed that, looking ahead to Taiwan's future, the tide of the times must be on the side of those with a moderate approach and those in the opposition who were inclined to steadily advance participatory democracy. Senator Leach also rejected proposal of invoking the human rights provisions of the Foreign Assistance Act and the Taiwan Relations Act, impose minimal negative sanctions on Taiwan, and suspend military sales to Taiwan, or at least have the State Department oversee US military training and arms assistance programs to Taiwan until an investigation was conducted into human rights abuses by the KMT authorities. "It would be very unfortunate if relations between the US and Taiwan were to be affected by this political incident," Senator Leach said. "It would be a mistake to reconsider the arms sale to Taiwan." At the end of March 1980, on behalf of

²⁴¹ Ibid, 94.

the House of Representatives, Leach formally proposed Resolution 708, being careful not to put the human rights issue and the arms sales issue on the same footing. Leach also supported the continued sale to Taiwan of all weapons necessary to defend against external threats, except for police equipment designed to suppress civilians.²⁴²

As the Incident unfolded, in the end liberal legislators generally believed that the stability of Taiwanese society and even Chiang Ching-kuo's willingness to pursue political reform in the future would depend on the KMT administration's long-term confidence in its new relationship with the United States and its own security. In their view, the arms sale to Taiwan was not only the most important way for the United States to express its determination to extend its friendship to Taiwan, but also a bottom line for maintaining US-Taiwan relations. After the May 1980 hearings, the Senate wrote a joint letter to President Carter urging the immediate sale of the FX fighter to Taiwan. Under pressure from Congress, the administration immediately restored military relations with Taiwan to their peak levels before the termination of US-Taiwan diplomatic relations.²⁴³

Later on December 9, 1981, as a result of the murder of Dr. Chen Wen-cheng, Stephen Solarz proposed an amendment to the International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1981 (H.Amdt.434 - 97th Congress), which provided for the prohibition of military assistance to or purchase from a country that threatens or harasses individuals in the United States, a provision that was later passed by Congress. However, violence perpetrated by Taiwanese diasporic groups in the following years constituted the greatest setback to Congress's efforts to help promote democratic reform in Taiwan. Senator Edward Kennedy

²⁴² Ibid, 101-102.

²⁴³ Ibid, 104-105.

and Representative Stephen Solarz had both pointed out the wrongfulness of the illegal tactics of Taiwan independence movements, and Solarz had condemned the violence and advocated peaceful democratic reform. In hearings in July and October 1983, US Representative Henry Hyde, Republican of Illinois, cited “The Attacks on Our Comrades Overseas” published in the January 1981 issue of the *Taiwan Independence Monthly* magazine before and after the Kaohsiung riots, confirmed 14 incidents of violent attacks, and used it as evidence to pressure pro-Taiwan legislators to abstain.²⁴⁴

²⁴⁴“Letter from Chiu Hungdah to the Presidential Office on the Strategic and Tactical Analysis of the Taiwan Independence Movement in the 1980s.” Volume: Overseas Activities of *Tangwai* Organizations (II), at Academia Historica, Collection of Cultural Relics of the President and Vice President, 1984, Catalog No.: 011-100400-0022

Chapter VII. Conclusion

“Besides their many contributions here at home, Taiwanese Americans have also played a vital role in the political transformation of Taiwan. For many years, they organized letter-writing campaigns, planned marches and demonstrations, and talked to any US policymaker who would listen about their dreams for Taiwan's future as free and democratic. Many risked arrests in--or exile from--their homeland as a result of their activities. The tireless work of Taiwanese Americans helped ensure the success of Taiwan's democratic evolution, beginning with the lifting of martial law in 1987 and culminating with the first fully democratic presidential election in 1996. These are achievements that all Americans can celebrate... Taiwanese American Heritage Week recognizes the long-standing friendship between the people of the United States and Taiwan and celebrates our shared values...”²⁴⁵

This excerpt is from the statement made by Democratic Senator Russ Feingold from Wisconsin, after the Senator visited the Taiwanese American Heritage Week celebration in his local district in May 2000. Taiwanese American Heritage Week was founded in 1999²⁴⁶ and is one of the two most important annual celebration festivals for the Taiwanese

²⁴⁵ Taiwanese American Week: congressional record (Issue and Section: May 11, 2000 - Senate Vol. 146, No. 58)

²⁴⁶ Chi-ting Peng, “Light up Taiwanese American Culture: Taiwanese American Heritage Week,” *Pacific Times*, May 10, 2018: <http://www.pacific-times.com/Default.aspx?RC=2&nid=88cdd202-9f2e-4646-98c2-3b13e2bca5c4>

American community, with the Lunar New Year being the other. But compared to the Lunar New Year, there are more events and longer-lasting celebrations involved in Taiwanese American Heritage Week. Heritage Week is the best space for the Taiwanese American community to present or represent their ethnic identity in US society.

Taiwanese American Heritage Week is a part of Asian Pacific American Heritage Month, the primary purpose of which is to highlight and honor the outstanding performance of Asian Pacific American minorities and their contributions to American society. In 1999, the Taiwanese American Heritage Week was initiated by the FAPA with the support of thirteen Taiwanese American organizations, and it was decided that Mother's Day week in May would be celebrated as the week for Taiwanese American Heritage Week. This proposal was supported by the US Congress and the President. In 1990, the trademark for Taiwanese American Heritage Week was officially approved, and celebrations were held in major cities throughout the United States.²⁴⁷

Most Taiwanese Americans who participated in Taiwan's democratization movement in the 1970s-1980s have remained in the United States after Taiwan's democratization. Their transnational activism, this process of fighting for human rights and democracy for Taiwan, the social space that they have inhabited, the networks they have formed and the ideas they have created all have become the collective memories and identity for the making of the contemporary Taiwanese American community.

²⁴⁷ Ibid.

