



Taiwan Communiqué

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Nine-in-one elections coming up *Mid-term elections in the final stretch*

Taiwan is gearing up for local elections on 29 November 2014. The poll is generally referred to as “nine-in-one” elections, as they are for positions at nine different levels, ranging from the mayors and country magistrates of 22 special municipalities, cities and counties, down to village wardens and indigenous district councils.

In total there are 11,130 positions at stake, but the top-level 22 mayoral and county magistrate seats are generally considered the most important indicator of how the ruling Kuomintang and opposition DPP are faring in public opinion. In the previous “seven-in-one” elections in 2010, the Kuomintang garnered 15 of the 22 seats, with six going to the DPP, and one to an independent candidate.

This time around, the DPP aims at winning in at least nine of the major cities and counties: all six constituencies it holds at the present time, plus Keelung City, Greater Taichung, and Penghu County (the Pescadores Island group between Taiwan and China).

Photo: Formosa Television



Independent candidate Ko Wen-je (center)
interviewed by reporters

Below we first focus on the most highly-contested race – Taipei City – and then discuss the crucial races in other towns and counties around the island. We also discuss the major issues that are on the agenda in these elections.

A tight race in Taipei

In the capital city of Taipei, a close race is being waged between KMT candidate Sean Lien, the son of party stalwart Lien Chan, and Dr. Ko Wen-je, an independent candidate who served as chief of the trauma unit at National Taiwan University Hospital until recently.

Approximately a year ago, Dr. Ko started to emerge as a political force in his own right. He started to speak out on political issues and gained such a following that after he had declared his candidacy, the DPP had little choice but to support him, and forego running its own candidate in the elections.

Mr. Sean Lien has no earlier political experience: he served as chairman of Taipei EasyCard Company, but is riding the coattails of his well-known and wealthy father, who was the KMT's presidential candidate in 2000 and 2004 (losing both times against Chen Shui-bian), and does have access to the KMT well-filled campaign coffers.

As of late-September 2014, opinion polls still showed Dr. Ko to have a lead of some 10% over Lien (44% vs. 33% with the remainder undecided), but in the last two months of the campaign the Kuomintang-side will undoubtedly pull out its array of dirty tricks, which will narrow the gap between the two candidates.

Crucial races in other towns in Taiwan

Traditionally, the DPP has had its strongest support in the South of the country, with Tainan, Kaohsiung, and Pingtung as its major strongholds. Often, the Zhoushui River between Yunlin and Changhua counties is described as the dividing line between the blue (KMT) North and the green (DPP) South.

Also part of the equation is that areas with Hakka majorities (Taoyuan, Hsinchu City and County, and Miaoli) and the two counties along the East and Southeast Coast, Hualien and Taitung (which have significant aborigine populations), have traditionally gone to the Kuomintang, as those population groups kept their distance from the Hoklo-dominated (70% of the total population) DPP party.

If one adds the two small outlying islands, Kinmen and Matsu, which are each counted as a separate county, because of the military establishment there, this gives the Kuomintang a headstart of 8-0 in the election count.

However, in the current elections, the tide seems to be turning against the KMT. In three localities, Keelung City, Greater Taichung, and Penghu County (the Pescadores islands between Taiwan and China) a DPP win looks likely. In Keelung, the KMT had to distance itself from KMT city council speaker Huang Chin-tai, who was arrested on corruption charges. Huang is now running as an independent candidate.

Copyright: Taipei Times

In Greater Taichung, the race between incumbent Jason Hu and the DPP's Lin Chia-lung is increasingly turning into Lin's favor, mainly due to Hu's lackluster performance during his 13-years as mayor of Taichung City. Hu is running again, as the merger of Taichung City and Taichung County into Greater Taichung allows him to be a candidate in this new (combined) constituency. The Greater Taichung race is –aside from Taipei City– the most closely watched race in these elections.



Ma Ying-jeou: *I have played this over and over. It makes perfect sense to me*

The KMT is expected to sail to a relatively easy victory in New Taipei City (Sinbei City, formerly named Taipei County), the densely-populated county surrounding the capital Taipei. There, current county magistrate Eric Chu had not been expected to run, so he could start preparing for the presidential race in 2016 (he is considered a frontrunner among the KMT hopefuls). However, in a late stage he announced his candidacy and seems a shoo-in against the DPP's Yu Shyi-kun, a former prime minister and Ilan county magistrate, who is lagging significantly in the opinion polls.

In addition to Penghu County, several other counties presently run by a KMT magistrate do show close races between the KMT and DPP: Chiayi, Changhua, and Nantou counties. If the DPP is able to win in one or two of those, then it will pull even or surpass the KMT in the total number of city mayors and county magistrates. Out of the 22 seats, one (Hualien) is sure to go to an independent candidate. The DPP is shooting for nine wins, but if they achieve ten or eleven, this will be considered a major landslide.

What are the main issues in these elections?

