



# **World Affairs Councils of America**

## **2011 WACA Leadership Mission to Taiwan**

**October 5-11, 2011**



**Sponsored by the Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office**



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### **2011 Leadership Mission to Taiwan Delegates**

#### **Michael Phillip – Head of Delegation**

Director, WACA National Board  
First Vice President, Merrill Lynch  
World Affairs Council of California Central Coast

#### **Jay Bruns**

Director, WACA National Board  
Director, World Affairs Council of Connecticut  
Vice President, Hartford Financial Services Group

#### **Richard Crepage**

Director, WACA National Board  
CEO, Cleveland Council on World Affairs

#### **Annette Hackett-Whiteside**

President, World Affairs Council of Las Vegas  
Formerly Deputy Foreign Policy Advisor at US  
Pacific Command and Liason to the State Department

#### **Ellen Levey**

Board Member, World Affairs Council of West Michigan  
Director of Organizational Development, The Employers' Association

#### **Wally Stimpson**

President and CEO, Naples Council on World Affairs

#### **Robyn Meadows**

Secretary and Board Member, World Affairs Council of Harrisburg  
Vice Dean and Prof. of Law, Widener University

#### **Angela McCormick Bisig**

Board Member, World Affairs Council of Kentucky & Southern Indiana  
Judge, Jefferson District Court, State of Kentucky

#### **Aaron Brown**

Vice Chair of Board, World Affairs Council of Seattle  
Attorney/Trustee/Consultant

#### **Carlos Edward Juarez**

Secretary and Board Member, Pacific and Asian Affairs Council (Hawaii)



# World Affairs Councils of America

## Overview 2011 Leadership Mission to Taiwan

Ten delegates, representing ten councils from around the country represented the World Affairs Councils of America during the leadership mission to Taiwan. This delegation represented a very diverse geographical sampling of the country and councils systems with participants from Connecticut to Florida and west to Washington and Hawaii. In addition, this delegation offered one of the most impressive collective resumes with four attorneys, a judge, an HR director, and three members of the National Board. It was truly an honor to lead this mission.

Over the past 20 years, Leadership Missions have been one of WACA's most prominent programs, visiting more than 20 different countries. These 7 to 10 day visits to foreign countries offer an opportunity for a delegation of American civic and business leaders from our council network to learn more about the host country, build active, ongoing relationships with our hosts, and improve our programming on the country and subjects covered when they return to their communities. Delegations are comprised of approximately 10 – 15 people, council leaders, corporate representatives, and a variety of other accomplished individuals who support their local councils or the national office.

Leadership Missions are typically hosted by a foreign affairs ministry or similar government branch, by a private foundation or institution in the host country, or by a combination of the two. The trip itinerary, organized by the hosts, usually includes meetings with ministers and other governmental officials, civil society leaders, university heads, and business professionals in order to present the delegation with a complete picture of the current situation in the country. Leadership delegations have recently been sent to Saudi Arabia, South Korea, China, the UAE, Azerbaijan, Iraq, and Oman.

On behalf of this delegation and the entire WACA network, I would like to thank H.E. Timothy Chin-Tien Yang, Minister, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and his entire staff for this opportunity, their hospitality, candor, and their obvious love of their country, The Republic of China (Taiwan). I would also like to thank Oliver Liao, deputy Director, Political Division of the Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office in the U.S. Oliver was not only a good tour guide, but was a master at weaving together the foreign policy, economics, culture and custom so that we all walked away with a very deep understanding and appreciation of Taiwan. I would also like to thank Judge Angela McCormick-Bisig for her help coordinating our gifts and my fellow delegates for their cooperation, interest, and camaraderie.

Taiwan is situated on the east side of the Taiwan Strait with the Philippine Sea off its east coast. What we saw very clearly on the trip was that despite living in the shadow of the mainland, Taiwan is a little economic miracle. Current opinion polls suggest that the Taiwanese prefer no change and have no interest in unification, while the mainland believes and acts as though Taiwan is a possession. We observed in our sessions that their foreign policy is a masterful approach of pushing the edge of the envelope, gathering every little success offered, and speaking with one voice. This approach ranges from proactively engaging potential allies, however small, providing foreign aid to allies and potential allies, and being a good global citizen.

Even the mission agenda was a masterful balance. Not only were we provided with presentations, but we also had the opportunity to experience the culture and people. During the cultural portion of the mission, we toured a Confucius Temple, the Taipei Story House, the National Palace Museum, and the Jade and Flower Mart. We also visited Kinmen Island which is about a mile from the mainland and the sight of a



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major failed invasion attempt in the early 1950s. This is where Oliver was so very helpful, helping the strength of Taiwan's human capital.