References

A. CHINESE LANGUAGE MATERIALS

1. Primary Sources

Governmental Documents

- Academia Historica

- 1) Dang-wai Su-zhi Hai-wai Huo-dong [Overseas Activities of *Tangwai* Organizations (II)]. Collections of the President and Vice President. Digital Archives No. 011-100400-0022, 1984.
- 2) Bei-mei Di-qu Tai-du Huo-dong (1) [Taiwan Independence Activities in North America (1)]. ROC Ministry of Foreign Affairs Archives, Digital Archives No. 020-099905-0038, December 29, 1975- February 28, 1976.
- 3) Bei-mei Di-qu Tai-du Huo-dong (2) [Taiwan Independence Activities in North America (2)]. ROC Ministry of Foreign Affairs Archives, Digital Archives No. 020-099905-0039, June 1, 1976- May 17, 1979.
- 4) Mei-guo Di-qu Tai-du Huo-dong Gai-kuang (1) [An Overview of Taiwan Independence Activities in the United States (1)]. ROC Ministry of Foreign Affairs Archives, Digital Archives No. 020-099905-0054, December 11, 1981- September 11, 1984.
- 5) Mei-guo Di-qu Tai-du Huo-dong Gai-kuang (2) [An Overview of Taiwan Independence Activities in the United States (2)]. ROC Ministry of Foreign Affairs

- Archives, Digital Archives No. 020-099905-0055, December 26, 1984- March 21, 1989.
- 6) Hai-wai Tai-du Huo-dong Gai-kuang (3) [An Overview of Overseas Taiwan Independence Activities (3)]. ROC Ministry of Foreign Affairs Archives, Digital Archives No. 020-099905-0072, November 5, 1980- August 6, 1982.
 - 7) Hai-wai Tai-du Zu-zhi, Zhong-gong zhu-wai Ji-gou, Zhong-gong Liu-xue- sheng Zhuang-kuang-biao (2) [Overseas Taiwan Independence Organizations, Chinese Communist Party Overseas Organizations, List of Chinese Students Studying Overseas(2)]. ROC Ministry of Foreign Affairs Archives, Digital Archives No. 020-099905-0076, September 10, 1983 -January 12, 1984.
 - 8) Gao-xiong Shi-jian ji Hai-wai Tai-du Huo-dong [The Meilidao Incident and Overseas Taiwan Independence Activities], ROC Ministry of Foreign Affairs Archives, Digital Archives No. 020-099905-0021. December 12, 1979- June 18, 1980.
 - 9) Peng ming-min deng Zai-mei Huo-dong [Peng ming-min and others' activities in America]. Collections of the President and Vice President. Digital Archives No. 011-100400-0019. October 31, 1964- March 8, 1977.
 - 10) Xie-ren Zong-tong Hou: Taiwan Guan-xi Fa-an Zhong Zhi Ren-quan Tiao-kuan Zhi-ding Jing-guo Jie-yao [After the Outgoing President: Summary of the Establishment of Human Rights Provisions in the Taiwan Relations Act]. Collections of Vice President Yen Chia-kan, Archives No. 006-010904-00003, 1979.
 - 11) Shi-tai-hui Nian-an [Case of World Federation of Taiwanese Associations annual meeting]. ROC Ministry of Foreign Affairs Archives, Archives No. 020000021098A, April 1981- August 1986.

- 12) Shi-jie Taiwan tongxianghui Fan-tai Kai-hui [World Federation of Taiwanese Associations homecoming meeting]. Collections of the President and Vice President. Archives No. 011-100400-0051. May 31, 1988- May 26, 1990.
- 13) Bei-mei Di-qu Jian-bao [North America News Clipping] ROC Ministry of Foreign Affairs Archives. Archives No. 020000018583A. August 14, 1986- October 20, 1986.
- 14) Taiwan Tongxiang Lian-yi-hui [Taiwan Benevolent Association of America]. ROC Ministry of Foreign Affairs Archives. Archives No. 020000021097A. November 1979- June 1983.

- Institute of Modern History at Academia Sinica

- 1) Nan-jia-zhou Taiwan tongxianghui Zu-tuan fan-guo [Southern California Taiwanese Association for Interculture, SCTAI] ROC Ministry of Foreign Affairs Archives. Ref. No. 11-07-02-07-01-149, Ref. 409/0018, Date: Oct 1984- Feb 1985, Image No.11-NAA-10041.

Oral Histories, Memoirs, Biographies, and Autobiographies

- Academia Historica. *Chu-lei Ba-cui Ren-wu Fang-tan-lu: Cheng Shao-liang and Jian Ming-ren* [Interview with Cheng Shao-liang and Jian Ming-ren]. Taipei: Academia Historica, September 2008.
- _____. *Chen Wen-chen an Shi-liao Hui-bian* [Chen Wen-chen Documents]. Taipei: Academia Historica, 2019.
- Arrigo, Linda Gail, Rose Chia-yin Lin. *A Beautiful View from the Brink: Linda Gail Arrigo and the Taiwan Democratic Movement*. Taipei: Vista Publishing, 2011.

- Chang, Yan-xian, Qio-mei Zen, Chao-hai Chen ed. *Zi-jue Yu Ren-tong: 1950-1990 nian Hai-wai Taiwan ren Yun-dong Te-ji* [Self-consciousness and Identity: 1950-1990 Taiwanese Overseas Movements]. Taipei: Wu San-lien Taiwan History Foundation, 2003
- Chang, Yan-xian, Qio-mei Zen ed. *Yi-men Liu-mei Xue-sheng de Jian-guo Gu-shi: Qing-chun Zhu-meng Taiwan-guo Xi-lie* [Nation-building Stories of Taiwan Students Studying in the US: Youth, Dreaming, Taiwan Series]. Taipei: Wu San-lien Taiwan History Foundation, 2009.
- Chang, Yan-xian, Liang Shen ed. *Mei-xin-yi Ren-quan Xiang-guan Shu-xin-ji 1: Taiwan Min-zhu Yun-dong Ren-shi Pian* [Lynn Miles Human Rights correspondence 1: Taiwan's democratic activists]. Taipei: Wu San-lien Taiwan History Foundation, 2009.
- _____ . *Mei-xin-yi Ren-quan Xiang-guan Shu-xin-ji 2: Kua-guo Ren-quan Jiu-yuan de Kai-duan, 1968-1974* [Lynn Miles Human Rights correspondence 2: The beginning of Transnational Human Right Rescue, 1968-1974], Taipei: Wu San-lien Taiwan History Foundation, 2010.
- _____ . *Mei-xin-yi Ren-quan Xiang-guan Shu-xin-ji 3: Guo-ji Jiu-yuan Li-liang de cheng-zhang, 1975-1978* [Lynn Miles Human Rights correspondence 3: The Growth of International Rescue Force, 1975-1978]. Taipei: Wu San-lien Taiwan History Foundation, 2010.
- Chang, Yan-xian, Mei-rong Chen ed. *Lo-fu-quan yu Tai-ri Wai-jiao* [Fu-chen Lo and Taiwan-Japan diplomacy], Taipei: Wu San-lien Taiwan History Foundation, 2012.
- Chen, Yi-shen. *Hai-wai Tai-du Yun-dong Xiang-guan Ren-wu Kou-shu-shi Xu-bian* [Oral History of Figures Related to the Overseas Taiwan Independence Movement (sequel)], Taipei: Institute of Modern History at Academia Sinica, 2012.

