


44-250-1

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SEP 5 1978	
FBI - [illegible]	



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DANIEL K. INOUE
HAWAII

St. Rojny
PRINCE KUHIO FEDERAL BUILDING
ROOM 6104, 300 ALA MOANA BOULEVARD
HONOLULU, HAWAII 96850
41 . . . (808) 546-7850

United States Senate

ROOM 442, RUSSELL SENATE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510
(202) 224-3934

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July 6, 1978

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DEPT. OF JUSTICE
CENTRAL FILE UNIT
OFFICE OF LEGISLATIVE
AFFAIRS

Attorney General Griffin Bell
U.S. Department of Justice
Washington, D.C.

JUL 12 1978

Dear Attorney General Bell:

Recent articles in THE HONOLULU ADVERTISER suggest that Taiwanese students at the East-West Center in Honolulu are being informed on and intimidated by other students acting in service of the ruling Kuomintang Party of Taiwan. I am concerned that the Center's academic integrity and independence may be compromised if these allegations are true.

Since the Center receives most of its funding from the Federal Treasury, I would appreciate it if your Department would investigate this matter and, within the limits of applicable rules and regulations, inform me of its findings.

Your assistance will be most appreciated.

Alpha,

DANIEL K. INOUE
United States Senator

DKI:jmpl

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149-698

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OFFICE OF LEGISLATIVE AFFAIRS		

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CRIMINAL DIV.
Inf. Sec. Section
CIV. RIGHTS DIV.

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation

AUG 24 1978

Drew S. Days, III
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division

DSD:JFC:LKD:kif
DJ 144-21-NEW

UNSUBS, East-West Center
Honolulu, Hawaii,
Unknown Victims
Senator Inouye - Complainant
Interference with Federally
Protected Activities
CIVIL RIGHTS

Reference is made to copies of a letter from Senator Daniel Inouye containing allegations which may constitute a violation of 18 U.S.C. §245. Please conduct the following limited investigation.

1. Identify and interview the victims of the alleged harassment.
2. Submit copies of the Honolulu Advertiser articles referred to in Senator Inouye's letter.

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AUG 24 1978	
FBI - HONOLULU	

[Redacted Box]

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TRANSMIT VIA: Airtel

PRECEDENCE: _____

CLASSIFICATION: _____

DATE: 8-30-78

TO: SAC, Honolulu

From: Director, FBI

UNSUBS, EAST-WEST CENTER
HONOLULU, HAWAII,
UNKNOWN VICTIM *WASL*
SENATOR INOUE - COMPLAINANT
INTERFERENCE WITH FEDERALLY
PROTECTED ACTIVITIES
CIVIL RIGHTS

Enclosed are two copies of a self-explanatory Departmental letter dated 8-24-78.

Complete the requested investigation in accordance with the provisions of Section 44, Manual of Investigative Operations and Guidelines, and surep within 21 days of the receipt of this communication.

State in the first paragraph of the details of your report that it contains the results of a limited investigation and underscore the word limited
 preliminary preliminary

Advise all persons interviewed
 appropriate officials at the outset that this investigation is being conducted at the specific request of the U. S. Department of Justice.

Remarks:

Enc. (4)

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SEP 5 1978	
FBI - HONOLULU	

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COPIES
FBI/DOJ

MAIL ROOM

x Airtel

9/25/78

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM: SAC, HONOLULU
SUBJECT: UNSUBS, EAST-WEST CENTER
HONOLULU, HAWAII,
UNKNOWN VICTIM
SENATOR DANIEL INOUE - COMPLAINANT
INTERFERENCE WITH FEDERALLY
PROTECTED ACTIVITIES
CIVIL RIGHTS
(HNfile: 44-250) (C)

UNSUBS;
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII
HONOLULU, HAWAII
FARA - ROC
(HNfile: 97-311) (C)

Re Bureau airtel to Honolulu dated 8/30/78.

Enclosed for the Bureau are seven copies of an LHM captioned, "East-West Center, Honolulu, Hawaii." A s the appendix to the LHM are news articles which appeared in local Honolulu newspapers and refer to the above captioned matters.

All persons interviewed were advised at the outset that this investigation is being conducted at the specific request of the U.S. Department of Justice.