Next year, Taiwan will hold presidential elections. These elections may prove very important to the future directions of Taiwan's foreign policy. Interesting to note is that our trip overlapped with the Centennial celebrations and the opposition party could not even set aside political differences to participate in the Centennial celebrations. That is like the Republicans or Democrats not celebrating the 4<sup>th</sup> of July.

Lastly, some casual observations:

The Country was very clean and neat. Walking the streets, people smile and are very polite and service levels are very high. This could be an attempt at great service or full employment but either way; it is very refreshing.

-Michael Phillip, Head of Delegation



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## 2011 Leadership Mission to Taiwan Schedule

### Wednesday, October 5, 2011

20:20	Mission arrives in Taiwan
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### Thursday, October 6, 2011

09:30	Call on Mr. Shi <b>CHU</b> , Director General, Hong Kong and Macau Affairs
10:45	Call on I-min <b>TONG</b> , Director, Department of International Cooperation, Ministry of Economic Affairs
12:00	Lunch at leisure
14:15	Briefing by Government Information Office
16:00	Call at the American Institute in Taiwan /Taipei Office
18:30	Call on H.E. Timothy Chin-Tien <b>YANG</b> , Minister, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
19:00	Dinner hosted by H.E. Timothy Chin-Tien <b>YANG</b> , Minister, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

### Friday, October 7, 2011

09:00-10:30	Call at Taiwan High Prosecutors Office and visit court of justice
11:00	Call on Ms. Huai Hui <b>HSIEH</b> , Deputy Director, International Affairs Department, Democratic Progressive Party
	Lunch at leisure
14:30	Call on Amb. Stephen S.F. <b>CHEN</b> , Convenor of National Security Division, National Policy Foundation
16:30	Call on Hon. Dr. Tsong-ming <b>LIN</b> , Deputy Minister, Ministry of Education
17:30	Tour Longshang (Dragon Mountain) Buddhist Temple
	Dinner at leisure

### Saturday, October 8, 2011



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9:00-10:00	Tour Taipei Confucius Temple
11:00	Tour Taipei Story House
12:00	Lunch at Leisure
14:00	Tour National Palace Museum
	Dinner at leisure

### **Sunday, October 9, 2011**

07:00	Leave for Kinmen (an offshore island very close to Mainland China and formerly a battlefield between the mainland and Taiwan)
07 : 55	Arrive in Kinmen
15 : 45	Leave Kinmen for Taipei
16 : 40	Arrive in Taipei
18:00	Tour Hsing Tian Kong (a Taoist Temple)
	Dinner at leisure

### **Monday, October 10, 2011**

09:00	Arrive at Presidential Office for National Day Programs
Evening	End of National Day Program

### **Tuesday, October 11, 2011**

09:00	Call at International Cooperation and Development Fund
11 : 00	Tour Taipei 101, Lunch at leisure
16 : 40	Depart



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**Mainland Affairs Council, the Executive Yuan, Republic of China (ROC)  
Mr. Shi Chu, Director General, Hong Kong and Macau Affairs  
October 6, 2011**

The first meeting of the WACA Leadership Mission to Taiwan was with Director General Shi Chu, Department of Hong Kong and Macau Affairs of the Mainland Affairs Council. The focus of the discussion was cross strait relations. As a foundational premise for cross strait relations, Director General Chu emphasized that the policy of the ROC is that Taiwan will resist unification with mainland China until the mainland recognizes multiparty political democracy and human rights, including the right of dissent and freedom of speech on the mainland.

The delegation was given an overview of the history of the ROC government, which celebrated its 100<sup>th</sup> on October 10, 2011 during the mission's visit. After the ROC was forced off the mainland by the Communist Party in 1949, there was no contact between the People's Republic of China (PRC) on the mainland and the ROC on Taiwan for almost 40 years. Shortly after the ROC lifted martial law in Taiwan in 1987, informal relations with the mainland began and developed quickly. In 1992, an unofficial consensus between the governments was reached in which the parties agreed that there was "one China" but agreed to disagree on what that meant. That consensus has been a foundational operating principle for agreements between the ROC and the PRC since.