- Chang, Wen-long, Yi-shen Chen, Wen-Tang Hsu. *Guo-yu-xin Xian-sheng Xing-yi Fang-tan-lu* [Interview with People Associated with Kuo Yu-shin Their Memories about Kuo], Taipei: Academia Historica, 2008.
- Chen, Zheng-xio, Kang-lu Wang, Jia-Kuang Huang ed. *Thirty Years of Taiwan Independence Movement: Anthology of George Chang, Part 1 and 2*, Taipei: Avanguard book, 1991.
- Chang, Rui-xiong. *Taiwan Ren de Xian-jue-zhe: Shoki Coe* [Taiwan's Prophet: Shoki Coe], Taipei: Wang-chun-feng Publishing, 2004.
- Chen, John. *Taiwanese American Citizen Diplomacy*, Taipei: Avanguard book, 2001.
 _____. *FAPA and Congressional Diplomacy, 1982-1995*, Taipei: Avanguard book, 2004.
- Chen, Ming-cheng. *Forty Years of Overseas Taiwan Independence Movement*, Taipei: The Independence Evening Post, 1992.
- Chen, Ming-cheng, Zheng-fong Shih. *The Story of the World United Formosans for Independence*. Taipei: Avanguard book, 2000.
- Chen, Rong-cheng. *Wo-suo Zhi-dao de Si-er-si Shi-jian Nei-qing* [What I know about the April 24th Incident], Taipei: Avanguard book, 2015.
- Chen, Stelle. *Blacklist*, Taipei: Avanguard book, 1992.
- Chuang, Strong. *Hai-wai You-zi Tai-dou meng* [An diasporic Taiwanese's dream of Taiwan Independence], second edition, Taipei: Avanguard book, 1994.
- Chen, Mark. *Blacklist and Minster of Foreign Affairs: Memoir of Mark Chen*, Taipei: Avanguard, 2016.
- Chang, Tina Ding-lan. *The Story of Tina Ding-lan Chang*, Taipei: Avanguard book, 2000.

- Hsu, Carole. *Our Story: North America Taiwanese Stories*. (two volumes), Taipei: Wang-Chuan-feng publishing, 2001 and 2006.
- Huang, Wu-dong. *Memoirs of Huang Wu-dong*, Taipei: Taiwan publishing house, 1986.
 _____ . *History of the Taiwan Christian Church in North America*, Taiwan Christian Church Council of North America (TCCCNA), 1986.
- Ho, Yi-lin. *Interview with San Francisco Bay Area Voice of Taiwan Host Mr. Huang Jie-shan*. Taiwan Feng-wu, 17:1, Feb 2020.
- Institute of Modern History at Academia Sinica. *Oral History*, vol. 12-15, Taipei: Institute of Modern History at Academia Sinica, 2004, 2013, 2016, and 2020
- Lin, Jer-shung. *80 Years Memoir of Jer-shung Lin*. Taipei: Vista Publishing, Feb 2020
- Li, Fong-Chuan. *Rising Winds: The Development of the Taiwan Independence Movement in North America*, Kearny, NJ: headquarter of the WUFI, 1985.
- Peng, Ming-min. *A Taste of Freedom: Memoirs of A Formosan Independence Leader*. Taipei: Avanguard book, 1995.
- Takayuki, Munakata. *Nation-Building of Taiwan: Forty-seven years with the Taiwanese*. Taipei: Avanguard book, 2008.
- Wang, Neng-hsiang, Wen-long Chang. *Pioneer of D.C. Congressional Diplomacy: Wang Neng-xiang' s 80 Memories and the Future of Taiwan*. Taipei: Vista Publishing, 2012.
- Wang, Kenjohn. *A Taiwanese American's Struggle: Memoirs of Wang Kenjohn*. Taipei: Yuan-Liou Publishing, 1999.
- Wu, Hong-ren. *One Family, Three Ages: Wu Bai and His Children*, Taipei: Yu-shan publishing, 2016.

- Wang, Nan-jie. *Oral History of Pastor Wang Nan-jie and Presbyterian Church in Taiwan*, Taipei: Dao-xiang publishing, 2001.
- Wu, Zhio-liu. *The Fig Tree*. Taipei: Grassroots culture, 2016.
- Wang, Neng-hsiang. *What You Should Know About the Taiwan Relations Act: Don Quixote Knocks at the Door of the United States Congress*. Taipei: Headquarter of Presbyterian Church in Taiwan, 2019.
- Yang, Yun-yan, Gxue-qian Zhan, Mei-qin Lu ed. *Tai-yu-wen Yun-dong Fang-tan ji Shi-liao Hui-bian* [Interviews and Archives of the Taiwanese Language Movement], Academia Sinica, 2008.
- Yan, Yin-mo. *Taiwan Tongxiang Hai-wai Jian-wen-lu* [A Taiwan Fellow's Overseas Observations]. Self-printed by the author, 1983.

-

Associations' Publications

- Hui-na Lai. *Looking Back and Looking Ahead: A Special Commemorative Book for the 20th Anniversary of the Taiwan Center of Greater Los Angeles*, Los Angeles: LA Taiwan Center, 2019.
- *Taiwan Christian United Press of North America*, 1981, 1982, and 1984.
- *Taiwan Tribune*, 1981-2011.

Newspapers

- Central Agent News, "Insightful analysis of the controversy: The International Law Expert of Chiu Hungdah," *Central Agent News*, April 13, 2011.
- Fie, Bian-she, "Shi-jie shang de Gu-shi Hai-you bi Miyake Kyoko de Gan-ren ma [The Story of Miyake Kyoko]," *Taiwan People News*, February 4, 2019.