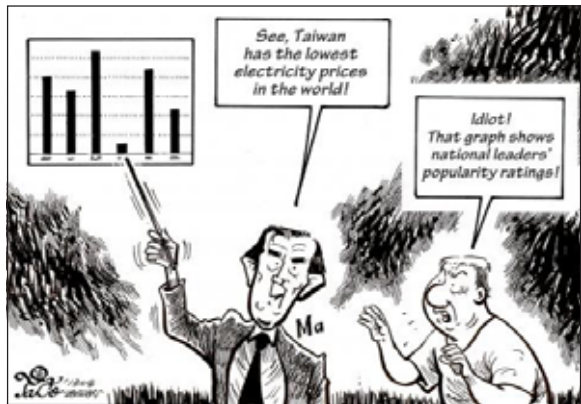
As the saying goes, “all politics is local”, and the same goes for these elections in Taiwan: many races will be determined on the basis of the candidates’ stance on local issues. At the same time, the results will be an indication of a number of general trends in Taiwan society, and also serve as a bellwether for the upcoming national elections (for the Legislative Yuan and Presidency) in 2016, and thereby an indication of support – or lack thereof – for President Ma Ying-jeou’s policies.

Below we present a number of aspects that are likely to influence the outcome of the elections.

- * **Stagnant economy.** In spite of many promises by President Ma (in particular his 6-3-3 slogan in 2008: that Taiwan’s economy would grow 6% annually, that the unemployment rate would be less than 3%, and that the per capita income would exceed US\$ 30,000 per year), Taiwan’s economy has lagged behind, in particular by leaving many recent college graduates without a job.

Copyright: Taipei Times

The Ma government has argued that the answer is opening up further to China, and concluding agreements such as the proposed Service Trade Agreement and a Trade in Goods Agreement. But many in Taiwan feel that this is only hollowing out Taiwan’s industrial base and service economy, while at the same time increasing China’s political leverage on the island.



That graph shows national leaders' popularity rating!

- * **An increasingly vibrant and vocal civil society.** The past few years has seen a strong growth of a large variety of civic groups in Taiwan, ranging from the anti-nuclear power coalition that pushed for stoppage of work on the Nuclear Four reactor near Taipei (see “Nuclear issue comes to a boil” in *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 146) via the anti-media-monopoly campaign that fought the take-over of **Apple Daily** by pro-

China *WantWant China Times*, to the groups that fought the forced demolition of homes in Taipei and Miaoli.

- * **Participation by the Sunflower generation.** The occupation of the Legislative Yuan in Taipei by the Sunflower students in March and April 2014 was a clarion call for many young people to get involved in politics. Many sympathized with the protest against the substance of the agreement as well as the “black-box” lack of transparency and accountability on the part of the KMT government. Some of that activism is likely to filter through to the local level, and inspire a younger generation to be involved locally.
- * **Lack of popularity of President Ma Ying-jeou.** The president continues to be highly unpopular. In most opinion polls he scores between a low of around 9% to some 18% in polls run by pro-government organizations or publications. He thus doesn’t have any coattails, and many local candidates have distanced themselves from the president, although at the same time they need to rely on KMT party coffers for the funding of their campaigns, and Mr. Ma is still the chairman of the party.

The Sunflower movement, continued

On our previous *Taiwan Communiqué* (No. 146 April/May 2014) we reported extensively on the Sunflower movement in Taiwan, which took place in March and April 2014, and involved the occupation of the Legislative Yuan’s main chamber for 24 days, as well as a brief occupation of the Executive Yuan’s offices.

Photo: Taipei Times

The occupation was primarily a protest against the way the Ma Ying-jeou government was pushing a *Service Trade Agreement* through the legislature, but also represented widespread dissatisfaction with a dysfunctional legislature and a serious lack of transparency of the process of negotiating and approving legislation regarding agreements with the PRC. This “black-box” prompted one of the main organizations opposing the agreement to name itself **Black Island Nation**.



**Sunflower rally in Taipei on 30 March 2014
attracting half a million people**

Below you find an update on some of the issues, as well as an overview of some of the follow-up activities by the Sunflower students.

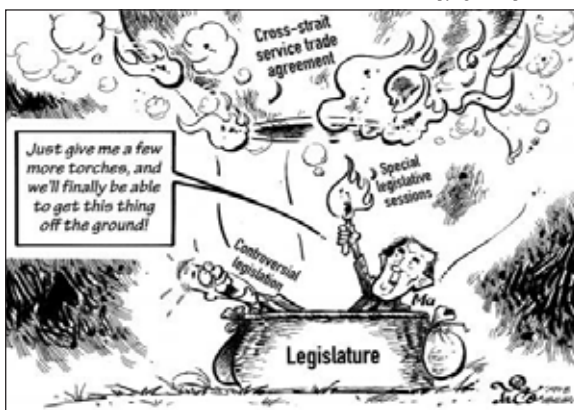
Cross-Strait legislation continues to stall

When the Sunflower students ended their occupation of the Legislative Yuan in early April 2014, it was part of an agreement by the Speaker of the Legislative Yuan, Mr. Wang Jinpyng that the *cross-Strait Service Trade Agreement* would be shelved for the time being, and that the legislature would first pass legislation governing the oversight mechanism of negotiations and implementation of agreements with China.