Currently, the focus of cross strait relations is economic. China is now Taiwan's largest trading partner, with a total of US\$152 billion traded annually, with over 75% of the amount comprised of exports to China from Taiwan, resulting in a US\$77 billion trade surplus in Taiwan's favor. Officially Taiwan has over US\$100 billion invested in mainland China, although unofficial numbers put the amount as closer to US\$250-300 billion. PRC investment in Taiwan has only been authorized for a short time totals approximately US\$164 million.

Visits between the countries have increased dramatically since travel restrictions were lifted over the last several years. Mainland Chinese were first permitted to visit Taiwan in 2008. As of 2011, approximately five million Taiwanese visit the mainland annually, while 1.6 million mainlanders visit Taiwan. The ROC government estimates this number will rise to 2 million mainland visits to Taiwan annually over the next few years. There are 558 direct flights weekly between the mainland and Taiwan. However, Taiwan limits the number of individual mainland tourists to 500 per day. Personal relations between the people of Taiwan and mainland China are also strengthened through the 300,000 marriages that involve a Taiwanese citizen and a PRC citizen.

Efforts by the governing KMT party and President Ma since his election in 2008 have resulted in 15 economic agreements between Taiwan and the PRC. The most important is ECFA (Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement), a free trade agreement designed to facilitate the sale of goods and services between Taiwan and mainland China. This framework is expected to expand over the next several years to include additional commercial trade areas. These agreements are leading to more integration between the two economies.

Despite these economic ties, sentiment against either unification of Taiwan with China or complete independence from China remains strong. Over 87% of Taiwan's people prefer the status quo of neither independence nor unification. Director General Chu reported a generational split between



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younger Taiwanese, who are more likely to view Taiwan as a separate country, and older Taiwanese who view Taiwan and China as one country.

There remain challenges to the relationship between Taiwan and the PRC:

- a. The PRC still has 1200 missiles deployed along its coast aimed at Taiwan.
- b. The PRC still resists Taiwan's participation internationally and puts pressure on other countries and international agencies to deny Taiwan participation rights.
- c. There is a fundamental difference in political views. Taiwan is a thriving democracy with a respect for human rights. The PRC has resisted democratization.
- d. Neither side officially recognizes the other. The ROC regards the mainland as part of the ROC and the PRC regards Taiwan as part of the PRC.



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**Meeting with Taiwan Ministry of Economic Affairs  
I-min Tong, Director, Department of International Cooperation,  
Ministry of Economic Affairs and staff  
October 6, 2011**

Director Min began the meeting by thanking the World Affairs Councils of America's delegation for coming to the MOEA. He gave a short briefing about the Taiwan economy including demographic information on population, per capita income, and island size. Director Min said that the U.S. is the most important and the 3<sup>rd</sup> largest trade partner for Taiwan. Conversely Taiwan is the 9th largest trading partner for the U.S. We were then shown a very interesting video that illustrated how economic growth and trade had changed over the decades from the 1950s through 2010.

Taiwan is the 17<sup>th</sup> largest exporter nation in the world and the 16<sup>th</sup> largest importer. Director Min also shared the statistics on worldwide investment and economic growth rate. He also shared with us some specific trade statistics with several of the states represented by our delegation. Taiwan is the 5<sup>th</sup> largest exporter to Kentucky and there has also been a 300% increase in trade with Nevada.

The Bureau has seven overseas offices in the US that help to develop trade with each state. There is a need to do more trend analysis with each state as well. The Trade Investment Free Agreement (TEFA) talks with the US were suspended in 2007 due to issues surrounding beef importation. Director Min asked us to help resume those talks. The other important agreement that was emphasized was the EFCA signed in June of 2010.

Emerging industries at this time are:

- Green Energy
- Biotech
- Healthcare
- Cultural/Creative
- Cloud computing

In answer to our questions, Director Min informed us that:

- The opening of the Panama Canal will further assist with trade with the US/Brazil/Argentina.
- The APEC Leader Summit in November in Hawaii will be important for trade.
- The business incubator system is developed on a downstream model that offers government support and mentoring and development by the country's higher education institutions.
- That Taiwan has a memorandum of understanding on IP with the mainland.
- The Energy policy is green.
- Gender equity is the same as in the US in the business arena.