- Huang, Peter, “Review and Reflection on the April 24 Assassination of Chiang Ching-kuo Incident,” *Taiwan News Weekly*, 101, October 2003.
- Li, Zhen-xiang, “We all share the same roots, but our fates are too different: the tragic and comedic life of the Chiu family.” *Taiwan People News*, Oct 23, 2016.
- Martin, Douglas, “Stephen J. Solarz, Former N.Y. Congressman, Dies at 70,” *the New York Times*, Nov. 29, 2010.
- Peng, Chi-ting, “Keeping the Taiwanese Language Alive: Taiwanese Americans Promoting the Taiwanese Language Movement in North America,” *Pacific Times*, February 28, 2019.
- _____, “Light up Taiwanese American Culture: Taiwanese American Heritage Week,” *Pacific Times*, May 10, 2018.
- Sung, Catherine, “Champion on Taiwan’s Reforms: Stephen Solarz,” *the Taipei Times*, Feb 21, 2000.
- Tsai, Wu-hsiung, “41 years ago de yu-di-gong-wu: A History of KMT and native Taiwanese Collaboration on the Taiwan Relations Act,” *Bao-gua (pourquoi)*, April 17, 2020.
- Wang, Qiao-rong, “Mr. and Mrs. Solarz,” *Liberty Times*, April 5, 2017.
- Zhong, Rong-ji, “Si-ren Zhai-wu Wu-she Zhan-zheng Pei-chang Tai-peng Tong- bao You-quan xiang ri Suo-zhai [Private debts are not related to war reparations, and Taiwanese compatriots have the right to claim debts from Japan],” *United Daily News*, March 2, 1975.
-

2. Secondary Sources

Books/ Dissertations

- Chen, Jia-hung, *Overseas Taiwan Independence Movement: The Development and Challenges of U.S. Taiwan Independence Groups, 1950s-1990s*, Taipei: Avanguard Book, 1998.
- _____. *History of Taiwan Independence Movement*, Taipei: Yu-shan Publishing, 2006.
- Chen, Yu-chi, "Strategy of the KMT Government on Taiwan Independence Movement in the United States (1961-1972)," Master thesis, Graduate Institute of Taiwan History at National Chengchi University, 2012.
- Chiu, Zhang-yu. "Kuo Yu-shin and Taiwan's Political Movement on and off the island, 1977-1985," Master thesis, Department of Taiwan Culture, Languages and Literature at National Taiwan Normal University, 2010.
- Huang, Xuan-fan, *Language, Society and Ethnic Consciousness: A Study of Linguistic Sociology in Taiwan*, Taipei: Wen-her publishing, 1995.
- Kim, Yong-ok (translated into Chinese by Li-xi Chu), *Han-guo-xin Taiwan qing* [Korean Hearts, Taiwan Love], Taipei: Yun-chen Culture, 2006.
- Lin, Mei-cheng. "The Relations Between The Democratization of Taiwan And American Human Rights Policy (1980s)," Master Thesis, Department of Political Science at National Taiwan University, 1999.
- Masahiro Wakabayashi (translated into Chinese by Hsu, Pei-xian, Jin-zhu Hong) *Taiwan: Fen-lie Guo-jia yu Min-zhu-hua* [Taiwan: Divided Nation and Democratization], Third edition, Taipei: New Naturalism, 2009.
- Taiwan Association of University Professors ed. *Zhong-hua Min-guo Liu-wang Taiwan sixty years ji Zhan-hou Taiwan guo-jing Chu-jing* [The Republic of China (Taiwan) in

Exile for 60 Years and Taiwan's International Situation after World War II]. Taipei: Avanguard book, 2010.

- Weider Hsu, *The Formation of Ethnicity and National Identity: Taiwan Hakka, Indigenous People and Taiwanese American Studies*, Taipei: Yuan-Liou Publishing, 2013.
- Zhong, Yi-cheng. "“Taiwan Authorities’ Response to US Taiwan Independence advocator’s ‘Human Rights Offensive’ in US Congress: The Analysis from the Angle of US-China Normalization, 1977-1980,” Master Thesis, Si-Mian Institute for Advanced Studies in Humanities at East China Normal University, May 2017.

Journal Articles

- Cheng, Yang-en, "The Presbyterian Church of Taiwan and Taiwanese Society: A Historical Review of the Past Century," *Taiwan Journal of Theology*, 2000 (22).
- Chen, Long-zhi, "Taiwan Independence and Nation Building: Look Back and Forward after 31 years," *Taiwan New Century Foundation Forum*, issue 19, September 2020.
- Chao, Ena, "U.S. Educational and Cultural Exchange Programs in Taiwan (1951-1970)," *Euramerica Studies*, 31:1, March 2001.
- _____. "The China Bloc and the Truman Administration's China Policy," *Euramerica Studies*, 21:3, September 1991.
- Chen, Yi-shen, "Peng Ming-min and the Overseas Taiwan Independence Movement (1964-1972): Perspectives from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Archives," *Academia Historica Xue-shu Ji-kan*, 10, 2006.
- _____. "The Origin and Evolution of Political Propositions for Taiwan Independence," *Taiwan Historical Research*, 17:2, June 2010.

- Chen, Jia-hong, “Jie-yan Qian-hou Tai-du Yun-dong zhi Hui-ju [The Convergence of the Taiwan Independence Movement Before and After the Liberation of Martial Law], *Taiwan Wen-xian*, 58:4, December 2007.
- Ho, Yi-lin, “Community Activities and the Formation of National Awareness among Taiwanese Diaspora in the San Francisco Bay Area,” *Taiwan Feng-wu*, 70:2, June 2020.
- Hong, Yu-ru. “Current US Immigration Policy on Taiwan (1980-2004),” *Zhong-xing Shi-xue*, 12, June 2006.
- Koh, Se-kai. “What does the February 28th Incident mean to the people of Taiwan? How did it change the way Taiwanese view Chinese and Japanese people?” *Taiwan New Century Foundation Forum*, issue 85, 2019.
- Li, Qi-an. “The Political Practice of Linguists: The Linguistics of Taiwanese languages and the Nation Building Theory of Taiwan by Yu-teh Wang,” *Taiwan International Studies Quarterly*, Vol 7, No 4, winter 2011.
- Lo, Fu-chen, “The contribution of Dr. Trong-rong Chai to Taiwan,” *Taiwan New Century Foundation Forum*, issue66, 2014.
- Lan, Mike Shi-chi. “Revisit the Postwar Publications of Overseas Taiwan Independence Movement and History of Overseas Taiwanese,” *Taiwan Shi-liao Yan-jiu*, 18, March 2002.
- Peng, Chi-ting, “North American Taiwan Studies Association and Taiwan Studies in North America,” published in *Han-xue Yian-jio Tong-xuan* [Newsletter for Research in Chinese Studies, 39:2, May 2020.
- Png, Yaw-Chien, “Taiwanese Literature's Battle from the Margin: A Survey of the Solidarity among Overseas Taiwanese Societies and Magazines,” *Journal of Taiwanese Vernacular*, 3(1), 2011.