Copyright: Taipei Times

Only after passage of such “oversight mechanism” would the Service Trade Agreement itself move forward through a clause-by-clause review in the appropriate committees in the Legislative Yuan.

However, in the period from April through June 2014, the government of President Ma Ying-jeou and the KMT caucus in the legislature continued to push for passage of the Service Trade



Ma Ying-jeou: *Just give me a few more torches and we will be able to get this thing off the ground!*

Agreement itself, while also pushing for “oversight mechanism” legislation that would have virtually no teeth: under the proposals by the government, there would still be no opportunity for the legislature to go through the legislation in detail, amend the text, or send it back for re-negotiation.

In June 2014, the Legislative Yuan planned a three-week extra session designed to pass the oversight mechanism legislation as well as the cross-Strait Service Trade Agreement itself. In addition, the government put on the agenda a proposal for the establishment of “free economic pilot zones” in Taiwan, where companies from China could come in and establish plants, laboratories and offices.

These pilot zones are also strongly opposed by many in Taiwan, as they are seen as yet another way the pro-China government of Ma Ying-jeou is attempting to drive Taiwan's economy closer to that of China.

On 21 June 2014, a number of groups that had been involved in the Sunflower movement, **Black Island Nation**, **Democracy Tautin**, and **Democracy Kuroshio** organized a rally in Taipei in opposition to the way the Kuomintang government was trying to push the three pieces of legislation through. The date coincided with the first anniversary of the signing of the cross-Strait Service Trade Agreement.

As it was, due to the stalemate in the Legislative Yuan between the KMT and the DPP, none of the legislation progressed, neither during the first extra session in June, nor in a second extra session of the legislature in July-August 2014. In early August, the Kuomintang caucus in the legislature decided against a third extra session.

When the Legislative Yuan reconvened in early September 2014, there was a change for the better: KMT hard-line legislator Chang Ching-chung — whose actions on March 17th had prompted the Sunflower protests — was not reelected as convener of the Internal Administration Committee, but replaced by a more moderate legislator, Mr. Wu Yu-sheng.

Still, as the November 2014 local elections are approaching, there is little likelihood that the legislation will pass during the remaining legislative session in 2014.

However, the Ma government showed a distinct lack of sensitivity when in early September 2014 it acted as if it was *business-as-usual* when it proceeded with negotiations with China on yet another agreement, a *Trade in Goods Agreement*. According to press reports in Taiwan, a secret three-day meeting was held at a resort hotel in Ilan County, on the East coast of Taiwan.

Police and government prosecutors go after students

During the months since the occupation of the Legislative Yuan, police and government prosecutors have also carried out an extensive investigation into the students who participated in the Sunflower movement activities. In the month of April 2014, there were press reports indicating that police officers had entered several university campuses, following Sunflower participants and filming them with handheld video recorders.

In April the Taipei District Prosecutors' Office also notified a number of the student leaders that they had to report for questioning. This prompted a group of seven main leaders and Academia Sinica researcher Huang Kuo-chang to go to the office and present themselves for questioning. Eight prosecutors from the office did conduct an interview lasting some 90 minutes.

According to sources within the Sunflower movement, a total of some 300 students were investigated and questioned in the following weeks. In theory, they could face charges ranging from obstructing an officer, damaging and destroying property, to breaking and entering. However, as of the end of September 2014, no charges had been filed.

Some sources in Taiwan speculate that the prosecutors do not want to rock the boat in advance of the November 2014 local elections, as any formal prosecution would cause a backlash against the ruling Kuomintang. But, they say, there is a high likelihood that the prosecutions will proceed speedily once the elections are over.

Account of the Executive Yuan occupation

In our previous issue we presented a brief account of one episode, the short-lived occupation of the Executive Yuan offices in the night of 23 March 2014, which ended when riot troops used a major amount of violence to clear the students from the premises (*Police violence at Executive Yuan, Taiwan Communiqué* no. 146, pp 3-5).

Since that time we have gained additional insight into what happened, based on the eyewitness accounts of several people who were present inside the building. A brief summary:

At around 7:00 pm a crowd started to gather outside the Executive Yuan, angered at the lack of response to the Sunflower's concerns during a press conference given by President Ma Ying-jeou that morning. During the course of the evening, this crowd grew to around 10,000.

At around 7:35 pm a number of students started to cover the barbed barricades with blankets, climbed over and opened the main gate, allowing a larger crowd of people to enter the compound of the Executive Yuan. Eventually, this crowd amounted to some 3,000 people. For a while they milled around within the compound outside the building, but at some point a small number of students used ladders to enter the second floor of the building itself.

These students opened the door of the office building, allowing more people to enter, so at one point some 200 people were inside. The regular police that was there told the crowd that they were trespassing and warned the people to leave. A number of people did, leaving a core group of some 60 students inside, interlocking arms and determined to remain.

Photo: Alysa Chiu

This standoff lasted for several hours, with the students sitting in a closely-knit group at the bottom of the main stairway, and increasing numbers of police standing on the stairway. By around 3:00 am, suddenly a large number of the regular police came down the stairway, surrounded the students and started to push reporters out.