Interview with the President of the East-West Center has not developed any factual information regarding possible victims of alleged harassment or "spying" by so-called agents of the

4 - Bureau (Enc. 7)
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44-250-4

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HN 44-250
HN 97-311

Kuomintang (KMT) nor did the interview surface any specific allegation that a student or students at the East-West Center, which adjoins the campus of the University of Hawaii, have harassed or spied upon students from the Republic of China. Additionally, though a mechanism, which affords students who feel they are victims of harassment an opportunity to present allegations to the East-West Center administration, has been established, no such complaints have been made.

Honolulu, UACB, will not interview the authors of the newspaper articles, who are, in fact, grantees at the East-West Center, but who, according to a news article byline, have worked as journalists in the past. The articles clearly state that the unidentified ROC students who were quoted therein as making the nonspecific allegations of harassment and spying requested their identities be withheld. The authors honored this request. It is felt that interview with the journalists at this time for the purpose of seeking the identity of these sources would be unproductive.

In view of the foregoing and the absence of specific allegations and as liaison has been established to insure notification by the East-West Center administration of any specific complaints emanating from the Center or the University of Hawaii relative to harassment or spying, Honolulu is conducting no further inquiry regarding captioned matters. Honolulu will remain alert through appropriate established sources for information bearing on this matter. The Bureau will be advised of any pertinent developments.

Honolulu, Hawaii

September 25, 1978

EAST-WEST CENTER
HONOLULU, HAWAII

On September 19, 1978, [redacted]
[redacted] East-West Center (EWC), 1777 East-West Road,
Honolulu, Hawaii, was interviewed by Special Agents of
the Honolulu Office of the Federal Bureau of Investigation
regarding any knowledge he may have regarding allegations
made in articles appearing in the Honolulu Advertiser, a
Honolulu daily newspaper, that certain Republic of China
(ROC) students attending the EWC were the victims of harass-
ment or "spying" by other ROC students described as agents
of the Kuomintang (KMT) Party of the ROC, the ruling
political party on Taiwan.

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The EWC is described in a pamphlet distributed
by the institution as established in 1960 by
U.S. Congressional legislation with the purpose
of promoting better relations and understanding
among the people of Asia, the Pacific and the
U.S. Since 1975 the Center has been administered
by the international governing board of a public,
educational, nonprofit corporation established
by the Hawaii State legislature. Principal
funding comes from the U.S. Congress.

(See Appendix for copies of the news articles)

This document contains neither recommendations nor
conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the
FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents
are not to be distributed outside your agency.

7 - Bureau
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(1 - 44-250)
(1 - 97-311)

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Re: EAST-WEST CENTER
HONOLULU, HAWAII

[redacted] who has been [redacted] of the Center since 1967, stated that he is aware of the articles which appeared several months ago in the Honolulu Advertiser and which were written by [redacted] and [redacted] both EWC grantees engaged in graduate study in political science. He has also met on several occasions with groups of students and others who have attempted to have the EWC establish a board to investigate the allegations, a course of action he has declined to take. These various committees and groups felt that the Center could conduct an investigation by taking statements from alleged victims of harassment by other students. The Center administration rejected this suggestion on the grounds that it did not wish to become involved in counter-espionage work of its own. He stated that an atmosphere of trust is necessary for any successful operation of an educational institution and the creation of an apparatus to conduct inquiry into highly speculative and nebulous charges would undermine that necessary ingredient.

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[redacted] had no information that any so-called victim of this alleged harassment has come forward to EWC or University of Hawaii (UH) officials to make any specific allegations directed at others. He had no information relating to the possibility that certain students from the ROC were monitoring the activities of others on the campus. Though the issue has been dormant since the publication of the articles shortly before the end of the last academic term, he has advised officials at the EWC to be alert for any allegations of spying or complaints from victims and to let it be known that victims may approach these officials with complaints of harassment. To date no such information has come to light.

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Much of this problem has its origins in the animosity some native Taiwanese students from the ROC have for those ROC students who were born on the China mainland or who are the children of parents who came to Taiwan with the Nationalist forces in 1949. Additionally, the case of former EWC grantee [redacted] who was jailed in the ROC in [redacted] for sedition, has established the background for charges of KMT spying for similar charges were raised in connection with the [redacted] case ten years ago.

