

Taiwan's Opposition Magazines

Tangwai ('outside-the-party') opposition magazines in Taiwan

臺灣的黨外雜誌



Introduction

During the period between 1975 and 1986, a number of increasingly significant magazines were published in Taiwan. Collectively they are known as *tangwai* (outside-the-party) magazines, to indicate that they originated outside the ruling Nationalist Chinese Kuomintang (KMT) party. They had in common that they voiced opposition against the single-party rule of the KMT and advocated democracy and respect for human rights on the island, which had been under martial law since 1949.

The magazines also had in common that they were frequently banned and confiscated by the secret police – until the liberalization which set in late in 1986 and culminated in the lifting of martial law in July 1987. Most of the magazines were published by relatives or friends of opposition leaders imprisoned after the Kaohsiung Incident, which occurred in December 1979. This incident received little international attention, but was later recognized to have been a turning point in Taiwan's history: it galvanized the native Taiwanese on the island (85% of the population) as well as abroad into political activity and was the main starting point for the island's opposition movement. This movement grew in strength between 1980 and 1986 and finally made a breakthrough late in 1986 with the formation of the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), leading to the democratization which took place in 1987.

Since little is known outside Taiwan about either the events surrounding and following the Kaohsiung Incident or the political situation on the island, IDC considers it important to bring out this series of *tangwai* magazines on microfiche. The initiative for this effort was taken by the Reverend Dr. Edward Kelly (Columban Fathers), who – supported by Dr. Gerrit van der Wees and his wife Mei-chin of *Taiwan Communiqué*, Dr. James D. Seymour of Columbia University, and Dr. Fu-mei Chang Chen of the Hoover Institution (Stanford University) – collected a set of the most important magazines.

“A considerable number of the magazines contained in this collection are quite rare, even in Taiwan, because of the frequent confiscations and bannings by the secret police (primarily the Taiwan Garrison Command). A few issues are missing from this collection because the police was able to confiscate all copies, and destroyed the printing blocks.”

Price and other information

Scope	16 magazines
Number of fiches	865
Size of fiches	105 x 148 mm
Film type	Positive silver halide
Reduction ratio	Varies according to the size of the original (between 17 and 24)
Internal finding aids	Eye-legible headers with bibliographical information on each fiche

How to order

Please send your order to the following address:

IDC Publishers
P.O. Box 11205
2301 EE Leiden
The Netherlands
Fax +31 (0)71 5 13 17 21
Phone +31 (0)71 5 14 27 00
E-mail info@idc.nl
IDC VAT no.: NL001540610B01

Order numbers should be indicated on all orders and correspondence. Delay cannot be avoided if these order numbers are not indicated.

Prices are given in Euro and are subject to change without notice. (For the European Community only: domestic VAT taxes are not included.)

Minimum order amount 100.Euro

For prepaid orders a 2% charge is added for postage, insurance, and handling costs. If not prepaid, a 5% charge is added (minimum charge 25 Euro).