- Peng, Lin-shong, “Yi-shi-tong-ren: Taiwanese Veteran movement,” presented in the first annual meeting of the History of Taiwan’s Modern War (1941-1949), October 2011.
- Ren, Yu-de. “*Zhong-shen Zzai-ye-zhe: Kuo yu-shin de Cong-zheng Sheng-ya* [Kuo Yu-shin’s Political Career], *Taiwan Feng-wu*, 58:4, December 2008.
- Tang, Shi-Yeoung, “Establishment of Native Place Associations of Overseas Formosans and Their Functions, 1945-48,” *Journal of Social Science and Philosophy*, 19(1), 2007.
- Tong, Fung-wan, “The Presbyterian Church and Modernization in Taiwan,” *Taiwan Journal of Theology*, 1995(17).
- Taiwan Association for Human Rights, “Zuo-shou Zuo-shi Bu-rang You-shou Zhi-dao: Interview Interview with Mother of Taiwan’s Human Rights Miyake Kyoko,” *Human Rights Magazine*, Issue 22, 1992.
- Wei-der Hus, “Fa-zi Yi-yu de Ling-lei Sheng-xiang: Zhan-hou Hai-wai Tai-du Yun-dong Xiang-guan Kan-wu Chu-Tan [A Different Sound from a Foreign Land: An Exploration of Publications Related to the Postwar Overseas Taiwan Independence Movement], *Taiwan Shi-liao Yan-jiu*, 17, 2001.
- _____. “Guo-zu Zhu-yi Yun-dong zhong di Min-zhu Su-qiu: yi Jie-yan-qian Mei-guo Tai-du Yun-dong zhi Xiang-guan Lun-shu wei Zhong-xin [The Demand for Democracy in the Nationalist Movement: on the Taiwan Independence Movement in America before the Abolition of Martial Law],” in Huang-xong Huang ed., *Three Generations of Taiwanese: The Reality and Ideal of a Century of Pursuit*, Taipei: Walkers Cultural Enterprises, Ltd, 2017.
- _____. “Chinese Nationalism, Imperialism, and Taiwan Independence Movement: A Review of Three Books on Taiwan Independence Published in China in the 1990s,” *Thought and Words: Journal of the Humanities and Social Science*, 39 (2), June 2001.

- Wu, Nai-The, “The particularities of Taiwan’s Democratic Transition,” *Router: A Journal of Cultural Studies*, 18, Spring 2014.
 _____. “The Role of Moral Value in Political Change: Explaining Democratic Transition in Taiwan,” *the Taiwanese Political Science Review*, 4, December 2000.
- _____. “Fan-dong Lun-shu he She-hui Ke-xue: Taiwan Wei-quan Zhu-yi Shi-qi de Fan-min-zhu-lun [Reactionary Discourse and Social Science: Anti-Democracy in the Age of Authoritarianism in Taiwan],” *Taiwan Historical Research*, 8:1, June 2001.
- Wu, Ting-yu, Qi-an Li, “*Hai-wai Tai-wen Yun-dong de Xian-feng: Cong Yu-yi Guan-dian Tan-tao Taiwan Yu-wen-yue-bao de Xu-shi Ce-lüe* [Pioneers of the Overseas Taiwanese Language Movement: A Linguistic Perspective on the Storytelling Strategies of the Taiwanese Language and Culture Monthly], *Hai-weng Tai-yu Literature*, 162, June 2015.

B. ENGLISH LANGUAGE MATERIALS

1. Primary Sources

Congressional Records

- 1) “Human Rights in Taiwan,” Date: Jun. 14, 1977. Hearing Id: HRG-1977-HIR-0079, Legacy CIS Number: 77-H461-67
- 2) “Taiwan,” Date: Feb. 5-6, 8, 22, 1979, Hearing ID: HRG-1979-FOR-0020. Legacy CIS Number:79-S381-11
- 3) “Implementation of Taiwan Relations Act: Issues and Concerns,” Date: Feb. 14-15, 1979. Hearing Id: HRG-1979-FOA-0049. Legacy CIS Number:80-H381-9

- 4) "Human Rights in Asia: Noncommunist Countries," Date: Feb 4, 6-7, 1980,
Hearing Id: HRG-1980-FOA-0013. Legacy CIS Number:80-H381-61
- 5) "The Future of Taiwan," Date: Nov. 9, 1983, Congressional Publication Number:
S. Hrg. 98-482, Hearing Id: HRG-1983-FOR-0033
- 6) "Normalization of Relations with the People's Republic of China: Practical
Implications," Date: Sep. 20-21, 28-29, Oct. 11, 13, 1977, Hearing Id: HRG-
1977-HIR-0023. Legacy CIS Number:78-H461-2
- 7) "Taiwanese American Week: Congressional record," Issue and Section: May 11,
2000 - Senate Vol. 146, No. 58
- 8) "Taiwan Agents in America and the Death of Prof. Wen-chen Chen," Date: July
30 and October 6, 1981, Hearing Id: HRG-1981-FOA-0043. Legacy CIS
Number:82-H381-18

Autobiographies, Biographies, Memoirs, and Oral Histories

- Arrigo, Linda Gail and Lynn Miles edited and written. *A Borrowed Voice: Taiwan Human Rights through International Networks, 1960-1980*, Taiwan: Hanyao Color Printing, 2008.
- Loo, Jay. *Free Formosa: A Memoir*, iUniverse, June 2019.
- Thornberry, Milo. *Fireproof Moth: A Missionary in Taiwan's White Terror*, Sunbury Press, Feb 2011.

Associations Publications

- *A Decade of NAPTA, 1980-1990*, a publication of North America Taiwanese Professors' Association (NATPA headquarters, Chicago), June 1990

- North American Taiwanese Professors' Association *Bulletin*

1. Secondary Sources

Books/ Dissertations

- Bush, Richard. *At Cross Purposes: U.S.-Taiwan Relations Since 1942*. Armonk, New York, M.E. Sharpe, 2004.
- Basch, Linda, Cristina Blac- Szanton, and Nina Glick Schiller. *Towards a transnational Prospective on Migration: Race, Class, Ethnicity, and Nationalism Reconsidered*. New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1992.
- Chen, Hsiang-Shui Chen. *Chinatown No More: Taiwan Immigrants in Contemporary New York*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1992.
- Chee, Maria W.L. *Taiwanese American Transnational Families: Women and Kin Work*. New York: Routledge, 2005.
- Chang, Shenglin. *The Global Silicon Valley Home: Lives and Landscapes Within Taiwanese American trans-Pacific Culture*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2006.
- Chen, Carolyn. *Getting Saved in America: Taiwanese Immigration and Religious Experience*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2008.
- Chao, Ena. "The China Bloc: Congress and The Making of Foreign Policy, 1947-1952," PhD dissertation, the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1990.
- Cohen, Jerome A., William P. Alford, and Chang Fa-Lo edited. *Taiwan and International Human Rights: A Story of Transformation*. Springer Singapore, 2019.

