

THE COMMITTEE TO OBTAIN JUSTICE FOR HENRY LIU

Statement of Mrs. Helen Liu to the Subcommittee on
Asian and Pacific Affairs of the Committee on
Foreign Affairs of the U.S. House of Representatives,

Thursday, February 7, 1985

I am grateful and honored to be asked to come here today to testify before the United States Congress regarding my husband, Henry Liu, and to relate to you, and to the American People some of the history of my husband's life, what he believed in, and what he wrote about. My husband and I lived here, in Washington, D.C. together for over ten years, from 1967 to 1978, and Henry and I made many friends here during those years. Yet though we made many friends and acquaintances in government life, we never thought that someday I would be testifying as a witness here in the Congress, and we certainly never could have anticipated what tragic circumstances would bring me here.

First, I want to state that I am also here as a representative of The Committee to Obtain Justice for Henry Liu which was organized spontaneously by many of Henry's friends and fellow journalists right after his death on October 15th, 1984. The Chairman of our Committee, Prof. Ling-Chi Wang, and our attorney, Jerome M. Garchik, are with me here today also on behalf of our Committee. Our Committee has members now all across the United States, and it includes many prominent journalists, intellectuals and community leaders, some of whom did not know my husband personally, but only knew and respected his work. Our Committee is not a political committee, but rather is a humanitarian and civil rights group. The members and supporters hold all different political viewpoints on issues of American and Chinese questions, but they all share the same sense of

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outrage and loss at the death of my husband, as well as the same feelings of fear that his murder caused among Chinese people of good will everywhere.

I believe that my husband was murdered on the orders of high government officials of the Republic of China(Taiwan), and that he was killed by them for a threefold purpose:

- 1) To punish him for writing about the ruling Chiang family;
- 2) To prevent him from writing books and articles in the future about the Chiang family, and their political and family history;
- and 3) To scare other journalists and writers who might also be interested as Henry was in writing about this family and its history. My belief that this is why he was killed is based on the following evidence, including the repeated efforts of Taiwanese officials to bribe Henry not to publish his book on President Chiang Ching-kuo, the sworn confession of one of my husband's killers, Wu Tun, and on the continuing efforts of the Taiwan Government to harm my husband's reputation as a writer, now that he is dead, and to cover-up all of the true facts about who in the Taiwan Government ordered his murder and why.

Who Was Henry Liu ?

Everyone who met my husband knew him to be an especially talented and resourceful journalist. He was born on December 7, 1932 in Jingjiang, Jiangsu, and grew up amidst the turmoil and chaos of war and revolution. When he was ^{nine} years old, his father fell victim to a Communist shooting. He was drafted into the Nationalist(Kuomintang) Army when he was 16, and was evacuated to Taiwan in 1949. During the 1950's he continued his education, and attended a Defense Ministry School for political cadres, run by Chiang Ching-kuo, son of President Chiang Kai-shek. There, he met Chiang Kai-shek's other son, General Chiang Wei-kuo, and General Wang Sheng.

My husband, however, didn't like a military career, and wanted to be a journalist. First, he worked for a Government radio program. Later, he became a reporter for the Taiwan

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Daily News, which was published by Mr. Hsia Hsiao-hua who became a mentor to Henry and helped his career along. I met Henry in 1962 when he had that job. Henry attended university courses at night at National Chengchi University where I also was a student. After the Taiwan Daily News sent him to cover a story in Hongkong, Henry wrote a book about the island that was published in Taipei. The newspaper later sent him to report on Manila, and on the Vietnam War. Henry wrote his second book on the Vietnam War and Souteast Asia, which was also published in Taiwan.

Henry and I were married in 1967, and we moved to Washington, D.C. when Henry was appointed correspondent for his newspaper. In addition to writing for the paper, Henry took courses at American University Graduate School, for a Masters Degree, and he worked as a part-time interpreter/escort for the State Department. Henry stopped writing for the Taiwan Daily News in 1973, and we both became U.S. Citizens in 1973.

Beginning at about that time, Henry wrote and published at least 25 articles, essays and books on the ruling Chiang family, its social and political history, and about several political leaders closely associated with them over the years. I have attached a bibliography of Henry's work during this time. His articles were about Chiang Kai-shek, Mrs. Chiang Kai-shek, Chiang Ching-kuo, Governor K.C.Wu (the former mayor of Shanghai) & General Wang Sheng. When he died, Henry was working on a biography of former Yunnan Province Governor Long Yun, and had plans to write a full biography of the political career of Governor Wu. In fact, Henry had just signed a contract with the Wu family giving him exclusive access to their extensive archives, shortly before he was killed on October 15th, and some people feel that it was official fear of this book that prompted Taiwan to order Henry murdered.

