



Taiwan Communiqué

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A political landslide for the DPP

Rejection of pro-China policies of President Ma

On 29 November 2014, the municipal “nine-in-one” elections were held in Taiwan 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 the most closely-watched race in Taipei City, independent candidate Dr. Ko Wen-je edged out KMT scion Sean Lien with a landslide (57.2% vs. 40.8%), while in the Greater Taichung, former DPP legislator Lin Chia-lung was able to unseat current mayor, KMT stalwart Jason Hu who had served for 13 years in that position, with 57.1% vs. 42.9% of the vote.

In other key races, the DPP won in its traditional strongholds in the South, where current mayors of Greater Kaohsiung, Ms. Chen Chu, and of Greater Tainan, Mr. William Lai, won re-election with overwhelming margins, while – as expected — the DPP also held on to their county magistrate seats in Yunlin, Chiayi and Ilan counties.

Photo: Liberty Times



Independent candidate Ko Wen-je and his wife celebrating victory Taipei

As had also been cautiously predicted, DPP candidates edged out the KMT in Keelung City and Penghu County (the Pescadores island group between Taiwan and China), where Lin Yu-chang and Chen Kuang-fu won their respective races. But to everyone's great surprise, the DPP was also victorious in Taoyuan County, Hsinchu City, and Changhua County, three counties that were considered to be solidly KMT-territory.

Overall the DPP more than doubled its number of mayor and county magistrate positions from six to thirteen. In Taipei, newly-elected mayor Dr. Ko Wen-je, who ran as an independent but with DPP backing, is generally also counted being in the "Green camp".

Two other independent candidates won: in Hualien, which went to non-affiliated candidate Mr. Fu Kun-chi, and the offshore island of Kinmen, which went to Mr. Chen Fu-hai, who is also nominally independent.

The ruling Kuomintang retained its position in only six counties and cities, dropping down from fifteen positions in the 2010 elections. This included New Taipei City, where the KMT's star candidate Mr. "Eric" Chu Li-luan only narrowly prevailed over the DPP's Yu Shyi-kun. The other KMT wins were in Hsinchu County, Miaoli County, Nantou County, Taitung County, and in the off-shore island group of Lienchiang, all with relatively small populations.

Nationwide, the overall turnout rate was 67.6%, with the DPP receiving 5,83 mln. votes (47.55%), and the KMT 4,99 mln. votes (40.7%), with 11.7% going to independents like Dr. Ko Wen-je, and the remainder to smaller parties.

The results of these elections show a major defeat for sitting President Ma Ying-jeou, reflecting a significant amount of discontent with his performance, disillusionment with his governance and handling of a series of crises over the past years, and also a rejection of his accommodating policies towards China. On the following pages we present further details and insights.



**Greater Kaohsiung winner
Chen Chu**



**Greater Tainan winner "William"
Lai Chin-te**

Dr. Ko Wen-je coasts to victory in Taipei

In Taipei City, independent candidate Dr. Ko Wen-je ran a highly unconventional campaign: he shunned traditional campaigning and relied almost solely on Facebook as a means of communication and mobilization of his supporters. He did not buy any TV advertisements or newspaper ads, eschewed campaign posters and flags along the roadways, and did not deploy any campaign trucks in the city. His campaign was completely funded through small donations raised through the internet.

In contrast, his opponent, Mr. Sean Lien of the Kuomintang, relied heavily on TV advertising and plastered the city with big images of his smiling face. The strategy backfired, as many citizens concluded that Lien was only able to run because of the wealth of his prominent father, and had little to offer in terms of substance.

Photo: Taipei Times

The two candidates did have one TV debate, after which Mr. Lien became the butt of scorn: both sides had agreed that questions to the candidates would be posed by leaders of civic organizations. The organizations representing Dr. Ko did pose the same questions (mostly about how they would govern the city) to both, but the organizations representing Mr. Lien posed hostile and accusatory questions to Ko, while throwing softballs to Mr. Lien. This didn't sit very well with many viewers, and most considered Dr. Ko to have won the debate.



Dr. Ko Wen-je's supporters celebrating his victory in Taipei

Dr. Ko also did not organize the traditional campaign rallies for which Taiwan politics are famous, but organized walkathons through the various neighborhoods of the city, and a major "Hug Taipei" carnival parade, which took place on Sunday 23 November 2014.

In this parade, seven crowds of supporters, each some 20,000 strong and representing a color of the rainbow, departed from Freedom Plaza in the center of Taipei, and in a large

carnival de Rio-type of parade converged on the major square in front of City Hall. There a crowd of some 200,000 congregated for a rally with music, and a speech by the candidate Ko. Standing next to his wife and his mother, both of whom were campaigning hard for him, he said:

“We have done it. We have transformed Taiwan’s political culture. Elections should not be sad and threatening, it should be bright and cheerful.”