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Re: EAST-WEST CENTER
HONOLULU, HAWAII

[redacted] a former EWC grantee from the ROC was arrested in Taiwan in [redacted] and sentenced to seven years in prison for his involvement in anti-war activity while in Hawaii during the Vietnam conflict. He was released after serving four years and in 1975 returned to the University of Hawaii as [redacted]

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[redacted] has discussed the matter of alleged spying with ROC Consul General in Hawaii [redacted] who denied that any members of his Consulate or the KMT were involved in harassment or monitoring of ROC students or in the directing of others in this activity at the EWC.

He intends to advise the Board of Governors of the Center that should future allegations of spying or harassment surface that the alleged victim should be prepared to address appropriate law enforcement agencies with the specific allegations and that it was not the purpose or intention of the Center to investigate these cases if criminal conduct is alleged. He did not want the EWC to become a forum for political argument and quarrels between supporters of the ROC, the People's Republic of China (PRC) or an independent Taiwan.

He is of the opinion that certain political activists representing various student-faculty committees such as the Committee to Insure the Safety of Foreign Students, formed at the UH at about the time the news articles appeared, would prefer that he call for an investigation so that the onus for bringing the police into the matter and thus onto the Center campus would be on his shoulders and not theirs. He is reluctant to do this as it would only rekindle the matter and make more difficult the operation of the Center in an air of mutual trust and confidence.

Following meetings with the United States Attorney, Honolulu, Hawaii, and the Honolulu Police Department regarding the situation, he has decided that should allegations be made which would indicate a violation of law, he would contact the appropriate investigative agency or would direct anyone believing himself a victim of harassment or spying to said agency to provide what information he could.

Re: EAST-WEST CENTER
HONOLULU, HAWAII

He felt that additional inquiry at this time would only exacerbate the situation now dormant. Certain activists at the EWC occasionally demonstrate for varying causes, whether or not they will use the charges of so-called KMT spies on the EWC campus in future demonstrations is not clear. These charges were used last term as they appeared to offer greater chances of media coverage and "mileage" than any other cause in vogue at the time. He had no information to indicate any groups or committees on the UH campus or the EWC were operating under the direction of the ROC or the PRC.

The Honolulu

Advertiser

Aloha!

Today is Tuesday,

May 30, 1978

Students at UH

and EWC report

Taiwan is using spying pressure

The authors of this article are East-West Center grantees engaged in graduate study in political science at the University of Hawaii. They both have worked as journalists in the United States and Asia.

By ALAN MILLER
and JERRY SUSSMAN
Special to The Advertiser

Some students from Taiwan at the University of Hawaii and East-West Center are spied upon, harassed and reported on by fellow nationals working for the ruling Kuomintang Party (KMT) of Taiwan, according to many Taiwan students here.

Two students have stated in sworn affidavits that such an informer system is in operation on the campus and that they have been victimized by it. Several others have provided affidavits to support these charges.

The Taiwan students claim there are five to 10 KMT agents on campus; some of them paid regularly, who report on those whose personal associations, public or private statements, extracurricular activities or even reading habits are suspected of being critical of the martial law regime which has ruled Taiwan since 1949.

The students say the system is a continuation of the tactics that were used to build a case in the much-publicized incident of Chen Yu-hsi, a former East-West Center grantee and graduate student in economics at the University of Hawaii.

In 1968, Chen was sentenced to seven years in prison in Taiwan on charges stemming in part from his political activities while in Hawaii. Chen has since been freed and is in Hawaii as a political science teaching assistant and doctoral student.

In individually conducted interviews, 11 students, all of whom asked not to be identified, provided detailed accounts and case histories of a system which they say creates an atmosphere of fear and mistrust among the 68 students from Taiwan on the Manoa campus.

One source remarked: "The spies are the eyes of the KMT."

Any activities which interfere with another student's "expression of convictions" or "right to academic freedom" violate the University of Hawaii's code of student behavior.

Eleven Taiwan students interview-

ed said they feel they are under pressure not to discuss or take interest in any political matters, particularly those that might be labeled "leftist." They also say they are pressured to avoid certain individuals who have suspect political beliefs.