The magazines

1. *Taiwan Political Review* (台灣政論, *Taiwan Cheng Lun*). This was the first full-fledged opposition journal in Taiwan. It was published jointly in 1975 by two prominent opposition leaders, Huang Hsin-chieh (黃信介) and Kang Ning-hsiang (康寧祥). The editor-in-chief was Chang Chün-hung (張俊宏). Although very moderate in its criticism of Kuomintang policies, the magazine was closed down after only five issues, and its deputy editor, Huang Hua (黃華), was arrested and sentenced to 10 years imprisonment for his writings.
4 mf KCHT-11/1
2. *Beautiful Island* (美麗島, *Mei Li Tao*). Published very briefly in 1979 by the veteran opposition leader Huang Hsin-chieh, this magazine played an extremely important role in Taiwan's recent history. It assembled an editorial and managerial staff composed of virtually all of the prominent opposition figures, and opened the discussion of many sensitive political issues which had previously been taboo on the island, such as the lifting of material law, the release of political prisoners, and the general election of the parliament. Within a couple of months the magazine attained a circulation of over 100,000. It was closed down by the Kuomintang authorities after it organized a human rights day celebration in the southern port of Kaohsiung on 10 December 1979. The gathering turned into chaos after the police fired teargas into a peaceful crowd. After this "Kaohsiung Incident", the authorities arrested virtually all well-known opposition figures and accused them of "sedition". Most of them were sentenced to long prison terms.
5 mf KCHT-12/1
3. *The Eighties* (八十年代, *Pa Shih Nien Tai*), *The Asian* (亞洲人, *Ya Chou Jen*), *The Current* (暖流, *Nuan Liu*). The three magazines forming this series were published by the opposition politician K'ang Ning-hsiang between 1979 and 1986. *The Eighties* first appeared in 1979. After publication was suspended for a year following the Kaohsiung Incident, it was renamed *The Asian*. In the ensuing years, K'ang shifted titles whenever the authorities suspended the publishing license of one or more of the magazines. Having the ownership of three titles made it possible for him to continue publishing until the end of 1986, when the magazine closed down permanently after a period of particularly severe censorship. His series – considered the most intellectual of the *tangwai* magazines – survived the longest.
138 mf KCHT-1/1
4. *The Bell Drum Tower* (鐘鼓樓, *Chung Kulo*) and *Fabulous Island* (蓬萊島, *Peng Lai Tao*) series. This series was published by Huang Tien-fu (黃天福), the younger brother of Huang Hsin-chieh. After the publishing license of *Beautiful Island* was suspended following the Kaohsiung Incident, the younger Huang published *Bell Drum Tower* to carry on the work of his imprisoned brother. In an attempt to counter government propaganda, Huang Tien-fu devoted the first issue to an eye-witness account of the Kaohsiung Incident. The magazine was immediately confiscated and its license suspended. Publication of *Bell Drum Tower* was resumed in 1983, but issues were frequently confiscated and its license was suspended after ten numbers. In mid-1984 the younger Huang started his *Fabulous Island* series, which ran through mid-1985. This magazine too was highly critical of Kuomintang policies, and almost every issue was banned by the censors.
52 mf KCHT-2/1
Lacking: 1984(16); 1985(31)
5. *The Statesman* (政治家, *Cheng Chih Chia*) and *The Democrat* (民主人, *Min Chu Jen*) series. This series was published by Teng Wei-hsien, whose magazines were generally moderate in tone.
116 mf KCHT-3/1
6. *Care* (關懷, *Kuan Huai*). Published by Mrs. Yao Chou Ching-yü (周清玉), a human rights activist and a prominent member of the opposition. Mrs. Yao was elected to the National Assembly in 1980, after the imprisonment of her husband, the lawyer Yao Chia-wen (姚嘉文), following the Kaohsiung Incident in December 1979. *Care* is Taiwan's foremost human rights magazine. Mrs. Yao has campaigned for the release of political prisoners, called public attention to the need for prison reforms, and publicized many cases of torture by police during interrogation.
51 mf KCHT-13/1
7. *The Cultivate* (深耕, *Sheng Ken*) and *Taiwan Times* (台灣年代, *Taiwan Nien Tai*) series. This series was published by Mrs. Chang Hsü Jung-shu (許榮淑), who was elected to the legislative Yuan after the imprisonment of her husband, Chang Chün-hung, following the Kaohsiung Incident in December 1979. *Cultivate* was one of the most outspoken opposition magazines. It made its mark by being the first publication to openly call for self-determination for Taiwan.
123 mf KCHT-4/1
Lacking: *Cultivate*: 1984(12)
Taiwan Times: 1984(17); 1985(5-6)



Care (*Kuan Huai*), number 21.