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Taiwan Censors Henry Liu

Henry began writing articles about the Chiang family in the early 1970's as part of his graduate study work, and he arranged for publication of some of this work in several Hongkong magazines. Around that time he received a letter from General Wang Sheng, the powerful head of Taiwanese ~~Security Bureau~~ ^{Security Bureau}, who told Henry to "take heed" of three things before he published his biography of Chiang Ching-kuo. He was told to consult with as many people as possible before publishing, to think of what was good for Taiwan, and should "move cautiously, and think twice," before publishing such a book. As reported in a recently published letter Henry wrote to a friend in Hongkong, ~~which we have translated and attached to this statement~~, Henry wrote General Wang back bluntly telling him: "I'm living in America and I am independent. No one could tell me what I should write about!" This correspondence with General Wang Sheng was in 1973.

Two years later, General Chiang Kai-shek died, and his son Chiang Ching-kuo became ~~KMT Chairman~~ ^{KMT Chairman}. Henry published three articles on Chiang Ching-kuo in Hongkong that year. These were collected and published in book form in Hongkong. In 1980, the book was translated without Henry's permission into Japanese and published there.

The 1975 book covered the life of Chiang Ching-kuo only through about 1949, and Henry was determined to bring it up to date. He would also publish chapters or installments in various magazines as they were completed, and hoped to base his PhD. thesis at American University in Political Science on this work.

Of course, the Taiwan Government was aware of Henry's plans, since he did not keep any of it secret. In 1977 when we still lived in Washington, D.C., Henry was approached by Admiral Wang Shih-ling, who was then the military atache at the Taiwanese Government Offices in Washington. Admiral ~~Wang Shih-ling was head of military intelligence~~

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~~Wang~~ has since been dismissed, and arrested in Taipei because of his involvement with Henry's death. In 1977, Admiral Wang told my husband that he could write about whatever he wanted to write about, but "not about the Chiang family." Henry rebuffed him, and told him that this was in fact "the only thing" he wanted to write about. Henry also wrote to his friend in Hongkong about this conversation, ~~and I also attach a translation of that letter to this statement.~~

These warnings were not the only attempts to interfere with Henry's work during the next few years. Henry told of rumours that he would be paid \$1 million if he would not write his book on C.K. Chiang. Our friend, Van Lung said recently that the Taiwanese had actually offered Henry \$40,000 to drop his plans to publish the book. A number of money offers and approaches were made to Henry's publisher, the American Tribune (Los Angeles) to get them to back off plans to print the book.

Henry and his publisher bravely rejected all of these censorship attempts, and continued with their plans. However, I believe that Henry was concerned about the reaction of the Chiang family to his book and made several efforts to show that he did not carry any personal antagonism towards them. For example, when Henry went to China in 1981 for reasearch on his book, he took photos of Hsi-k'ou where C.K. Chiang has lived as a boy, and Henry sent these to General Chiang Wei-kuo. Not long after, Henry received a letter from a friend of the General asking for ~~the~~ ^{no satires & larger} photos. So on his next trip to China, in 1982, Henry arranged with a Chinese film crew to take some films of the Chiang family's house there. These he also sent to the Chiang family, and received a letter of appreciation in return.

As arrangements for the publication of Henry's book neared

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completion, Henry was approached once again by the Taiwan Government regarding the book. This time, the approach was made by Henry's old friend and mentor, Hsia Hsiao-hua, the publisher of Taiwan Daily News. Mr. Hsia was himself a former military intelligence officer who still had close ties to that agency. He came to California in December, 1983, and told Henry he was there on behalf of ~~the "Military"~~ and Admiral Ching Tzu-li, the Associate Director of Military Intelligence, under Admiral Wang Shih-ling. He made a personal appeal to Henry, based on their years of friendship and their mentor/protege relationship, asking Henry to drop a chapter from his book dealing with the family history of the Chiangs, and to tone down the book's criticism of Chiang rule on Taiwan. No money was offered at this time. In the face of this personal appeal, Henry was unable to refuse Mr. Hsia's request, because to do so would have been an insult and disrespectful under Chinese culture and tradition. So, Henry reluctantly agreed to Mr. Hsia's requests and modified the book in this way, because he felt that if he did this he could finally go ahead and safely publish the book, which really was his lifework.

Henry believed that this was the case because Mr. Hsia telephoned Henry from Taiwan in ~~January~~ ^{February} 1984 and told him that ~~the~~ ^{Intelligence} Military were happy about the changes and would give Henry \$20,000, to be paid in installments, to show their gratitude. Of this money, Henry received \$17,000 before he died. Somehow, the F.B.I. found out about this and talked to Henry about it only a week before he was killed. Another strange fact is that just after Henry was killed, Mr. Hsia's friend in Military Intelligence, Adm. Ching Tzu-li was transferred out of that job, to a job Mr. Hsia formerly held as head of the Taiwanese propaganda radio station, Cheng Sheng (Rightous Sound) Broadcasting.