A number of those interviewed said they fear they may be interrogated, followed or denied jobs when they return home. Others were concerned that their passports wouldn't be renewed. In at least one case, a student's family reportedly was visited by the Investigation Bureau in Taiwan in connection with the student's behavior here.

Several students said they had been told that they had been reported to the Taiwan consulate here or back to Taiwan. One of these individuals, voice trembling, said: "I want to go home very much after I get my degree. But I don't know what's going to happen to me when I do."

Some students expressed fear of arrest and imprisonment.

A 1976 Amnesty International report cited a figure of 8,000 political prisoners held in Taiwan jails, some of them there since martial law was imposed in 1949. The study cited the use of torture to extract confessions and the death penalty for certain political offenses.

The sources here explained the operation this way:

STUDENTS AT UH AND EWC REPORT TAIWAN IS USING SPYING PRESSURE
(MAY 30, 1978 (TUESDAY)) - CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

Consul-general here denies allegations

Taiwan's consul-general here denies that his country "employs anyone to spy upon, harass or report on our students abroad" and says his consulate "neither demands nor receives any report from any of the students."

Here is the reply from Hoh-tu Liu, consul-general for the Republic of China in Honolulu.

"To these allegations (in the accompanying stories) I wish to say emphatically that the Republic of China does not employ anyone to spy upon, harass or report on our students abroad. The consulate here neither demands nor receives any report from any of the students.

"The relationship between the consulate and our students here, either as a group or as individuals, is one similar to the relationship between students of any other country and

their embassies and consulates in foreign lands: For instance, it is perfectly normal and commonplace for any U.S. national to go to U.S. embassies or consulates or ICA (formerly USIS) libraries abroad for various reasons and functions.

"Furthermore, the Chinese Consulate here, like our consulates everywhere, does not fund the Chinese Students' Association (CSA) as alleged (in the stories). Nor does it serve as a base of the alleged operation, since no such operation exists.

"The consulate does, however, make from time to time suitable contributions in sums or in kind in aid of our students' activities such as spring outings or stage presentations, etc., and does so openly and on limited occasions."



Liu

Surveillance and control of students from Taiwan here are coordinated by the KMT's Standing Committee on the Manoa campus which works with the "Committee on Overseas Work" in Taiwan. The Standing Committee works closely with the consulate here, which acts as a conduit for funds and information as well as a base of operation.

The KMT's nationwide surveillance of Taiwan students in the United States monitors student activities through the use of paid agents, enrolled as university students, who watch and report on their colleagues. These reports are passed on to government investigators in Taiwan.

This "intelligence-gathering" process is outlined in the official "Rules and Regulations of KMT Overseas Work." The handbook includes instructions stating that "intelligence agents sent by the Party Central should act in coordination to establish a broad and fine intelligence network to carry out investigation and intelligence gathering. For the implementation of these methods, the committee working groups within the embassies and consulate generals in important overseas areas are in charge of unified direction, supervising and guiding the struggle against the bandits."

The goal is to ferret out suspected "separatists" and "pro-bandits," terms commonly used in Taiwan to refer to individuals who support the Taiwan independence movement or are regarded as pro-Peking. The term "pro-bandit" was used on a standardized report form which surfaced in California in 1976, a variation of which is widely believed to be in use here.

All of those contacted agreed that criticizing the KMT publicly will lead to being considered a "traitor" and being reported back to Taiwan as such.

Sources said \$50 payments reportedly are made by the consulate to informers for each report they submit.

The chairman of the KMT Standing Committee at the University of Hawaii and the East-West Center — whose job includes turning in regular reports on students — is reported to receive \$200-300 monthly plus operational expenses from the consulate. This payment is widely believed to be one cause of a power struggle within the KMT in Honolulu, which broke out into the open last fall.

This account was provided by a number of sources, including Chang Chen-ning (John Chang), an East-West Center grantee and the

chairman of the Standing Committee at that time, was challenged for power by another center grantee, Chen Meng-chien (Michael Chen), who arrived in 1975.

Michael Chen instructed other students from Taiwan not to associate with certain individuals because they were "leftist." He became embroiled in a dispute with the then-president of the Chinese Students Association at the University of Hawaii over Michael Chen's proposal to begin a pro-KMT letter-writing campaign to the White House.