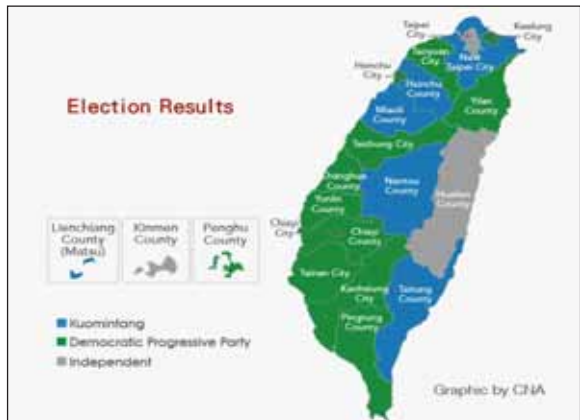
“In the past, because of the confrontation of different ideologies, an invisible and cold wall was erected to separate you and me. This wall separates Blue and Green, unifications and independence. On each side of this wall, we shout, curse and hate each other. I don’t know when this wall was erected, but it has been there for many years.

I want to use love and hugs to transform this wall. From this moment on, we want to end confrontation, hostility and hatred between the two sides in Taiwan. If we

want to change Taiwan, we must begin from the capital. To change Taipei, we begin by changing the culture. For the first time in the history of Taiwan’s election campaign, we use changing Taiwan’s political culture as the appeal of our election campaign.

Let us begin a social movement to change Taiwan’s culture, let us use love and hug Taipei. “

Graphics: CNA



Dr. Ko’s positive and uplifting campaign strongly contrasted with that of Sean Lien’s, who tried to present Dr. Ko in a very negative light with a barrage of accusations, lodged at Ko by various hardline KMT legislators. On a number of occasions during September, October and November, these legislators “disclosed” that Ko had been involved in a dubious fund at the Taiwan National University Hospital, that he had engaged in organ harvesting, etc. The smear campaign didn’t work, and also backfired on Sean Lien.

Crucial races in other towns in Taiwan

As elaborated in our previous *Taiwan Communiqué*, Northern Taiwan has traditionally been dominated by the Kuomintang, while the DPP had its strongholds in the South. Often the Zhoushui River between Yunlin and Changhua counties was considered the dividing line between the blue (KMT) North and the green (DPP) South.

If one looks at the political map of Taiwan (left), and compares 2010 with 2014, then one can see that this divide has now been breached: in these elections the DPP won in five counties and cities North of the Zhoushui River: Changhua, Greater Taichung, Hsinchu City, Taoyuan County, Keelung City, while Taipei City went to DPP-leaning Dr. Ko Wen-je. This represents a major change in the political landscape.

In particular the race in Greater Taichung (an amalgamation of the former Taichung City and Taichung County) was considered a key race for both sides: the KMT wanted to retain its stronghold in Central Taiwan, while the DPP wanted to win there to make significant inroads North of the Zhoushui River. Current Taichung City mayor Jason Hu had much at stake, but eventually lost out to legislator Lin Chia-lung by more than 14% of the vote (57.06% vs. 42.94%), who worked long and hard to build up a power base there.

Another strategy that worked out well for the DPP was its “regional governance” approach, in which three neighboring counties — Greater Taichung, Changhua County and Nantou County — championed the idea of joint projects, good governance and cross-boundary programs. The DPP won in Taichung and Changhua, and only lost Nantou by less than two percent of the vote.

In addition to the surprise victories for the DPP in Changhua and Hsinchu City, there was a totally unexpected victory in Taoyuan County, where the DPP’s Cheng Wen-tsan had been fighting an uphill battle against the well-oiled KMT party machine of KMT scion



**Greater Taichung winner
Lin Chia-lung**



**Taoyuan County winner
Cheng Wen-tsan**

“John” Wu Chih-yang, the son of party stalwart and former Chairman Wu Po-hsiung. However, Chen won out with 51% against 48% of the vote.

In New Taipei City / Taipei County, the KMT’s “Eric” Chu Li-luen eked out only a narrow victory over the DPP’s Yu Shyi-kun (50.06% vs. 48.78%). This fact is significant for a number of reasons: if Chu had won by a major landslide, that would have positioned him well for the upcoming 2016 presidential elections, where he is generally considered a prime candidate. Now that he won only by a slight margin, that puts a dent in his candidacy.

Copyright: Taipei Times

At the same time, he is the only one of the younger and up-and-coming KMT generation who still won his election, which puts him in a unique position among his peers: both Sean Lien (Taipei City) and John Wu (Taoyuan County) lost and will have little chance to recover.

It must also be said that the DPP’s Yu Shyi-kun did an incredible job: he had been all but written off due to the fact that he belongs to the older generation of DPP leaders

who were involved in the founding of the DPP in 1986, and who served as the first generation of DPP leaders: he was Ilan County Magistrate (1990 to 1997) and also served a Prime Minister under President Chen Shui-bian (2002 to 2005). Many observers felt he should make way for a younger generation, but Mr. Yu stuck to his position, fought a hard campaign and almost prevailed.



Ma Ying-jeou to Taiwan: *"Don't worry: getting close is the key to survival"*

Issues that played a role in the elections

While these were local elections, a number of national issues did play a role. We discussed some of these already in our previous issue (*What are the main issues in these elections?* *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 147, pp. 4-5). A brief overview of the issues that did come to the fore as playing a role:

- * **Good governance and transparency.** Candidates with a good track record, such as the DPP's Chen Chu in Kaohsiung and William Lai in Tainan, as well as the KMT's Eric Chu Li-luan in Sinbei City, were able to prevail. In places where the performance was lackluster or shady, such as Taichung and Keelung, the Kuomintang lost. In Taipei, Dr. Ko Wen-je's refreshing approach to governance was also a major drawing card for him.
- * **The China factor.** The Kuomintang has traditionally portrayed closer economic relations with China as essential for Taiwan's economic growth and trade liberalization. In the process it enticed many Taiwanese businessmen in China to return and vote for it in elections. This "Taishang" vote was already significant in the 2012 presidential elections, but was less effective this time around.