- Dongen, Luc van, Setphanie Roulin, and Giles Scott- Smith. *Transnational Anti-communism and the Cold War: Agents, Activities, and Networks*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.
- Fong, Timothy. *The First Suburban Chinatown: The Remaking of Monterey Park, California*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994.
- Hsu, Madeline Y. *The Good Immigrants: How the Yellow Peril Became the Model Minority*. Princeton University Press, 2015.
- Iriye, Akira. *Global and transnational History: The Past, Present, and Future*. New York: Palgrave Pivot, 2012.
- Keys, Barbara. *Reclaiming American Virtue: The Human Rights Revolution of the 1970s*. Harvard University Press, 2014.
- Kerr, George H. *Formosa Betrayed: The Definitive First-hand Account of Modern Taiwan's Founding Tragedy*, Camphor press, 2017 edition.
- Koehn, Peter H. and Xiao-huang Yin ed. *The Expanding Roles of Chinese Americans in US-China Relations*. New York: An East Gate Book, 2002.
- Kwang, Peter. *The New Chinatown*. Hill and Wang, Second Edition, Revised, July 1996.
- Lee, David Tawei. *The Making of the Taiwan Relations Act: Twenty Years in Retrospect*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Ng, Franklin. *The Taiwanese Americans*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1998.
- Oyen, Meredith. *The Diplomacy of Migration: Transnational Lives and the Making of U.S.-Chinese Relations in the Cold War*. Cornell University Press, 2015.
- Rigger, Shelley. *From Opposition to Power: Taiwan's Democratic Progressive Party*. Lynne Rienner Publishers, May 1, 2001.

- Rubinstein, Murray. *The Protestant Community on Modern Taiwan: Mission, Seminary and Church*. New York: An East Gate Book, 1991.
- Snyder, Sarah B. *From Selma to Moscow: How Human Rights Activists Transformed US Foreign Policy*. Columbia University Press, 2018.
- Tucker, Nancy Bernkopf. *Taiwan, Hong Kong, and the United States, 1945-1992*. Twayne Publishers, April 14, 1994.
- Tsai, Shih-shan Henry. *The Chinese Experience in America*. Indiana University Press, 1986.
- Wang, Chih-ming. *Transpacific Articulations: Student Migration and the Remaking of Asian America*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2013.

Articles

- Arrigo, Linda Gail. "Patterns of Personal and Political Life Among Taiwanese Americans," submitted to *Taiwan Inquiry*, a Journal of the North American Taiwanese Professors' Association, (2016).
- _____. "Fifty Years After '2-2-8': The Lingering Legacy of State Terror in the Consolidation of Bourgeois Democracy in Taiwan," *Humboldt Journal of Social Relations*, Vol 23, No. 1/2, ASIA (1997).
- Blackwell, Jeff. "'The China Lobby': Influences on US-China Foreign Policy in the Post War Period, 1949-1954," *The Forum: Journal of History*, Vol. 2: Issue 1 (2010)
- Cheng, Wendy. "'THIS CONTRADICTION BUT FANTASTIC THING' Student Networks and Political Activism in Cold War Taiwanese/America," *Journal of Asian American Studies*, Volume 20, Number 2 (June 2017).

- _____. “The Taiwan Revolutionary Party and Sinophone Political Praxis in New York, 1970–1986,” *Amerasia Journal*, Volume 45, Issue 2 (September 2019).
- Chan, Sucheng. “The Changing Contours of Asian-America Historiography,” *Rethinking History*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (March 2007).
 - Hogan, Michael J. “SHAFR Presidential Address: The ‘Next Big Thing’: The Future of Diplomatic History in a Global Age” *Diplomatic History*, Vol.28, No. 1 (January 2004).
 - Hunt, Michael H. “Internationalizing US. Diplomatic History: A Practical Agenda,” *Diplomatic History*, Volume 15, Issue 1 (January 1991).
 - Iriye, Akira. “The Transnational Turn,” *Diplomatic History*, Volume 31, Issue 3 (June 2007).
 - Keys, Barbara. “Congress, Kissinger, and the Origins of Human Rights Diplomacy,” *Diplomatic History*, (November 2010).
 - Kan, Shirley A. “Democratic Reforms in Taiwan: Issues for Congress,” *Congressional Research Service (CRS) Report for Congress* (May 26, 2010).
 - Kloter, Henning. “Language Policy in the KMT and DPP Era,” *China Perspectives*, No 56, Special Edition Taiwan: New governments, old themes, or the persistence of continuity (2004).
 - Lien, Pei-te and Jeanette Yih Harvie. “UNPACKING CHINESE AMERICA: The Political Participation of Taiwanese Americans in the Early Twenty-First-Century United States,” *Journal of Asian American Studies*, Volume 21, Number 1 (February 2018).
 - Lin, Catherine Kai-Ping. “Taiwan’s Overseas Opposition Movement and Grassroots Diplomacy in the United States: the case of the Formosa Association for Public Affairs,” *Journal of Contemporary China*, 15(46) (February 2006).

- Ngai, Mae M. "The Future of the Discipline: Promises and Perils of transnational history," *AHA Perspectives*, Issue: December 2012.
- Shih, Shu-mei. "Globalization and the (in)significance of Taiwan," *Postcolonial Studies*, Vol 6, No. 2 (2003).
- Shih, Cheng-feng. "Language and Ethnic Politics in Taiwan," *International Journal of Peace Studies*, Vol 8, No. 2 (2003).
- Tyson, James. "Christian and the Taiwanese Independence Movement: A Commentary," *Asian Affairs: An American Review*, Vol 14, No 3 (Fall, 1987).
- Tien, Hung-mao. "Taiwan in transition: Prospects for Socio-Political Change," *The China Quarterly*, No 64 (December 1975).
- Wu, Ellen D. "Chinese-American Transnationalism Aboard the Love Boat: The Overseas Chinese Youth Language Training and Study Tour to the Republic of China," *History and Perspectives* (2005).
- _____. "It's Time to Center War in US Immigration History," *Modern American History* (2019).