Right after the press had been pushed out, a force of riot police with shields and sticks started to move in, and a major melee ensued, with police severely beating the remaining students, seriously wounding a number of them. Outside, a number of doctors and lawyers were present, ready to be of assistance to the students, but even a number of doctors were beaten by police when they attempted to provide medical care to the wounded students.

Students peacefully occupying the Executive Yuan at the beginning of the evening

In the process, these riot police did a major amount of damage to the building and furniture. The pro-government press later attempted to blame this damage on the students, but it was almost exclusively the result of the police own actions.

One participant, Ms. Alysa Chiu, a graduate in international politics from New York University, wrote later on her Facebook:

I looked around and I saw fear on their faces. These students, who sat together with their arms locked, did not fear just for their physical safety, but the future of their country. Strength and resilience is what I saw last night, shown by my fellow Taiwanese people who refuse to cave in to the KMT's dictatorship.

Facing the police and their evidence-collecting cameras, some of the students walked out voluntarily as the mental pressure was too much for them. However, those who stayed were determined to get their voice across – repeatedly shouting and cheering: rescind the service trade pact, fight for our democracy.

Photo: Alysa Chiu

On a related note: in early July 2014, a member of the Control Yuan, Ms. Chien Lin Hui-chun—who had agreed to launch an investigation into the excessive use of force by police during the Executive Yuan evacuation – announced that she had to end her investigation, because the police agencies involved refused to provide her with video recordings and other material collected by the police. She stated that the police had been “*evasive and unprofessional.*”



The riot police moves in

In another related development: when **Amnesty International** secretary-general Salil Shetty visited Taiwan in late May 2014, he made special reference to the issue of police violence against peaceful demonstrators during the events at the Executive Yuan on 23 March 2014, saying that “...*from all the assessments we have made so far, there have been several cases in which the police have used excessive force in crowd control.*”

Emerging leaders fly to the United States

At the end of June 2014, a group of some 30 young Taiwanese converged on Washington DC for an *Emerging Leaders Workshop* organized by the **Formosan Association for Public Affairs**. A number of them had been actively involved in the Sunflower occupation of the Legislative Yuan in March-April, while others had played a supporting role.

The purpose of the visit was to familiarize the new generation of young people in Taiwan with Washington, and with the United States in general. After a number of internal presentations, the group exchanged views with speakers on a variety of issues, such as press freedom (Freedom House), and economics and trade (US-Taiwan Business Council).

The group also had presentations on defense issues from a former DOD official, and an excellent exchange on US policy towards Taiwan by officials from the State Department. American election processes and politics were presented by John Halpin of the Center for American Progress, a specialist on the Obama campaigns, followed by an excellent analysis by Professor Don Rodgers of Austin College in Texas on the impact of the Sunflower movement on the Taiwan political landscape.

The group visited both the US House of Representatives and Senate and exchanged views with staff of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and House Foreign Affairs Committee, as well as with the Congressional Research Service. They also met with Senator Sherrod Brown (D-OH) and several members of the House.

Photo: Wang Chiaojung

The week ended with a Seminar, organized jointly with the **Project2049 Institute**, on the impact of the Sunflower Movement on the political landscape in Taiwan and on cross-Strait relations and regional security. The two panels were moderated by *Taiwan Communiqué* editor Gerrit van der Wees and Joanna Yu of the **Center for the National Interest** respectively.



Emerging leaders receive their diplomas

The first panel (*Motivating factors and domestic implications*) had Sunflower leader Lee Chun-ta, professor Don Rodgers and professor Vincent Wang of the University of Richmond as speakers, while at the second panel (*Implications for cross-Strait relations and regional security*), Randall Schriver of Project2049 and Patrick Cronin of the Center for a New American Security spoke. The two panels can be viewed at:

Panel I: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WX8S3A0gsBU>

Panel II: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SrcA7uCb7Jg>

A total of some 90 people attended the seminar.

A Sunflower delegation visits Washington

At the end of August 2014, yet another Sunflower delegation visited Washington: this group of seven was composed of the two main Sunflower leaders, students Lin Fei-fan and Chen Wei-ting, accompanied by Academia Sinica professor Huang Kuo-chang and several others.

Photo: Wang Chiaojung

At the beginning of their three-day visit, the delegation gave a press conference at the National Press Club at which they explained how the current US “One China” policy has not led to peace and stability across the Taiwan Strait, but has actually enabled China to be more aggressive, project its military power, throw its weight around in East Asia, and change the status quo.



**Leading Sunflower members in Washington
with FAPA staff**

They urged to US to be more supportive of Taiwan’s democracy, and the right of the Taiwanese people to decide their own future. They emphasized that due to the appeasement policies of the Ma administration, Chinese influence was growing rapidly in Taiwan, not only in the economic realm, but in the political arena as well. They also elaborated on the emergence of Taiwan’s civil society, and said it would play a significant role in the political landscape.

During their stay in Washington the delegation met with the staff of key members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee and Senate Foreign Relations Committee. They also had a fruitful exchange with the State Department and American Institute in Taiwan, as well as with the staff of the Congressional Executive Committee on China (CECC), chaired by Senator Sherrod Brown (D-OH) and Chris Smith (R-NJ).