8. *Taiwan Panorama* (博觀, *Po Kuan*). This short-lived magazine (only four issues appeared) was published in 1982 by opposition leader Dr. You Ching (尤清), a prominent human rights lawyer. It offered the most penetrating analyses of the martial law and the ban on the formation of new political parties.
5 mf KCHT-14/1
9. *Famous People*, (名人, *Ming Jen*). A Tai-chung-based magazine, published by Hsien Chieh-ming (謝介銘).
18 mf KCHT-5/1
10. *Progress* (前進, *Chien Chin*). Published by Lin Cheng-chieh (林正杰.), a prominent member of the opposition who served as member of the Taipei City Council until his imprisonment in 1986. This magazine used the format of a news magazine with coverage of political, social, and cultural matters as well as international events.
114 mf KCHT-6/1
Lacking: 1984(71, 96, 97)
11. *The Freedom Times* (自由時代, *Tzu-yu Shih Tai*) and *Democratic Times* (民主時代, *Min Chu Shih Tai*) series. Published by Cheng Nan-jung (鄭南榕), a young maverick known for his managerial skills, this magazine is one of the most vocal of all opposition magazines.
76 mf KCHT-7/1
Lacking: 1985(17)
12. *The New Era* (開創, *Kai Ch'uang*). Published by Huang Huang-hsiung (黃煌雄), a historian and a moderate member of the opposition.
15 mf KCHT-15/1
13. *The Movement* (新潮流, *Hsin Chao Liu*). This magazine is associated with the Editors and Writers Association, a vocal group of young editors and writers who were not only sharply critical of the Kuomintang, but also voiced their criticism of the more moderate members of the *tangwai* movement itself.
30 mf KCHT-16/1
14. *Torch* (薪火, *Hsin Huo*). Published by K'eng Jung-shui (耿榮水), this journal did not consider itself a strictly *tangwai* magazine. Nevertheless, on occasion it published information that was not to the liking of the authorities, and was therefore confiscated repeatedly.
44 mf KCHT-8/1
Lacking: Nos. 29 and 57
15. *New Route* (新路線, *Hsin Lu Hsien*). Published by Chou Po-lun (周伯倫), a young and very vocal member of the opposition, this magazine was highly critical of Kuomintang policies and was known for its behind-the-scenes exposés.
16 mf KCHT-9/1
16. *The China Tide* (夏潮, *Hsia Chao*) series. This magazine was associated with a group of young intellectuals known for their socialist orientation. Its first editor was Su Ching-li (蘇慶黎). The main focus of the magazine was on the problems of the working class in Taiwan. It differs in one respect from all other opposition magazines in that it advocated reunification with mainland China.
58 mf KCHT-10/1
Lacking: 1983(10)

The Independence Evening Post

The Independence Evening Post. Taiwan, 1947 (October 10) - 1987 (June 30)

105 reels (35 mm microfilm; positive silver halide)

Reduction ratio: 1 : 19

Lacking: May 1, 1948 - January 31, 1950; November 17, 1950 - September 22, 1951;
April 8 - April 14, 1953; October 19, 1953 - January 18, 1954.

Order number: KCH-1539/3

The Independence Evening Post was established on October 10, 1947 as the first evening newspaper ever in Taiwan. It also has the longest history of any privately owned paper there.

The Post began publication in a year when China was bogged down in the crossfires of war, Taiwan's business and industries were on the decline, and people were uncertain about the situation. Led by journalists from mainland China, *The Post* carried stories concerning both the mainland and Taiwan.

Having mainland correspondents and new agencies, *The Post* faithfully reported the military and political situation in China. At the same time, *The Post's* local staff covered political, economic, social, and cultural news of Taiwan. After the central government moved to Taiwan in 1949, *The Post* kept the same newscoverage policy, reporting what was happening on both the mainland and Taiwan. In a period of turmoil, *The Post* reported the contemporary changes objectively and faithfully.

In 1959, *The Independence Evening Post* suffered a serious financial crisis which led to a broad managerial reorganization. Two well-respected people, San-lien Wu and C.T. Hsu were invited to join the staff; they saved the paper from bankruptcy. Their participation drew *The Post* closer

to local political and financial elites. After that, *The Post* paid even more attention to democratization in Taiwan, expressed public opinion better, and eventually became a pillar of Taiwan's press.

In the 1980s *The Post* carried out a breakthrough reform of its newsroom and editorial board and strengthened its administrative line, making the paper more influential in the mass media. Meanwhile, Taiwan's political, economic, and social forces began to interact and affect each other. The strength of the public has increased and the opposition has extended its influence rapidly. Although few setbacks have occurred on the way to economic prosperity, the whole society is alive with variety, issues, and enthusiasm. *The Independence Evening Post*, with a capacity for sharp observation and a free and objective stance, has delivered reliable news coverage to readers and continues to provide in-depth interpretation and impartial comments.

Of all the newspapers in Taiwan, including those with a bigger circulation, *The Independence Evening Post*, has exerted a far-reaching and profound influence. It is fair to say that those who save copies of *The Post*, have a record of the history of Taiwan and those who read *The Post*, understand the country's development.