C. ELECTRONIC AND ONLINE SOURCES

- Bibliographical Dictionary of Chinese Christianity: <http://www.bdcconline.net/en>
- Carole Hsu personal oral history blog: http://overseas-tw.blogspot.com/2015/03/3f_14.html
- Foreign Affairs Oral History Project, the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training (ADST): <https://adst.org/oral-history/>
- Formosan Association for Public Affairs website: <https://fapa.org/>
- North America Taiwanese Professors' Association website: <http://www.natpa.org/>

- Overseas Taiwanese Oral History Project by Wu San-lien Foundation:
http://www.twcenter.org.tw/thematic_series/character_series/overseas_taiwanese_interview
- Presbyterian Church in Taiwan website: <http://english.pct.org.tw/>
- Taiwan Communiqué:
<http://www.taiwandc.org/twcom/?fbclid=IwAR0TxBfp3IAX0wTyWgi2raZrcIHgxCjFYdXlq7sWN6DW83GNS9Xrndkfq0>
- 1) Wang, Kristie. “Second Generation report: How I Became a Taiwanese-American and Why It Matters” Speech. ITASA Conference. Harvard University. *Taiwan Communique* No. 65, Aril (1995).
- 2) “Remembering 28 February 1947: A Memorial to Taiwan's Holocaust.” *Taiwan Communique* No. 65, April (1995)
- Taiwanese American Archives (T.A. Archives) digital sources:
<http://taiwaneseamericanhistory.org/blog/our-journeys-350/>
- Taiwanese American Historical Society oral Histories and video interviews:
<https://www.tahistory.org/tag/%E5%8F%B0%E7%BE%8E%E6%AD%B7%E5%8F%B2%E5%8D%94%E6%9C%83/>
- World United Formosans for Independence website: <https://www.wufi.org.tw/en/>

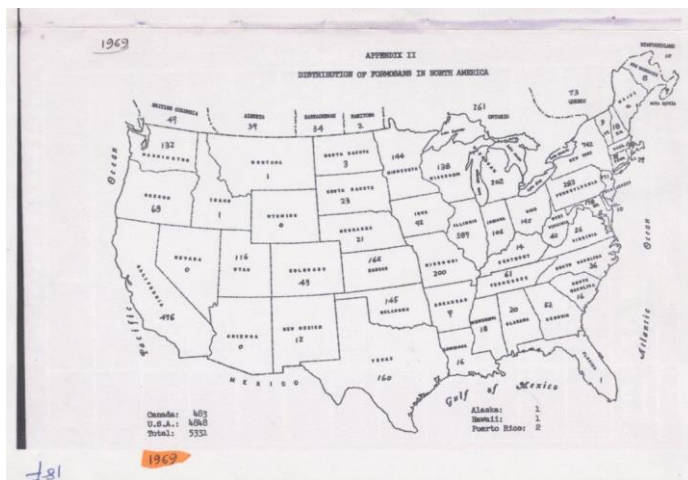
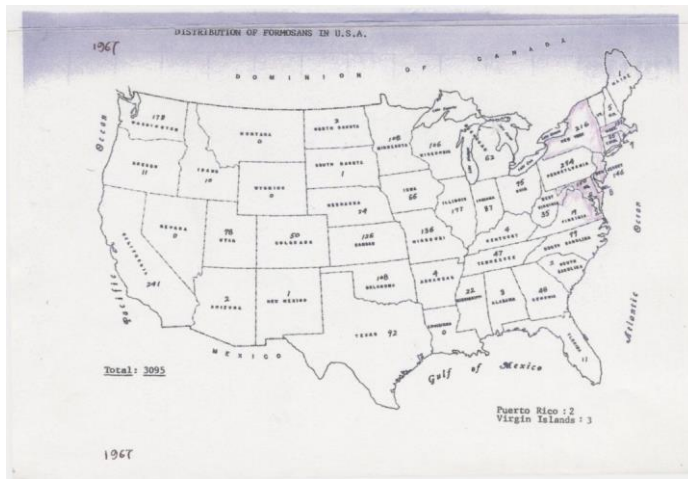
Appendix

A. Number of Immigrants and Students Immigrating from Taiwan to the United States by Stage and Annual Average (1895-2011)

Stage	Years	Immigrants		Students	
		Total Number	Annual Number in Average	Total Number	Annual Number in Average
Japanese Colonial Period	1895-1945	2	0	60	1.2
Early Postwar Period	1946-1964	12,186	812.4	10,302	686.8
Period of Relaxation of US Immigration Policy	1965-1979	98,753	6,583.5	38,675	2,578.3
Period of Diversity of Taiwanese American Immigration	1980-1999	270,621	13,531.1	186,895	9,344.8
Period of Localization of Taiwanese American immigration	2000-2011	105,746	8,812.2	182,371	15,197.6
Total Number	1895-2011	487,308	4,312.5	418,303	3,701.8
Total Number in the Postwar Period	1946-2011	487,306	7,859.8	418,243	6,745.9

Source from: *A Brief History of Taiwanese Immigration in the United States*, table made by Weider Hsu, Originally from Hsu's *Ethnic Groups and the Formation of National Identity: A Study of Hakka, Aborigines and Taiwanese Americans in Taiwan* (Taipei: Yuan-Liou Publishing Co., Ltd, 2013) (table downloaded and cited on September 18, 2020 from Taiwanese American Archives: <http://taiwaneseamericanhistory.org/blog/ourjourneys309/>)

B. Formosans in the U.S.A., 1967 and 1969



Source from: *Directory of Formosans in the U.S.A.*, made by The Committee of Directory of Formosans in the U.S.A. in December 1967 and 1969 (original copy in Taiwanese American Archives: <http://taiwaneseamericanhistory.org/blog/publications1083/>)