During the last few weeks of the current election campaign, the Ma government also "nationalized" the local election campaign by accusing the DPP (and the Sunflower movement) of causing Taiwan to fall behind economically and make insufficient progress toward trade liberalization because of the stalled cross-strait service trade agreement with China. We did a rebuttal of that argument in an article in the Taipei Times ("*Reliance on China is a hindrance to free trade,*" **Taipei Times**, 28 November 2014).

- * **Mishandling of various scandals.** During the final weeks of the campaign, a cooking oil scandal roiled Taiwan. It turned out that for many years several companies with close ties to the Kuomintang party, such as Ting Hsin International, had sold tainted cooking oil, reflecting badly on the Kuomintang government and putting it on the defensive. In a telling story, just as the cooking oil scandal broke, prosecutors did allow Ting Hsin Executives to fly off to China in their private jets. One of the four brothers of the Wei family is now in custody.

Copyright: Taipei Times



Prosecutors allowing tainted food executives to fly off to China in their private jets

- * **President Ma Ying-jeou's lack of popularity.** His extremely low rating in opinion polls (anywhere between 9 and 18%) did prompt many local candidates to distance themselves from the president, with some of them refusing to appear on the same platform with him. At the same time, as chairman of the KMT party, he was still in control of the party coffers, channeling party funds to local races. In particular in the latter phases of the election, when it became clear that Taipei was lost for the KMT, the party channeled major amounts of funds to Taichung in an effort to stave off a loss for Jason Hu there – to no avail.
- * **The youth vote.** The increasingly vibrant civil society, and particularly the Sunflower movement of March-April 2014 prompted many young people to become more politically aware, and start to participate in the election process. Traditionally the younger voters have been leaning much more to the DPP, but didn't come out in sufficient numbers. This time their vote did make a difference.

Hong Kong, the Taiwan angle

During the past few months, China's uncompromising approach towards Hong Kong has prompted people in Taiwan to be increasingly suspicious of China's overtures, and realize that such heavy-handed measures would also befall Taiwan if it continued its drift towards China. Below we take a closer look at the developments in Hong Kong, and examine the similarities and differences with Taiwan.

Push-back against China's encroachment

The similarity is that in both places, broad-based student and civic movements are pushing back against the increasing encroachment of Beijing in the daily lives of people. The difference is of course that Hong Kong is already under Beijing's control, but that under the earlier agreements, it would maintain its own system of governance for 50 years. Taiwan still is a free and *de facto* independent country, but under the policies pursued by the current KMT government of President Ma Ying-jeou is drifting in China's direction.

In both cases the student-led movements were primarily directed at Beijing: in Taiwan the main reason for the Sunflower protests was the cross-Strait Service Trade Agreement signed by the Ma administration, which would have led to a large-scale influx of Chinese service industries, which in the view of many would have undermined Taiwan's economy.

In Hong Kong, the main reason for the protests was of course the decision by the Peoples' National Congress in Beijing to restrict candidates for the 2017 election of chief executive to people approved by a Beijing-controlled selection committee. This was in the views of many a violation of the commitments to universal suffrage as embedded in the 1984 UK-China Joint Statement and the Basic Law which went into effect when Hong Kong was transferred to China in 1997.

Photo: Taipei Times

In addition, in both cases, the movement was also a protest against the policies of the local governments: in the case of Taiwan, the Sunflower movement was strongly critical of the lack of good governance and pro-China policies of the administration of President Ma Ying-jeou, while in Hong Kong the student and civic movements were critical of Chief Executive C.Y. Leung for his accommodating stance towards China, calling for his ouster.



Students in Hong Kong protest

No more “One country, two systems”

The irony of the situation is that in the early 1980s, the Beijing leadership under Deng Xiaoping devised the “One Country, Two Systems” concept for Hong Kong with Taiwan in mind: if the idea could be made to work for Hong Kong, it would entice Taiwan to return to China’s embrace – or so the argument went in 1984.

But matters turned out rather differently: Taiwan went through its transition to democracy in the late 1980s/early 1990s and became a vibrant, if not rambunctious, democracy. In the process, people on the island (re)discovered their own Taiwanese identity, and were not enchanted at all with the “One country, two systems” concept.

So, when the current crisis engulfed Hong Kong, sympathies in Taiwan were clearly on the side of the protesting students. This sentiment was so strong that President Ma Ying-

jeou, who had been following his much more pro-Beijing line, had no choice but to state that he supported “democracy and the rule of law” in Hong Kong, and rejected the “One country, two systems” idea.

Chinese President Xi Jinping added insult to injury when, on 26 September 2014 he stated during a meeting with the representatives of some 20 pro-unification groups from Taiwan, he stated that in his view “One country, two systems” was the basis for China and Taiwan towards the goal of cross-Strait “unification.” He added that there was no way Beijing would back away from this long-time goal.

