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A REVIEW OF THE PRESENT NON-PARTISAN
POLITICAL JOURNALS OF TAIWAN

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Mr. Anthony Marr, Chairperson of the CEAL Subcommittee on Chinese Materials, has asked me to comment on the publication of recent non-party journals in Taiwan. This assignment may reflect the fact that I had compiled "A Union List of Suspended Periodicals Published in Taiwan on Contemporary Taiwan Issues, 1970-1980," which appeared in the CEAL Bulletin, no. 65, June 1981. I wish to take this opportunity to thank again all who encouraged me to compile this list and contributed information and suggestions on its scope. During the past two years, the development of Taiwan political journals has taken a different course. Almost twenty new political magazines have been published since 1981; these may be divided into two categories: party-line and non-party. The present essay is confined to the latter, their significance and their acquisition.

I. What Are the Non-Party Political Journals?

These are periodicals published and edited by persons not affiliated with the Kuomintang, mostly Taiwanese, who are interested in the current domestic political affairs of Taiwan, including such issues as the abolition of press control, party organization, martial law, and the reorganization of the National Congress, including the Legislative Yuan and the Control Yuan. All the above issues deal with the democratic movement, human rights, and civil administration. These non-party publications have served as vehicles to express the publishers' political points of view and to strengthen their political power, or to establish their political potential for participating in public life in the near future. Most publishers and editors are well-known lawyers, political writers, or hold various positions as representatives in the National Congress and Assembly.

In reviewing the past two years, the following well-known non-party political journals are to be noted:

1. Cheng chih chia 政治家 (Statesmen), semi-monthly, January 1981- . Published by Teng Wei-hsien, a well-known Taiwanese nonpartisan political writer.
2. Chin pu 進步 (Progress), April 1981- . Published by Lin Cheng-chieh, a representative of the Taipei Municipal Assembly and a leader of a new generation of persons not affiliated with any party.
3. Kuan hui 關懷 (Care Magazine), monthly, October 25, 1981- . Published by Chou Ch'ing-yu (wife of Yao Chia-wen, the most prominent non-party figure, who was arrested and imprisoned because of the Kaohsiung incident); a national representative since November 1981.

4. Po kuan 博觀 (Taiwan Panorama), monthly, September 1982- . Published by Yu Hung, brother of Yu Ch'ing, a member of the Control Yuan.
5. Pa shih nien tai 八十年代 (The 1980's), monthly, February 1981- . Publication resumed by K'ang Ning-hsiang, a nonpartisan leader and legislator.
6. Shen keng 深耕 (Cultivation), monthly, June 1981- . Published by Lin Cheng-chieh and Hsu Jung-shu (wife of Chang Chun-hung, a nonpartisan leader, arrested and imprisoned because of the Kaohsiung incident); a member of the Legislative Yuan.
7. Fai i shih 代議士 (Parliamentarian Magazine), monthly, October 25, 1981- . Published by Su Ch'iu-chen, a member of the Legislative Yuan.
8. Ya chou jen 亞洲人 (The Asian), monthly, March 1980- . Published by K'ang Ning-hsiang.
9. Nuan liu 暖流 (The Current), monthly, April 1983- . Publisher, K'ang Wen-hsiung, brother of K'ang Ning-hsiang; editor, Ssu-ma Wen-wu. Began publication August 1980; suspended after one issue. Resumed in April 1983.
10. Hsia chao 夏潮 (China Tide), monthly, January 1983- . Publication resumed by Su Ch'in-li, a well-known woman writer and editor of Ku sheng (Tocsin), a magazine banned in September 1979.

The political points of view of the above journals do not necessarily agree with one another. K'ang Ning-hsiang, one of the pioneering nonpartisan leaders, has always been criticized as a "conservative" by Shen keng, the magazine published by Lin Cheng-chieh, one of the new generation of nonpartisan leaders. But as a source of political power for opposition to the Kuomintang, the non-party magazines are firmly united. At the beginning of this year, the eve of the third anniversary of the bloody Lin family incident, all non-party magazines unanimously published an article by K'ang Ning-hsiang and Huang Huang-hsiung, which was a united appeal to release Lin I-hsiung from prison. This is a good example of concerted nonpartisan activity in Taiwan.

II. The Present Status of Non-Party Political Journals

After the Kaohsiung incident of December 10, 1979, Mei-li tao (Formosa), the most influential political magazine after Tsu-yu Chung-kuo (Free China) and Taiwan cheng-lun (Taiwan Political Review) of the 1970's was banned forever. Two other important magazines, Pa shih nien tai (The 1980's) and Ch'un feng (The Spring) were also suspended for one year. Most editors of nonpartisan political journals have learned a lesson from Mei-li tao, and they are now concentrating on issues such as peaceful reformation of government and society through the existing system; all criticism and discussions are confined to the development of democracy. During the election of 1981, the wives of two important political figures of the Kaohsiung incident, namely, Chou Ch'ing-yu and Hsu Jung-shu, were elected representatives to the National Congress and Legislative Yuan, respectively. This situation encour-

aged them to strengthen and publish their own magazines. Instead of a one-year suspension, only special issues are now banned. All of the magazines suspended for one year have touched on such crucial problems as peaceful reunification with mainland China and Taiwanese independence. Several magazines whose publishers did not have the advantage of being national representatives or legislators who could advocate their opinions in the National Congress or the Legislative Yuan have been banned. The exception is Po kuan (Taiwan Panorama), which was first published last August. Yu Ch'ing, the real publisher of the magazine, has decided to publish the Po kuan series instead of a regular magazine in order to avoid permanent suspension.

III. The Significance and Acquisition of Non-Party Political Journals

From the discussion and criticism of current Taiwan domestic problems and articles on political affairs and on current social problems appearing in these magazines, we can sense the problems of Taiwan and anticipate its future. The value of such materials for the study of contemporary and future Taiwan is immense. Subscription to most of these titles has been impossible. Suspension or confiscation of one special issue makes regular subscription more difficult. Most of the materials have only been made available to the Asian Collection in the United States through personal contact or special channels. Though all interested persons are aware that these materials are important, it is difficult to know how to cooperate in compiling a complete union list. Should a union list be compiled for all of the non-party political journals of Taiwan, or only for the banned ones? Should not any union list also include those political journals which adhere to the party line? Suggestions and advice in regard to this matter would be welcome.