At the end of their stay in Washington, the student members of the group spoke to an overflow crowd of more than 350 members of the local Taiwanese-American community at the Taiwanese Presbyterian Church in Rockville, Maryland, while Professor Huang Kuo-chang addressed an audience of some 300 Taiwanese-Americans at the Johns Hopkins University campus at Shady Grove, Maryland.

Report from Washington

The Taiwan Policy Review revisited

Twenty years ago, on 7 September 1994, the Clinton administration announced the results of its (then) long awaited Taiwan Policy Review. Although the review was touted as the first “major” change in US-Taiwan policy in the 15 years after the 1979 Taiwan Relations Act, and took more than a year in coming, the results were rather meager.

It allowed the visits of high level officials from economic and technical agencies, at the sub-cabinet level, to visit each other, and it facilitated a name change from the incongruous Coordinating Council for North American Affairs (CCNAA) to Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office (TECRO).

As events go underway in Washington to commemorate that Policy Review, it would be good to remember that it was generally considered a result that did not meet expectations. In an editorial in the *International Herald Tribune* on 12 September 1994, long-standing Asia expert Philip Bowring called the American “new” Taiwan policy *timid and unimaginative*. Mr. Bowring criticized the*apparent immobility in US thinking at a time when Taiwan’s perception of itself, and the attitudes of others, have been changing.*

The review outcome was also criticized by members of Congress. Alaska **Senator Frank Murkowski (R-AK)** stated that the review did not go far enough to upgrade US-Taiwan relations. He said he expected bolder, more substantive steps, and subsequently introduced a Senate Resolution (S.RES. 5034) which was passed by the Senate in a 97-0 vote on 5 October 1994.

Another critic was the late Senator **Paul Simon (D-IL)** who welcomed the policy change as *slight improvements*, but added that the United States ...*continues to give Taiwan the cold shoulder, while Taiwan has a multi-party system, free elections and a free press ... the things we profess to*



Photo: Taiwan Communiqué

**Former Alaska Senator and Governor
Frank Murkowski**

champion ... while we continue to cuddle up to the mainland government, whose dictatorship permits none of those.

A third Senator, Mr. **Hank Brown** (R-Colorado) was even more blunt in his criticism of the new non-policy. He termed the new policy *another foreign policy blunder by the Clinton Administration*, and stated: *It (the administration) treats one of our closest democratic allies in the Pacific worse than we treat North Korea, Cuba or Libya. This policy change does not even recognize Taiwan, our fifth largest trading partner, as a political entity.*

Taiwan Communiqué comment: *As we move further into the 21st Century, we need to remind ourselves that the current state of affairs in US-Taiwan relations is not satisfactory. Yes, the current policies have managed to maintain a semblance of stability across the Taiwan Strait, but in the process Taiwan has been pushed further into diplomatic isolation.*

Young people in Taiwan – and particularly the Sunflower generation – have a deep sense of dissatisfaction: they are unhappy with the drift in China’s direction under the Ma administration, and they are not happy with Taiwan’s international isolation: they ask, why can’t we be treated like a normal country?

Taiwan today is a very different place from what it was in the 1970s when the US broke relations with Taipei and established its present “One China” policy. It now is a vibrant democracy. Against that background, the US would do well to pursue new and more imaginative policies.

House urges Secretary Kerry to undertake a new Taiwan policy review

In a letter dated 23 September 2014, 29 members of the House of Representatives, led by House Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Edward Royce (R-CA), called up Secretary of State John Kerry to start the process of conducting a 2014 Taiwan Policy Review.

The letter states: *“In 1979, when we shifted diplomatic recognition from Taipei to Beijing, Taiwan was ruled by a government claiming to represent China. When the United States conducted its last Taiwan Policy Review in 1994, Taiwan was just starting to emerge as a full democracy. [...] Over these past two decades, the people of Taiwan have consolidated their democracy, and established a vibrant and pluralistic democracy in their country...”*

The letter continues: *In spite of this major transition, Taiwan remains diplomatically isolated and is not able to join – and contribute to – international organizations, which is a contravention of the principle of universality in the Charter of the United Nations.*

The letter concludes: *“In view of the fact that there is now a fully free and democratic Taiwan, we feel strongly that there is a need today to undertake a new and thorough Taiwan Policy Review, laying the basis for further expanding relations with Taiwan and thereby enhancing continued peace and stability in the region.”*



**House Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman
Ed Royce (R-CA)**

Taiwan’s elections and the US interest

On Friday, 12 September 2014, at a conference on “Relations across the Taiwan Strait”, organized by the Brookings Institution, former Chairman of the American Institute in Taiwan Richard Bush discussed how the United States government would approach the 2016 Taiwan presidential elections.

Mr. Bush indicated that *“the US government, at some time and in some way will express itself on the implications of the 2016 elections for US interests.”* He then described the dilemma that the US has a general principle of remaining neutral in elections of friendly democracies, but *“... On the other hand, the US does have interests in the policies of any elected leadership...”*

Mr. Bush described a number of examples from the past, when the US expressed itself, covering the period 1996 through 2012. He in particular mentioned the December 2003 episode, when President George Bush – seated next to Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao – wagged his finger as if pointing at Taiwan’s president Chen Shui-bian, telling him “not to change the status quo” by pushing a referendum. In doing so, the US sided with a

repressive and authoritarian China against a vibrant democracy intending to chart its own course through a democratic referendum.