Copyright: Taipei Times

The whole HK episode prompted US academic David Shambaugh of George Washington University to remark that the ham-fisted way China had handled the Hong Kong protests had completely discredited the “one China, two systems” concept, and caused it to “loose” Taiwan: at a Brookings event on 5 November 2014, Shambaugh stated: *“There is no sense on the island now, if there ever was one, to buy into this “one country, two systems” formula.”*



Beijing soldier driving the tank: "We know how to deal with protests, don't we?"

Underlying political and economic disenchantment

Looking at the similarities between the student / civic movements in Taiwan in Hong Kong, there are two more causes that contributed to the rise of these movements: in addition to the push-back against Beijing’s advances, and the rejection of the policies and governance of the administrations of President Ma Ying-jeou and Chief Executive C.Y. Leung, the protests were also prompted by disenchantment with the underlying political and economic trends.

In both the Taiwan and Hong Kong cases, there was a high level of anger at and frustration with the policies and actions of the ruling elite, which favored big business and neglected the rights and interests of people at the lower rungs of the economic ladder.

In both cases, it had become increasingly difficult for students and young graduates to find jobs, while the income levels had stayed the same or even decreased during the past decade. At the same time, home prices had skyrocketed in both Taipei and Hong Kong, making it virtually impossible for young people to find affordable homes. This was in part caused by a major influx of Chinese wealth in the two cities, driving housing costs sky-high.

Since mid-August 2014, quite a number of international publications highlighted the above-described interaction between developments in Hong and Taiwan. Just for the record, we list a few of them:

- * Hong Kong journalist Grace Choi in **Foreign Policy Magazine**: *Today's Hong Kong, tomorrow's Taiwan?* August 19th 2014
- * Austin Ramzy in the **New York Times**: *From Taiwan, broad support for democracy in Hong Kong* September 3rd 2014
- * Ambassador Nat Bellocchi in the **Taipei Times**: *Hong Kong, a mirror for Taiwan?* 10 September 2014
- * Jenny W. Hsu in the **Wall Street Journal**: *Hong Kong protests "extremely unhelpful" for Beijing in winning over hearts in Taiwan.* September 30th 2014
- * Joe Bosco in **The Diplomat**: *In Hong Kong, an opportunity for Beijing to get it right.* October 1st 2014
- * John Garnaut in the **Canberra Times**: *Young people of Taiwan and Hong Kong refusing to accept the unification of "Greater China."* October 11th 2014
- * Cindy Sui on **BBC News**: *How Hong Kong is fuelling Taiwan's anti-China sentiment.* October 13th 2014
- * Benny Avni in **Newsweek**: *Beijing's crushing of democracy in Hong Kong sends chills through Taiwan.* October 20th 2014
- * Editorial in **The Economist**: *The protests in Hong Kong fuel Taiwan's distrust of China.* November 1st 2014
- * David Pilling in the **Financial Times**: *Taiwan resolves to resist China's embrace.* November 5th 2014

Human rights in Taiwan

Chen Shui-bian: six years of imprisonment

The date 11 November 2014 marked the sixth “anniversary” of former President Chen Shui-bian’s arrest and imprisonment. Below we present a brief chronology, and then report on the letter sent on that date to president Ma Ying-jeou by ten overseas Taiwanese organizations.

Photo: Taipei Times

In the early weeks after his November 2008 arrest, there were major concerns about how he was treated in detention, in particular about him being held incommunicado and interrogated for some 20 hours at a time.

The subsequent legal proceedings against the former president prompted numerous charges of unfairness and bias on the part of the prosecutors and the court system. In particular the switching of judges in December 2008, and the abuse of power by the Chief prosecutor and the Special Investigation Division (SID) gave rise to major concerns expressed by international human rights organizations.



**File image of former President Chen Shui-bian
in prison**

Prominent legal scholar Prof. Jerome Cohen, wrote in an OpEd on 8 January 2009 that: “Unfortunately, recent court proceedings have mocked that promise” that fair proceedings “... would vindicate the values of clean government, deter potential wrongdoers and heighten confidence in courts that began to free themselves from decades of authoritarian Kuomintang government fewer than 20 years ago.” (“Chen Judges bungle their chance”, **South China Morning Post**, 8 January 2009).

In the subsequent months the special prosecutors charged the former president and his wife with one charge after another. In the end there were a total of at least ten (10) cases, according to the website of Taiwan’s Ministry of Justice. The major trial cases and the appeals stretched from March 2009 through November 2010. Legal scholars and human

rights organizations such as Freedom House detailed major flaws in the proceedings. Last year we presented a detailed overview (see “*The flawed legal case against President Chen*”, **Taiwan Communiqué** no. 142, June/July 2013).

After the Taiwan High Court came down with its final verdict in November 2010 that the former President should serve 17 ½ years out of a total of a 19-years’ sentence, he was transferred from the detention center in Taipei where he had been held until that time, to a “regular” prison, Taipei Prison in Taoyuan County. It wasn’t until the Spring of 2012 that it became known that there he was being held in a small 50 sq ft cell, with no bed, desk or chair: if he wanted to read or write he had to sit or lie down on the floor. The lights in this cell, shared with one other prisoner, were brightly lit, even at night.