This disagreement ended with Michael Chen's telling friends of the president that the president was influenced by leftists and then circulating an unsigned letter to the Taiwan student community charging "someone" — an apparent reference to the president — had tried to "sabotage" the campaign by spreading rumors, a charge punishable by death in Taiwan.

Michael Chen also argued with a Taiwan woman student over a social matter. Shortly afterward, she received a letter from her father, a KMT official, telling her to study hard and avoid other involvements.

In late 1976, Chen told doctoral student Tung Shui-liang that Chang had

Taiwan pressure

reported

MAY 30, 1978 - TUESDAY
CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

reported to the consulate that Tung was putting up anti-KMT posters around campus.

Tung responded by writing a denial and signing it in the traditional Confucian manner — with his own blood, as a sign of his sincerity. He took the letter to the consul general and, before many other students, performed the ancient Chinese ritual of kowtowing — kneeling and touching the forehead to the ground — to demonstrate his respect and intense feelings.

Several months later, Chen circulated among Taiwan students copies of Tung's plea to the consul general along with an unsigned statement accusing Chang of running his own "mafia" on campus and persecuting students. Shortly thereafter, Chang resigned as head of the Standing Committee.

Chang is in Taiwan and could not be reached for comment. Tung declined to discuss the matter.

Last September, a poster written in Chinese appeared on campus bulletin boards containing a detailed account of this incident. It was attributed to "A Group of Chinese Students at UH," but was unsigned. The poster called for an investigation by the consul general and demanded that "all secret agents go home."

The poster was reprinted subsequently in the East-West Center participants' magazine, *Impulse*, and officials there were discussing whether to cut off magazine funding as a result. On Friday, the East-West Center said publication of the next issue could proceed, but with a disclaimer of any connection to the center itself.

There are 19 long-term participants from Taiwan presently at the East-West Center. One student said: "The Standing Committee operates out of (center dorm) Hale Manoa."

One reason given for this is that center grantees feel they are under close control by the Taiwan government. As students on a federally funded grant, they have visas which require them to return home before they can change to residency or working status upon completion of their studies. Regular University of Hawaii students here on different visas can change their status without leaving the United States.

In 1957, grantee Chen Yu-hsi was originally granted an extension of his stay to continue his studies, but suddenly had this extension revoked a year later by the Taiwan government.

He went to Japan, only to be deported to Taiwan six months later in handcuffs. The original charges against him included his political ac-

tivities at the East-West Center and the University of Hawaii as well as the allegation that he "read poems of bandit Mao." Although he initially faced the possibility of being given the death penalty, Chen eventually spent four years in prison before being released and returning to Hawaii.

The other explanation by student sources for use of the East-West Center by the KMT is the institution's reluctance to look into allegations about the informer system. While the center did later protest the actions of the Taiwan government in the Chen Yu-hsi case, it took no visible steps to prevent a recurrence.

Last month, the center's Board of Governors turned down a request by the EWC Participants' Association to set up an ombudsman committee

to monitor and investigate charges of spying at the center.

The operation of a surveillance and reporting system would violate the center's code on academic freedom. Taiwan students in the employ of the KMT and receiving regular payments — as chairmen of the Standing Committee — would also represent a breach of the terms of the center's contract for student participation which forbids outside employment.

Taiwan is the second-largest contributor of the 17 participating nations which have given the money to the center since its incorporation in 1975. Its total contribution of \$120,000 includes a recent \$20,000 gift.

The KMT operation at Manoa is more subtle than it was a decade ago, according to the students. One

reason, they maintain, is that there are so many more books, periodicals, films and programs available today on mainland China, making it more difficult for the KMT to prevent Taiwan students from coming into contact with this material.

More important, they contend, America's movement toward increased ties with mainland China made the KMT far more careful not to do anything that might antagonize U.S. public opinion. The reaction to Chen Yu-hsi's imprisonment a decade ago was so intense, some students feel, that the KMT became especially cautious in Honolulu.

Whatever differences existed among Taiwan students were generally muted until about two years ago, when more heavy-handed tactics brought conflicts to the surface.