Mr. Richard Bush ended his list of examples by referring to the September 2011 *Financial Times* episode, when – after a closed-door meeting of the US National Security Council with DPP Presidential candidate Tsai Ing-wen – an NSC official called the *Financial Times* and expressed doubts about the China policies of Dr. Tsai.

The call represented a serious violation of diplomatic protocol, and was also an unacceptable intrusion in Taiwan’s domestic politics, since it favored one side over the other. Mr. Bush’s statement that .. *this is something we do*, implies that he endorses the way it was done. This is totally unacceptable.

In response to Mr. Bush’s statement, the **Formosan Association for Public Affairs** issued a statement on 18 September 2014, saying:

We have no objections to a constructive dialogue between the US and Taiwan on policy issues such as relations with China, but ***the way this is done*** is important. The US needs to realize that for the people of Taiwan, China’s threatening policies and presence are an *existential* threat: the Beijing authorities want to incorporate Taiwan and stifle its democracy, period.

In such a situation it would be highly desirable if the United States would strongly support policies that are ***truly*** consonant with US national interests, namely encourage and enhance Taiwan’s democracy, and create the space for people of Taiwan to decide their own future, instead of restricting and diminishing that space, as implied in the situations Mr. Bush mentioned. The latter approach runs counter to the values and principles of democracy and self-determination for which we in the United States should stand.

The organization then urged the US government to:

- * Support policies that encourage and enhance Taiwan’s democracy, and thereby help create space for the people of Taiwan to decide their own future;
- * Engage candidates and future leaders in a constructive two-way dialogue on important issues, and not resort to one-way dictates.
- * Make it clear that the US will work closely with whatever leadership emerges from Taiwan’s free and fair elections to build on the enduring US commitment to Taiwan’s people, its prosperity, and peace.

The statement was signed by FAPA President, Dr. Mark Kao.

In Memoriam

Prof. Liao Shu-tsung 1931 - 2014

Professor Liao Shu-tsung passed away peacefully in his home in Chicago on July 20th 2014. His death is not only a loss to the Taiwanese-American community, where he fulfilled a leading role for many decades, but also in his field of biochemistry and cancer research.

He taught at the University of Chicago for 50 years, where he was a professor in the Biochemistry Department and did research at the Ben May Cancer Research Laboratory, where his research was fundamental in helping others understand how prostate cancer developed. His discoveries also led to the development of drugs such as proscar, which is used to combat BPH (enlarged prostate).

Liao believed strongly that scientists should not lock themselves in the lab, but still pay attention to social issues. He lived by a motto: *“If you eat the fruit, you must bow to the roots.”* For Liao this meant never forgetting one’s homeland, even when living overseas. He strove to inspire other Taiwanese to recognize the importance of bringing scientific research development to Taiwan and to human rights.



Prof. Liao Shu-tsung (1931-2014)

Liao was born in Tainan, Taiwan in 1931. He came of age during the start of autocratic rule and 40 year period of martial law imposed by the Kuomintang (KMT) led by Chiang Kai-shek known as the “White Terror”. This shaped Liao’s lifelong dedication to fighting for human rights and democracy in Taiwan.

After his passing, the **Pacific Times** – a major Taiwanese-American publication based in Los Angeles — wrote that Liao *“provided the torch of passion and light during Taiwan’s longest and darkest night.”*

In Chicago, Professor Liao was a central figure in bringing together Taiwanese students at the University of Chicago, hosting frequent gatherings and providing a sense of community for newcomers.

With a strong belief in community and giving back to one's homeland, Liao founded the North American Taiwanese Professor's Association in 1980. NATPA provided professors and scholars a forum for sharing ideas, exchanging scientific knowledge and research, strengthening cultural ties between the North America and Taiwan and working for the general welfare of Taiwanese communities. NATPA strengthened support and awareness surrounding issues related to Taiwan's move toward democracy and prosperity.

His outspoken criticism of Taiwan's single-party government at the time, and his advocacy of bringing democracy and human rights to Taiwan landed him on the blacklist of the Kuomintang government. But despite being blacklisted, he would regularly visit Taiwan to meet with other dissidents, monitor local elections, give speeches and galvanize support for Taiwan's independence, sometimes at considerable personal risk.

"It wasn't until later in life," said his daughter, May, "that we truly understood the risks that he took to speak out for his beloved country. His passion for and dedication to Taiwan's independence was an inspiration to many Taiwanese people."