Under the circumstances the former President developed a number of physical and psychological ailments which prompted several visits to the hospital in the Spring and Summer of 2012. However, his health continued to deteriorate, and on 21 September 2012, he was transferred to the Taipei Veterans General Hospital, where they had adequate facilities to treat him. There his condition did improve, but doctors still recommended that he received medical parole so that he could be treated under home care.

However, on 19 April 2013, he was suddenly transferred to the prison hospital in Taichung Prison in Central Taiwan. This move prompted at least two suicide attempts by the former President. His lawyers and family argued that while there is more space, and he can be in an outdoor courtyard at the prison, medical care is less adequate, and the environment does not help improve his severe mental health condition, which can only be treated through home care.

Over the years, numerous prominent international figures and organizations have appealed for the release of former President Chen Shui-bian on medical parole, including Freedom House, the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan, Liberal International, former Alaska Senator and Governor Frank Murkowski, former AIT Chairman of the Board Nat Bellocchi, US Senator Sherrod Brown (D-OH), and a number of US Congressmen, including Repr. Robert Andrews (D-NJ), Steve Chabot (R-OH) and others.

Overseas Taiwanese write to President Ma Ying-jeou

In a letter dated 11 November 2014, ten Taiwanese American organizations sent a letter to Taiwan president Ma Ying-jeou calling for the release on medical parole of former president Chen Shui-bian.

The organizations wrote: *“While the Republic of China just celebrated the 103rd anniversary of its founding in China in 1911, the democratically elected former president of Taiwan, Chen Shui-bian, is languishing in a Taichung jail. As a matter of fact, today, on November 11 it has been 6 years since Chen was sent to jail.”*

They added: *“Chen’s physical and psychological health has declined steadily over the years culminating in several suicide attempts due to severe depression. Attending doctors from Veterans Hospital in Taichung and medical experts at the Academia Sinica therefore recommended this past summer that Chen be released from jail on medical parole.”*

“Concerns over President Chen’s incarceration have been raised on a number of occasions over the past years by members of Congress (U.S. Congressman Steve Chabot has repeatedly said it best: “Enough is enough.”) as well as by international scholars. However, your administration has been totally unresponsive to these international calls.”

“Additionally, over the years, the accusations against Chen of having violated the law have been found to have no merit. Case in point: as recent as this past August, the ROC Special Investigation Division said it had found no evidence in the “Palau Affair”, in which Chen was accused of money-laundering.”

“Chen was also found not guilty recently of misusing the State Affairs Fund and embezzling funds used by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to conduct diplomacy.”

They concluded: *“[T]he joint Taiwanese American organizations urge you to grant medical parole to Chen, so that he can receive adequate treatment at home for his medical conditions.”*

The letter was signed by the Formosan Association for Public Affairs, the Formosan Association for Human Rights, Taiwanese Presbyterian Church of Greater Washington, North America Taiwanese Women’s Association, Professor Chen Wen-chen Memorial Foundation, San Diego Taiwan Center, Taiwanese American Foundation of San Diego, Taiwanese Association of America, World Federation of Taiwanese Associations, and World Taiwanese Congress.

Report from Washington

US mid-term elections and Taiwan

On 4 November 2014, elections were held in the United States for all 435 seats in the House of Representatives, and for 36 out of 100 seats in the US Senate. Below is brief overview of how this is affecting the Taiwan Caucus in the House and Senate.

In the House, the Republicans gained 12 seats for a total of 244, while the Democrats – who were in the minority already – went down to 186 seats. The leadership composition – John Boehner (R-OH) as majority leader and Nancy Pelosi (D-CA) as minority leader – will therefore remain the same.

Among the current CTC members, 13 are either retiring or lost in the primary. Three of them ran for Senator and one for Governor, but were defeated. Only one CTC member, Rep. Lee Terry (R-NE), an 8-term Congressman from Nebraska surprisingly lost his election by 2600 votes. This brings the new membership of the CTC for 2015 to 133.

The major change of course took place on the Senate side, where the Republicans gained 8 or 9 seats for a total of 53-54 (The Louisiana race is to be determined by a run-off election on 6 December 2014), while the Democrats went down to 45 seats, with two seats remaining with Independents. This means that Senator Mitch McConnell (R-KY) will become majority leader, and Senator Harry Reid (D-NV) will switch to the position of minority leader.

In addition, the leadership positions of all committees will change. For the Senate Foreign Relations Committee this means that Robert Menendez (D-NJ) will step down, and Bob Corker (R-TN) will probably become the chairman of the Committee. The chairmanship of the Subcommittee for Asian and Pacific Affairs in the SFRC will likely shift to Senator Marco Rubio (R-FL).



Senator Bob Corker (R-TN)



Senator Marco Rubio (R-FL)

What it means for the chairmanship of the Senate Taiwan Caucus (STC) is not quite known yet: there Menendez is co-chair, together with Jim Inhofe (R-OK), and it is likely that Menendez will step down there too. This might open up the position of co-chair for another Democrat. Inhofe will probably become the lead co-chair of the STC.

Among the current 25 members of the STC, fifteen were not up for (re)election, and thus remain in their positions. Five current members were up for election and got re-elected: STC co-chair Senator James Inhofe (R-OK), Sen. John Cornyn (R-TX), Sen. Richard Durbin (D-IL), Sen. Lindsey Graham (R-SC), and Sen. Jeff Sessions (R-AL).