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Who Killed My Husband and Why?

In late November of last year, the F.B.I. identified four members of the United Bamboo Group, a large Mafia type organization, as the hit squad that murdered my husband. Last month, the Taiwan Government identified four high level officers of their own military intelligence agency as being involved in Henry's death. Since then, a number of Chinese language newspapers here, in Hongkong and in Taiwan have published reports identifying other high military and Kounintang officials as being involved in ordering Henry's murder.

I believe that my husband was killed by the Taiwan Government because he was not just another journalist or writer. Many people have compared Henry's work to that of William Shirer, Theodore White and Louis Fischer. Henry's work was widely published and read all throughout Asia, in China, Japan, Hongkong, and in Taiwan, despite repeated Government efforts to suppress it.

Just a few months before Henry was killed, the Taiwanese Government impounded and suppressed the entire printing of a Taiwanese monthly publication, China Tide Review, which reprinted Henry's interview with Governor K.C.Wu. After Henry was killed, the Government suspended this magazine for one year because it reported on Henry's death, and because it included excerpts from his book on Chiang Ching-kuo. The Government has also closed a weekly named Marching Forward which reported on the killing. Many Chinese Americans also believe that Taiwan officially interfered in the U.S. publication of China Times and closed that newspaper because it fairly reported on Henry's death. (See the ^{attached} copy of Henry's last letter, to Jack Anderson, which he wrote regarding Taiwan's interference with the editorial policy of China Times just before he was killed.)

Henry and I came to the United States because Henry could not live under the policy of fear, censorship, and suppression that prevails in Taiwan. Once he became a citizen, Henry believed

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he would be free to write what he wanted, as he wanted, and he told Taiwan's officials this on several occasions.

Henry had the courage to write about the official family of Taiwan when others did not. People who know China know the passion for secrecy that surrounds the Chiang family. Chiang Ching-kuo, who has been president of Taiwan for ~~over~~^{over} ~~50~~⁵⁰ years, has not even had an official biography published about him, and Henry's book was the only reliable, documented, and accurate book. Certainly it was a controversial and critical book about Chiang Ching-kuo. For example, Henry wrote that Chiang Ching-kuo was a secret instigator of the May, 1957 burning of the U.S. Embassy in Taiwan, when a U.S. Army court-martial released an Army Sergeant charged with the murder of a Taiwanese national named Liu. This little remembered "May 24th incident," and C.K. Chiang's early Russian education, and pro-Soviet activities, do not reflect well upon Taiwan's President. Many people feel that Henry's planned full biography of Governor Wu would contain many more shocking and damaging revelations about President Chiang and his family.

In his soon to be released book, The Soong Dynasty published by Harper & Row, Sterling Seagrave has written about the attitude of the Chiang family towards journalists and biographical writing and his comments give some insight into why my husband was killed:

"It is characteristic of the Chinese, rich and poor to be reserved and private-even secretive. The Soongs were the most Westernized of all Chinese, but the appearance of openness and accessibility was merely an acquired manner, not a total transformation. Close associates could not penetrate this mask. Their public image was enhanced and propagated by a legion of publicists. The Chiang regime was known to have spent hundreds of millions of dollars each year in the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s to guarantee its image in America and thus, the continuance of the regime. At the same time, the regime suppressed negative publicity; for example, a critical biography of Chiang Kai-shek

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written by one of his ex-wives was purchased by Taiwan authorities for a sum said to be in excess of \$1 million, and evidently was destroyed."

The Soong Dynasty (Harper & Row, 1985) page 10.

Attached is the Daly City Police Affidavit charging Wu Tun with my husband's murder, based on the police interrogation of Wu Tun in Taipei on January 24, 1985. In it Wu Tun confessed that Chen Chi-li, the hit squad leader, asked him to help "teach a lesson" to my husband, because Henry "had written some bad things about Taiwan and its president."

On January 31, 1985, a Taiwanese newspaper, "Fa-yang Weekly" reported that in September, Chen Chi-li agreed with Taiwanese officials to kill my husband after Admiral Wang Shih-ling mentioned Henry's new book, and said that "A guy like Henry would have been killed long ago if a Chief of Police like Dai Li were alive." This report and others confirm the several contacts between Chen Chi-li and several Taiwanese military intelligence officers, some of whom are now under arrest in Taiwan, and confirm Chen Chi-li would hide the true purpose of his trip to the U.S. by holding a big reception in Houston, Texas ostensibly for the purpose of honoring the U.S. publication of his gang's magazine, Mai Wah Reports. This reception, held at a Chinese restaurant in Houston on September 25th, was attended by Liu En-Ti, the Houston head of the Taiwan official office (C.C.N.A.), by Chang Ning-chih, the Houston based head of the official Taiwanese Press Bureau, and by Chang Hsueh-hai, the Secretary of the Committee of Overseas Chinese in Houston, also an official of the Taiwan Government.