Liao's research and teaching philosophy was deeply influenced by his father, Chi Chun Liao, a highly respected Taiwanese painter and professor. Like his father, Liao never sought competition and invited his students to think independently. *"I never advocate reading books every day in the library,"* he said, *"but encourage students to spare their mind to think, to find and to create."*

His colleagues describe him as calm, patient, frugal, respectful and relentlessly polite. Simple mottos, rather than regulations, directed life in his office and lab. *"Be creative, not competitive,"* he told students and staff. A research project need not be fashionable *"as long as it's new, and as long as it's true."* And when writing a paper, a grant proposal, or just a memo, authors should aspire to *"a poem, not a dictionary."*

Liao is survived by his wife, Shu-ching and four daughters, Jane, Tzu-fen, Tzu-ming, May (Matthieu Schmitter), and two granddaughters, Leila and Cailin. Also by his sisters Min-fei Liao and Mei-fei Liao, and a brother, Shu-wen.

A memorial service will be held on Saturday Oct 18, 2014, 2-5 pm at Hyde Park Union Church, 5600S Woodlawn Ave, Chicago, IL 60637, contact: TZUMINGL@gmail.com

Historian Tsao Yung-ho (1920-2014)

On 12 September 2014, esteemed Taiwan historian Tsao Yung-ho passed away in Taipei at the age of 94. Tsao only finished high school and never went to college, but rose to become one of Taiwan's foremost historians.

Photo: Taipei Times

He chose to work as a librarian at National Taiwan University library and started to specialize in translating foreign documents about Taiwan from their original language. In the process he became fluent in Japanese, English and Dutch, and was also quite familiar with Spanish, German and Latin.

He led a project transcribing and then translating documents from the Dutch East India Company (VOC), that ruled Taiwan from 1624 through 1662. These works provided a trove of valuable information about Taiwan's earliest written history.

Only later in his life, at the age of 65, he became a member of the Academia Sinica, Taiwan's top research institute. His work inspired a whole new generation of young Taiwanese historians, who started to study Taiwan's early history through the East India Company documents.

Tsao and his wife were also lifelong friends with later President Lee Teng-hui. In fact, after Lee and his wife were married in February 1949, they initially could not afford their own place, and lived in with the Tsao's for a number of months.

Professor Leonard Blussé, the recently retired Dean of oriental studies at the University of Leiden in The Netherlands, praised historian Tsao as an extraordinary person who laid the foundation for history studies in Taiwan.



**Historian Tsao Yung-ho
(1920-2014)**

Oliver Chen, Sunflower Leader (1988-2014)

On 15 September 2014, a young leading member of the Sunflower movement passed away after his scooter slipped off the road and he fell over the railing into a ravine when he was on a winding mountain road on his way to Ilan County on the Northeast coast of Taiwan.

Photo: Taipei Times

Mr. Chen was one of the key leaders of the Sunflower movement, which occupied Taiwan's Legislative Yuan in March and April 2014. Mr. Chen was a third-year graduate student of law at National Taiwan University. He spoke English, Japanese, German and French and was in charge of coordinating an 80-person translation team which prepared statements and press releases for the foreign news media in 13 different languages.



Oliver Chen (1988-2014)

Thanks to him and his translation team, which operated on a 24-7 basis, news media and people outside Taiwan did have almost immediate access to news about the developments surrounding the occupation of the legislature, the police violence during and after the occupation of the Executive Yuan on 23 March 2014, the Taipei rally attended by more than half a million people on 30 March 2014, and the departure from the legislature a week later.

Those who knew him reflect on both his kindness of spirit and keen intellect. Though his life was tragically cut short, we are comforted by the fact that Oliver Chen left behind an island of people thankful for his dedication to a free and democratic Taiwan, and his contributions during the Sunflower movement.

Book Review

Taiwan's Struggle; Voices of the Taiwanese

Edited by Shyu-tu Lee and Jack F. Williams. Review by Gerrit van der Wees

Many books have been published about Taiwan, its history, current status, economy, politics and future, but almost all of them written by outside observers. Ironically, there are few comprehensive works about Taiwan by the Taiwanese themselves. This book by Shyu-tu Lee and Jack Williams fills that gap nicely.

In the introduction, the editors lay out an important purpose of the book: to remind the international community to fulfill its obligations under the San Francisco Peace Treaty of 1952: to allow the people of Taiwan to determine their own future through a process of self-determination, without outside coercion.

Lee and Williams have been able to bring together an outstanding array of contributors, who present their thoughts and ideas about a wide range of topics. The book is organized along four main themes: Society and identity, international status, international relations, and economy, technology and environment.

Lee and Williams start off with an excellent introduction and overview, laying out the reasons for the book, and discussing the main issues – the Taiwanese identity, Taiwan's status and the country's future – that run through the book.

The first essay is by former President Lee Teng-hui, who presents a highly philosophical perspective, starting from his own experience of the transition from a Japan-occupied colony to the rule by the Chinese Nationalists. The main theme of Lee's piece is that after the democratization of the late 1980s and early 1990s – which he was able to bring about – the people of Taiwan became “new era Taiwanese”, casting off old Chinese political traditions and values.

This is followed by Wu Rwei-ren, a historian at the Academia Sinica in Taipei, who traces the formation of the Taiwanese identity and the rise of the Taiwanese nationalism in response to the rule by the various “empires” (Qing, Japanese, Chinese Nationalists) that effectively rule Taiwan during the past centuries.