Four current members — Senators Saxby Chambliss (R-GA), Tim Johnson (D-SD), Tom Coburn (R-OK) and John Rockefeller (D-WV) are retiring and will thus not return to the Senate, while one current member – Senator Mark Begich (D-AK) lost his election by a small margin, and will also not come back to the Senate.

Taiwan Communiqué comment: *We thank the departing four members for their contributions to good relations with Taiwan. Each in their own way did help to enhance US-Taiwan relations, in particular Senator Tim Johnson (who served as STC co-chair for many years), and Senator Mark Begich, who had a close affinity for Taiwan and a warm spot in his heart for the Taiwanese people.*

In general, it can be said that these election results are good for Taiwan. Traditionally, Taiwan has done well when the US had different parties controlling the White House and Congress. In those cases, Congress was more willing to challenge the administration, and push for better relations with Taiwan. This happened in the 1980s during the Reagan administration in the years when the Democrats controlled Congress, and also in the 1990s in the Clinton administration, during the years when the Republicans controlled Congress.



Senator Tim Johnson (D-SD)



Senator Mark Begich (D-AK)

President Obama's visit to China

In the first half of November 2014, President Obama flew to Beijing to attend the annual meeting of the leaders of APEC. In the process he also had a bilateral meeting with his host, Chinese President Xi Jinping, and held a joint press conference.

The main topics discussed were agreements on climate change and greenhouse gas reduction, communications between the militaries of the US and China, and enhancing trade. In the joint press conference, Taiwan was briefly mentioned in President Obama's statement, when he said:

"I reaffirmed my strong commitment to our one-China policy based on the Three Joint Communiqués and the Taiwan Relations Act. And we encourage further progress by both sides of the Taiwan Strait towards building ties, reducing tensions and promoting stability on the basis of dignity and respect, which is in the interest of both sides, as well as the region and the United States."

Taiwan Communiqué comment: *Although the first part — referring to the “one-China policy” — is standard fare, the phrasing is often the source of confusion. Sure enough, in an article on the press conference, the **Associated Press** erroneously added that US policy meant “...that regards Taiwan as part of China” (“**Obama, Xi look to highlight areas of agreement**”, Associated Press, 12 November 2014).*

The issue is of course that the US doesn't regard Taiwan to be part of China, but only “acknowledges” the Chinese position. The official US position is that the island's status is undetermined (in accordance with the San Francisco Peace Treaty), and that the future of the island needs to be resolved peacefully with the consent of the people on the island.

The second part of President Obama's statement is relatively new, and reflects an attempt by the US to come up with a more creative and flexible formulation. This attempt is certainly to be lauded, but the problem is that it does not really address the problem created by the way the “one China policy” is phrased. The current phrasing all too often leads to erroneous misinterpretations such as the one made by AP.

In the past few years, even high US officials such as Secretary of State Colin Powell and chairman of the Joint Chief of Staff are known to have erred on this point. One would have a bit more clarity if you would phrase it as follows:

Based on the Taiwan Relations Act and the Three Communiqués – the US has a “One China” policy that recognizes the government in Beijing as the government of China. The US position on Taiwan is that the future of the island needs to be resolved peacefully with the consent of the people on the island. That would be a bit closer to the reality of US policy.

Taiwanese-Americans write President Obama

In a related matter: On 3 November 2014, the Washington-based Formosan Association for Public Affairs (FAPA) appealed to President Obama to “*reaffirm America’s support for freedom, democracy and human rights in Taiwan*” during his mid-November 2014 visit to China. Below is the full text of the letter

President Barack H. Obama
The White House

November 3, 2014

Dear Mr. President: As you prepare to visit China, we, as a Taiwanese-American grassroots organization with 54 chapters across the United States, appeal to you to reaffirm America’s support for freedom, democracy and human rights in Taiwan.

During the past years, the Beijing government has called on the United States and other international partners to respect China’s so-called “territorial integrity” and “core interests.” We strongly urge you to remind the Chinese leaders, in response, that it is a core interest of the United States that the future of Taiwan be resolved peacefully and with the express consent of the people of Taiwan.

We understand that in order to resolve many of the world’s major problems, the United States needs to engage China, but the fact is that China has not acted as a ‘responsible stakeholder’, and is causing increasing tension in the region, in particular in the South China Sea, East China Sea, and through its mishandling of the democratic developments in Hong Kong. Against this background, we emphasize that “engagement” should not be done at the expense of America’s core values: freedom, democracy and human rights, as exemplified in the nation and people of Taiwan.

We appeal to you that, in your meetings with the Chinese leaders, you insist that they dismantle the 1,600 missiles targeted at Taiwan and renounce the threat of use of force against Taiwan. To safeguard Taiwan and its future, we need to more fully embrace freedom, democracy and human rights in that country. We believe this is the best way to maintain peace and stability in East Asia and is in the best interests of the United States.

Mr. President, in your 2008 election campaign you promised us “change we can believe in.” In your acceptance speech at the Democratic Convention in Denver, you stated: “Enough to the politics of the past.” We hope this applies to US policies towards Taiwan. For the past four decades, the US has clung to an outdated “One China” policy which has left Taiwan dangling in international isolation.