**C. A List of 80 Taiwanese American Community Leaders Discussed in the
Dissertation**

1. WUFI

盧主義 Tsu-yi Jay Loo

林榮勳 John R.S. Lin

陳以德 Edward Y.T. Chen

楊東傑 Tom T.C. Yang

林錫湖 Echo Lin

周斌明 Sam Suy-ming Chou

賴文雄 W.S. Lai

王秋森 Chiu-sen Wang

王康陸 Kang-lu Wang

王能祥 Neng-hsiang Wang

陳隆志 Lung-Chi Chen

張燦鑒 George Tsan-hung Chang

蔡武雄 Wu-hsiung Tsai

楊宗昌 C.C. Yang

羅福全 Fu-chen Lo

黃文雄 Peter Huang

鄭自才 Tzu-tsai Cheng

黃昭堂 Ng Chiautong

陳唐山 Mark Chen

蔡同榮 Trong-rong Chai

許世楷 Koh Se-kai

鄭紹良 Shao-liang Cheng

洪哲勝 Cary S. Hung

郭倍宏 Bei-hung Kuo

陳希寬 Michael S.K. Chen

陳南天 Richard Chen

王幸男 Sing-nan Wang

2. Taiwanese Associations

鄭義和 Yi-ho Cheng

許和瑞 Ho-rui Hsu

吳木盛 Mu-sheng Wu

葉國勢 Kuo-shih Yeh

陳唐山 Mark Chen

林明哲 Ming-she Lin

陳都 Tu Chen

謝英敏 Ying-min Hsieh

黃美幸 Maysing Huang

周斌明 Sam Suy-ming Chou

范良政 Liang-tseng Fan

范良信 Liang-shing Fan

陳希寬 Michael S.K. Chen

陳榮成 Ron Long-chen Chen

楊宗昌 C.C. Yang

廖明徵 Ming-cheng Liao

許永華 Yung-hwa Hsu

蔡武雄 Wu-hsiung Tsai

3. Presbyterian Church

黃武東 Hunag Wu-dong

宋泉盛 Choan-seng C.S. Song

黃彰輝 Shoki Coe

林宗義 Zuong-yi Lin

郭雨新 Kuo Yu-shin

彭明敏 Peng Ming-min

王再興 Wang Zhai-Xing

王能祥 Neng-hsiang Wang

4. Formosan Human Rights Association

張丁蘭 Tina Ding-lan Chang/ her husband 張燦鑒 George Tsan-hung Chang

許千惠 Qian-hui Hsu/ her husband 許世楷 Koh Se-kai

范清亮 Chris Ching-liang Fan /and his wife 范淑雲

許瑞峰

林心智 Sim Ti Lim

黃根深 Ken S. Huang

王延宜(泰和) Tai-he Wang

毛清芬 Vicki Lo/ her husband 羅福全 Fu-chen Lo

吳秀惠 Grace Wu/ her husband 周焯明 Sam Suy-ming Chou

莊秋雄 Strong Chuang

郭清江 Ching-chiang Kuo

陳希寬 Michael S.K. Chen

李應元 Ying-yuan Lee

5. FAPA

王桂榮 Kenjohn Wang

彭明敏 Peng Ming-min

陳唐山 Mark Chen

蔡同榮 Trong-rong Chai

陳榮儒 John Chen

張富美 Fu-mei Chang

蔡武雄 Wu-hsiung Tsai

6. North America Taiwanese Professors' Association

廖述宗 Shut-sung Liao

張富美 Fu-mei Chang

張旭成 Parris Hsu-cheng Chang

蔡丁財 David Tsay

賴義雄 Robert Y. Lai

吳得民 De-min Wu

蔡嘉寅 C. Y. Tsai

孫錦德 Chin-The Sun

吳政彥 Jang-ten Wu

林宗光 T. K. Lin

黃昭淵 Chao-yuan Huang

陳文彥 Wen Yen Chen

林靜竹 Chin-Chu Lin

7. Taiwanese United Fund

林衡哲 Jer-shung Lin

吳禮培 Li-pei Wu

吳西面 Symeon Woo

楊子清 Cliff Yang

賴英慧 Ing-hui Lai

蕭泰然 Tyzen Hsiao

D. FAPA's Lobby Kit

HOW TO VISIT

BEFORE GOING INTO THE OFFICE

Try to find the name of the Aide you will deal with beforehand. Most likely the person you will want to deal with is the Foreign Affairs Aide. Normally, the Congress person is too busy and does not have the same extensive knowledge of an issue as that of the Aide. The Aide advises the Congressperson.

Mark an appointment by telephone. Explain that you are a constituent and a member of the local Chapter of FAPA. Let them know the purpose of the meeting: that you want to express your concerns about Taiwan. This way the Aide will come better prepared.

Prepare some written materials which you can leave at the office. Things are usually hectic at the Congressperson's office. Written materials allow the Aide to review the issue at a convenient time and in greater detail.

Know your Congressperson's attitude towards Taiwan, Taiwan independence, and FAPA. The more you know about the Congressperson's record concerning Taiwan, the better you will come across.

IN THE OFFICE

When you arrive in your Congressperson's office, give the secretary your name, your affiliation (FAPA) and ask for the staff member you plan to see.

Recognize your time limitations. Be focused and to the point. Rambling about every aspect of Taiwan in an unorganized manner will only confuse the real issue at hand. Try to focus on one or two issues.

Introduce yourself and remind the Aide of your purpose for being there. The Aide may not remember what the meeting was supposed to be all about. Show your prepared materials and be willing to present and discuss.

Do not assume that the Aide knows all the background information on the issues. It is quite likely you will know more than the Aide about Taiwan's history and contemporary political situation.

Comment on one or two issues you know about the Congressperson. The Aide will understand that you are observing the Congressperson's position on Taiwan. This will make a significant difference in the future.

When you leave, tell the Aide that you will follow up with a phone call or a letter asking whether the Congressperson has decided on how to respond to your request.

HOW TO WRITE A LETTER

Letter from constituents let the Congressperson know what issues are important to the people he/she represents. Write your letter using the following guidelines.

Address letters to Representatives as follows:

1. The Hon [name]
2. (*ATTN: Foreign Affairs Aide)
3. U.S. House of Representatives

4. Washington, D.C. 20515
5. Address letters to Senators as follows:
6. (*ATTN: Foreign Affairs Aide)
7. United States Senate
8. Washington, D.C. 20510
9. The salutation should be: Dear congressman [name] or Dear Senator [name]
10. Keep your letter as brief as possible and focused. Highlight the information most important; for example, if you ask your Rep. to attend a FAPA function, highlight date, time, and place.
11. Discuss one issue. This will increase effectiveness and clarity and will facilitate a quicker and easier responses.
12. Begin by reacting on his/her attitude towards an issue or attendance at a FAPA function. Besides being polite and courteous, it will show that you are aware of how the Congressperson has acted on Taiwan issues.
13. Ask smart questions. Good questions will require the Congressperson and Aide to look further into an issue to give an educated response.
14. If additional material will strengthen your position (newspaper clipping, photos, statements), enclose it.
15. One well-written letter can be just as effective as a petition filled with hundreds of names. Perhaps instead of compiling a petition, attempt to mobilize a mass letter writing campaign.
16. Letters provide a written record, so choose the method of correspondence best suited to the occasion.
17. HOW TO PHONE
18. If you do not have time to write a letter, or when you need immediate reply to your question, call your Congressperson. Call the Washington office, state your name and affiliation and ask for the Foreign Affairs Aide.
19. Be brief. If you don't get to talk to the Foreign Affairs Aide and you want to ask the Congressperson for a concrete favor (such as co-sponsoring a resolution or voting for a particular resolution) inform the person who picks up the phone about the matter and ask him/her to reply the message to the Congressperson and the Aide.
20. *Do not worry because you are not an experienced "lobbyist." What you may lack in experience, you make up for with your passion for Taiwan independence.
21. *Keep FAPA's Headquarters informed of your progress. Also, feel free to phone

FAPA HQ at (202) 547-3686 if you need information, materials, help and assistance.

GOOD LUCK!

Source: John Chen, *FAPA and Congressional Diplomacy, 1982-1995* (Taipei: Avanguard book, 2004), 365-366.