Wu's essay is followed by a succession of sometimes very personal stories of several people who played (and still play) a key role in Taiwan's transition to democracy:

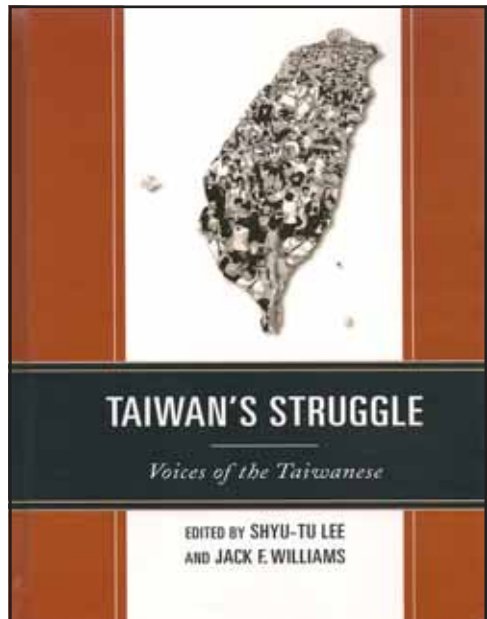
professor Lee Shiao-feng of Taiwan's Institute of Culture has a touching essay about the basic cultural differences between China and Taiwan; George Sung professor emeritus from the Institute for Global Chinese Affairs at the University of Maryland focuses on the "blacklist" developed by the ruling Kuomintang during its long and repressive Martial Law, while Strong C. Chuang – a leading member of the World United Formosans for Independence – and Tsay Ting-kuei (Aquia) tell their personal stories of involvement in the democracy movement.

The section on Taiwan's international status begins with an extremely clear and lucid piece by Prof. Peng Ming-min on Taiwan's international legal status. This is indeed a gold nugget that should be required reading for anyone who deals with Taiwan's status, particularly at the US State Department and European foreign ministries.

Another nugget is Prof. Chen Yi-shen's piece on the discussion of Taiwan's status in the run-up to the San Francisco Peace Treaty. Chen, a professor at the Institute of Modern History at the Academia Sinica, is one of Taiwan's foremost historians, and he gives excellent insights into the back-and-forth negotiations and (lack of) decisions, which eventually led to Taiwan's unresolved status following the 1951-1952 Peace Treaty.

The section is rounded out with two contributions: professor emeritus Andrew C. Chang of the Thunderbird School of Global Management discusses the more recent "abandon Taiwan" voices, and presents a strong rebuttal on why Taiwan is important for the United States, strategically, economically and politically. The strategic importance of Taiwan for the United States is also the main theme in a thorough essay by Jay Tsu-yi Loo of the International Assessment and Strategy Center.

The next section, on international relations, starts off with two essays, one by Joseph C.C. Kuo of Academia Sinica on how Taiwan is caught between the US and China, and



one co-authored by Wong Ming-hsien and former vice-President Annette Lu about China's unification strategy, and continues with an excellent piece by former Defense Minister Michael M. Tsai on China's threat to Taiwan and the Asia-Pacific region, and with a piece by former deputy Prime Minister Wu Rong-I on Economic integration in East Asia.

Dr. Wu has an excellent analysis, comparing European economic integration and East Asian integration. He argues that the European model will not work in East Asia for two important reasons: 1) the European model was based on shared values embedded in democracy, freedom and respect for each other's sovereignty. In East Asia there are no such shared values, certainly not in the case of China.

The second reason is that the underlying purpose of European integration was to bring peace, especially among the main protagonists, Germany and France. The attempts at East Asian integration also lack this fundamental grounding in peace, as China is increasingly aggressive in its attempts to challenge the sovereignty rights of neighboring countries, especially Japan.

The section on international relations is rounded off with an excellent piece by professor Chen Po-chih of National Taiwan University, who analyzes the controversial Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement, signed by the Ma Ying-jeou government and China in 2010. Chen clearly describes how the agreement is actually a disguised effort by China, with the active collaboration of the Ma government, to marginalize Taiwan in the world community, and to draw it ever tighter into its orbit. Required reading for all those who deal with Taiwan in the economic (and political) field.

All in all, a comprehensive look at Taiwan and its recent transition to democracy. Excellent insights by people who were directly involved in the democratic process, from President Lee Teng-hui on down. The book contains several gems, such as Professor Peng Ming-min's essay on Taiwan's status, and Prof. Chen Po-chih discussion of the Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement.

Again, kudos to the two editors, Shyu-tu Lee and Jack Williams for bringing this group of contributors together to present such a wealth of insights and information not found in other analyses by outside scholars. It is indeed a genuinely unique view from the inside. Highly recommended. The full title of the book is: **Taiwan's Struggle; Voices of the Taiwanese**. Edited by Shyu-tu Lee and Jack F. Williams. Published by Rowman & Littlefield, Boulder, CO, February 2014.

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The goals of FAPA are: 1) to promote international support for the right of the people of Taiwan (Formosa) to establish an independent and democratic country, and to join the international community; 2) to advance the rights and interests of Taiwanese communities throughout the world; and 3) to promote peace and security for Taiwan

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