In the meantime, Taiwan has transformed itself into a vibrant democracy, and as we saw with the Sunflower Movement this Spring, the people of Taiwan don’t want to be pushed into an unwelcome embrace with China. We firmly believe it is a core US interest to help protect and nurture this young democracy. We therefore urge you to move towards a “One Taiwan, One China” policy that warmly welcomes Taiwan as a full and equal member of the international community. That would indeed be a change the American people can believe in.

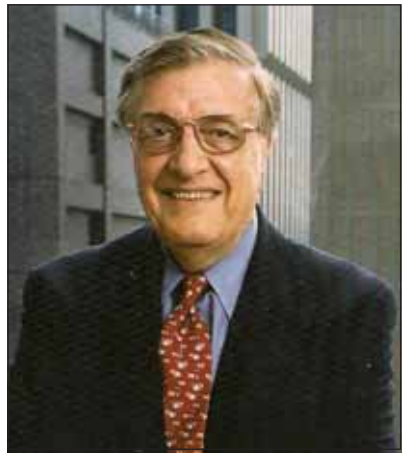
In Memoriam

Ambassador Nat H. Bellocchi (1926-2014)

On 16 November 2014, former US ambassador and Chairman of the American Institute in Taiwan passed away in his sleep in his home in Bethesda, MD. He was 88 years old.

Bellocchi had a long diplomatic career, spanning some four decades from the 1950s through 1995 when he retired. After World War II ended, he first studied engineering at the Georgia Institute of Technology. When the Korean War broke out in 1950, he enlisted and served as a decorated war veteran (he made first lieutenant rifle platoon in the 23rd Infantry). In 1953 he continued his education at Georgetown University (diplomacy) and joined the US diplomatic service in 1955.

He started in the mid-1950s in the courier service in Eastern and Southern Europe, and survived a plane crash when the DC-3 he flew in developed engine trouble and had to ditch in the Mediterranean. Fortunately, Bellocchi – and his diplomatic pouches – survived the crash.



Nat H. Bellocchi (1926-2014)

After five years of globetrotting, Bellocchi decided to settle down in the “regular” Foreign Service. Hong Kong was the first of a long list of postings, which also included Laos, Taiwan (Chinese language training at Taichung and later counselor at the Embassy in Taipei), Washington, and then Vietnam during the height of the Vietnam War. It was in Taiwan that Bellocchi met his wife, Lilan. The couple has two children, Luke and Jacqueline.

A second round of senior postings in the late 1970s and 1980s included Tokyo, Senior Seminar in Washington, India, a second stop in Hong Kong, Deputy Assistant Secretary at Intelligence and Research (INR) back in Washington, and finally as ambassador to Botswana.

Then in 1990, at the age when most people retire, Bellocchi accepted an appointment as Chairman of the Board of the American Institute in Taiwan, the agency formally representing the United States in its informal relations with Taiwan. It was to become, in his own words, “...*the most difficult and historic journey of my entire life.*”

Bellocchi’s term as chairman of the AIT included two momentous events in US-Taiwan relations: the May 1994 stopover of Taiwan President Lee Teng-hui in Honolulu, when the US government did not allow the Taiwanese President off the airport for a meeting with the local community, angering the President ... and in the process the US Congress, which then pressured the Clinton Administration to allow President Lee to visit his alma mater, Cornell University.

At President Lee’s June 1995 visit to Cornell, Bellocchi was the highest US official welcoming the Taiwan president. The visit itself went well, as many members of Congress also flew to Cornell to welcome the president of a nascent democracy, but Beijing used the occasion to ratchet up tensions in the Taiwan Strait with missile firings in the Summer of 1995, and again in March 1996, at the time of Taiwan’s first democratic presidential elections.

After his retirement in December 1995, Bellocchi continued to follow developments in and around Taiwan with keen interest, and until very recently wrote many OpEds in the Taipei Times and Liberty Times with his observations and commentaries.

In these commentaries he frequently argued for more international support for the newly-democratic Taiwan, urging substantive steps to bring Taiwan into international organizations such as the United Nations and the World Health Organization. He also urged the US to help bring Taiwan out of its international diplomatic isolation by enhancing ties with the new and vibrant democracy.

In July 2010 Bellocchi published an autobiographic account of his life with a main focus on his years as Chairman of the Board of AIT, titled **The Path to Taiwan's Democracy; Memories of an American diplomat**. We did publish a review of that book in our *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 129, Sept/Oct 2010.

Historian Chang Yien-hsien (1947 – 2014)

On 3 October 2014, one of Taiwan's foremost historians, Professor Chang Yien-hsien, passed away in Philadelphia, during a visit to the United States doing research into the origins of the Taiwan independence movement.

Photo: Carol Chien

Professor Chang was born in Taiwan in 1947, and grew up during the “White Terror” period of the Kuomintang's repressive martial law.

Chang received his bachelor's and master's degree in National Taiwan University, and obtained his Ph.D. from the University of Tokyo. After returning to Taiwan in 1984, he worked in Academia Sinica as a researcher, while he also taught university history classes.