The involvement of Government officials in my husband's murder is not subject to any question at this time. Nor is the true motive. The only questions remaining are whether all of the people involved will be identified, and whether all of these will really be punished for Henry's murder.

Is there a Political Cover-up of This Case?

I and the Committee fear that both Taiwan and the Reagan

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Administration will cover up the true story about my husband's murder for political reasons, and to protect the high officials who were really involved.

We have the following evidence of such a cover-up:

1. The refusal of Taiwan to extradite or deport all the persons arrested for involvement in my husband's murder;

2. The failure of the Reagan Administration to publicly denounce my husband's terrorist murder, or to insist upon the delivery over of the killers to U.S. Justice;

3. The continued suppression and concealment of Chen Chi-li's taped confession, which the F.B.I. has had for weeks, giving rise to concern about a joint U.S.-Taiwan doctoring of this taped confession; the growing conflicting newspaper reports of drastically differing versions of this tape recording, with a recently leaked one from Taipei alleging that Chen Chi-li had no official support in this murder.

4. A cowardly campaign orchestrated from the Taiwan Government to discredit Henry Liu by leaking alleged spy letters, and spy rumours which have been given widespread publicity in the press;

5. Recent intimidating approaches by the F.B.I. and Taiwan Government officials to members of our Committee who were suspected of writing about the Chen Chi-li tape recording, or of having any information regarding this tape. In fact, one of our committee members was threatened by a C.C.N.A. official over this matter;

6. The refusal of the Justice Department to seek federal civil rights indictments against any of the killers or their sponsors, and the instructions of the F.B.I. and the Justice Department to local law enforcement to limit their indictments, and investigation away from Taiwan officials.

7. The failure of the federal F.B.I. and local investigative team to interrogate the several Taiwanese officials arrested in connection with this murder during their January trip to Taipei;

8. Interference by C.C.N.A. officials with local law enforcement and offering of gifts by the C.C.N.A. to local police;

9. Disturbing statements from local and federal law enforcement that this case will soon be closed, without any U.S. or state prosecutions or trials of anybody;

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10. The failure of the Taiwan Government to appoint an independent Warren type commission or special prosecutor such as was recently created in the Aquino case and in Israel, to conduct a blue ribbon, bona fide investigation into Taiwan's official involvement in this crime. Instead, Taiwan has only entrusted the investigation of the crime to another military intelligence official, Gen. Wang Ching-hsi, who himself has been identified in at least one news report of having approved the murder of Henry Liu in advance. (Formosan Weekly, Los Angeles).

11. The State Department recently stated that they would rather this whole incident and all of its details be kept quiet for twenty years, because of the political repercussions of the identification of government officials in Henry Liu's murder;

12. The failure of U.S. authorities to arrange for the arrest and surrender of Tung Kuei-shen, aka Little Tung who is in hiding in the Philippine Islands, and who is rumoured to wish to surrender to the U.S. Published reports state that Tung fears he will be assassinated by Taiwanese agents, and would only feel safe in U.S. hands.

I and the Committee to Obtain Justice for Henry Liu are not pleased with the conduct of the U.S. Government so far in this case. We have found a profound historic precedent against which we can measure the U.S. official response to Henry Liu's death, and against which the U.S. response is found wanting. Almost a hundred years ago, a mob of American miners killed twenty eight Chinese miners in Rock Springs, Wyoming. Unlike the conduct of our Government in this case, the Chinese Government then made vigorous protests on behalf of its murdered subjects. As a result, this Congress, in 1887, voted an indemnity to the families of the murdered Chinese, totaling \$147,000.

Since my husband's death, I have received no words of condolence or regret from any representative of the Taiwan Government, despite the admitted involvement of Taiwan officials in his murder. On the contrary, that Government has only acted coldly and insolently, in a manner which is unacceptable under both Chinese and American customs. It is disheartening to me, as Henry Liu's widow, to my Committee members, and, I believe, to the American public, that our Government has taken this rude and insolent behavior from Taiwan, without any public reproof. I and the Committee appeal to you, the Congress, to express a sincere and stronger response to the killers and their sponsors in official places in Taiwan; we appeal to you to help us obtain Justice for my murdered husband, Henry Liu! Thank you.