Professor Chang in front of the Liberty Bell in Philadelphia

In 2000, Professor Chang accepted then President Chen Shui-bian's invitation to become president of Academia Historica, a governmental institution for historical research. During his tenure, Professor Chang initiated many historical projects that the Academia Historica had neglected during the previous KMT administrations. These projects and publications greatly enhanced the Academia Historica's role in Taiwan history.

After Professor Chang stepped down in 2008, he became involved in social movements, and assumed leadership roles in several social organizations such as **Taiwan 228 Care Association** (2008-2012), **Taiwan Association of University Professors** (2011-2012), **Taiwan Historical Association** (1998-2000, 2010-2011), and **Taiwan Society** (2013-2014).

Professor Chang's historical research has always been a journey of humanity. In an open speech in 2003, Professor Chang elaborated his views on Taiwan's history education: "*I am skeptical of historical documentation provided by the governments, because while they can enlighten us of the process that policies were made, and the rationale of those who ruled, they can never accurately depict the feelings of those who were ruled.*" Because of these views, Professor Chang devoted himself into oral history research of the 228 Massacre, the White Terror period, and the Taiwan Independence Movement, etc.

A memorial service for Professor Chang took place in the United States on Tuesday October 7th, 2014 in Grace Taiwanese Presbyterian Church in New Jersey, and one in Taiwan on Sunday October 19th, 2014 in Shuanglian Presbyterian Church in Taipei. More than a thousand attended to bid their farewells to one of the greatest figures in Taiwan's history. Former President Lee Teng-hui also commented that the passing of Professor Chang is of great loss to Taiwan's historical research.

Book Review

The Third Son; A Novel by Julie Wu

Reviewed by Gerrit van der Wees

Until now we have done reviews about books on Taiwan's history, politics, and relations with other nations. *The Third Son* is about all of that, and more: it is a novel. Author Julie Wu takes us by the hand and guides us through some sixty years of Taiwan's recent history, highlighting political developments on the island, giving insights into Taiwan's relations with the United States, all packaged into a beautiful novel about a young Taiwanese boy growing up in Japan-occupied Taiwan. The young boy, Saburo, experiences the transition from the Japanese to the repressive rule of the Chinese Nationals under Chiang Kai-shek, and grows up wanting to reach for the stars, literally.

Being the unloved third son in his small-town family, Saburo is set back vis-à-vis his brothers, but due to his sharp intellect and iron determination is able to find his way to higher education in the United States. In the process he experiences trials and tribulations, including an American bombing raid – when he meets his future wife – and being expelled from elementary school school.

In the process, author Julie Wu gives the readers fantastic insights into key moments in Taiwan's history, from the Taiwanese reactions to the Japanese surrender in 1945 and

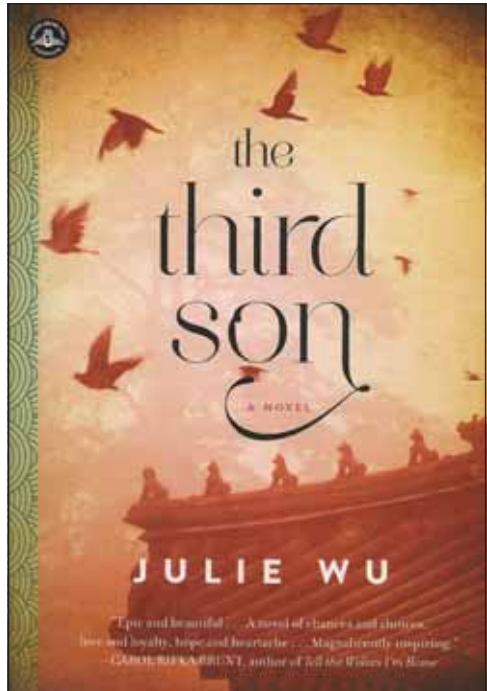
the “victory march” by bedraggled Nationalist Chinese soldiers into their town, to an eyewitness account of the “February 28th Incident” of 1947, in which some 28,000 Taiwanese were killed by Chinese Nationalist soldiers.

The book also weaves in the love story between Saburo and Yoshiko – the girl saved by Saburo during the American bombing raid – and presents a sensitive description of the prejudices and conventions of traditional society in rural Taiwan. The two get married, but have a tough road ahead of them, because Saburo miraculously passes his entrance exam for an American university, and goes off to the United States, leaving his young bride behind.

In the United States young Saburo encounters the usual cultural differences and experiences awkward moments, and also runs into the student spying network set up by the ruling Kuomintang to monitor and suppress the activities of the Taiwanese pro-democracy and pro-independence movement at American universities during the 1950s through the 1980s.

But with hard work and determination Saburo perseveres, is able to get his PhD in electrical engineering, contributing to the budding American space program in the process. After several years and much hardship he is also able to get his wife and infant son to come to the United States, and start a new life in the country of which he dreamed back in Taiwan.

A highly captivating and sensitive story, inspired by the real-life experiences of her own parents. Many insights into the life of the Taiwanese people in the 1940s and 1950s, and the experiences and dilemmas face by Taiwanese students in the United States. Highly recommended. The full title of the book is: **The Third Son; a novel.** By Julie Wu. Published by Algonquin Books, Chapel Hill, NC, March 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

Internet homepages: www.fapa.org and www.taiwandc.org

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