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**Meeting with Director General Charles W. Lee,  
Government Information Office, Department of International Information  
October 6, 2011**

Our meeting at the Government Information Office began with a brief film, "Taiwan: Where Mountains Meet Sea." Delegates were introduced to Taiwanese society and treated to extensive geographic, demographic and economic information about the island. The film also highlighted Taiwan's international outreach efforts, both diplomatic and humanitarian, and offered a brief political history of the government, focusing on its transition to multi-party elections in recent decades. A presentation by Director General Lee immediately followed. As the head of the Government Information Office (GIO), Mr. Lee handles public relations for the Taiwanese government. The GIO functions as the official mouthpiece for the Taiwanese government. Mr. Lee's mission is to make Taiwan's voice heard far and wide.

Mr. Lee spent much of the hour discussing cross-strait relations between Taiwan and the Chinese mainland, with special focus on current political and economic realities. In 1992, the heads of two civic organizations in the PRC and Taiwan met in Hong Kong and reached a verbal consensus that there is only "One China" but with "two different interpretations." Relations between the two governments have been characterized as a "Mutual Non-Recognition of Sovereignty" and a "Mutual Non-Denial of Authority to Govern." Since the 1992 consensus, exchanges between Taiwan and the mainland have flourished in many areas (sports, cultural exchanges, etc.) and agreements regarding nuclear safety, etc. have been achieved. On only political matters has there been no substantive progress or exchange.

Six additional rounds of meetings have taken place between the two governments since the early 1990s. A seventh is upcoming, but it has been postponed because of different legal interpretations by the two sides.

On June 29, 2010, Taiwan and the PRC signed their economic cooperative framework agreement, or ECFA. Pursuant to the terms of this agreement, trade barriers were lowered and tariffs were dropped. Taiwan would like to enter into other free trade agreements with other nearby states.

With respect to relations with the Communist government on the mainland, Director General Lee insisted that "We hope for the best, but prepare for the worst." The military threat from mainland China is still very real, and so U.S. missile sales are crucial to Taiwan's national defense. Taiwan's national security is absolutely its first priority. Mr. Lee provided historical context for the recent U.S. arms sales to Taiwan: In 1978, the Carter Administration switched diplomatic recognition from Taiwan to the PRC on the mainland. In response, in 1979 the U.S. Congress passed the Taiwan Relations Act, pursuant to which the U.S. government supplies defensive arms to Taiwan.

Mainland Chinese visitors have been visiting Taiwan in ever greater numbers in recent years. These visitors take note of Taiwan's robust freedom of speech and the resulting vibrancy of Taiwanese society.

In response to several questions from the delegation, Director General Lee elaborated on several other points of interest:

Mainland Chinese tourists in Taiwan have markedly increased in recent years. Mainland tourists are relatively free to do and go wherever they want. Taiwan sets a tourist quota of 500 mainlanders per day.



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It has a robust policy of promoting tourist exchange between the two peoples. Mainlanders are seen everywhere in Taiwan.

With respect to their relationship with then PRC, many Taiwanese are comfortable with the status quo. "We have institutionalized the process of negotiations."

Mr. Lee also referenced the large and increasing two-way educational exchange between China and Taiwan.



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**Meeting with American Institute in Taiwan (AIT), Taipei Office  
AIT Director William Stanton and staff  
October 10, 2011**

Director Stanton began the meeting by emphasizing that Taiwan is very important for the USA, especially in terms of its economic partnership:

- 9<sup>th</sup> largest trading partner (more than India, Italy)
- U.S. is largest investor in Taiwan
- 6<sup>th</sup> largest agricultural market in the world (\$3.1 billion sold in Agr products, especially grains)
- 5<sup>th</sup> largest source of foreign students in U.S. (with only 23 million population)

A valuable packet of information on U.S.-Taiwan was made available to the delegation, with a wealth of statistical information and recent articles

Stanton noted that we share similar values with Taiwan; many ministers have U.S. degrees, there is considerable scientific cooperation, and a very active Fulbright exchange program.

The U.S. and Taiwan have a very significant and longstanding military to military cooperation. Taiwan is the only Chinese society that is a democracy. It also represents a great American success story and remarkable development for a country with no natural resources (98% dependent).

AIT was described as a large non-profit organization that operates in the same way as an embassy. It has approximately 565 personnel, including 130 U.S. employees and 335 locals.

AIT's work is viewed with serving attention from the region – Japan, Korea, Philippines.

A discussion ensued about Taiwan-PRC relations, noting that in June 2010 the ECFA agreement was signed between the two, deepening economic cooperation and ties.

PRC-ROC relations have an impact on U.S. trade. More trade from the PRC into Taiwan is making it harder for some U.S. exporters.

A question was asked from the delegation: What are mainland China's intentions?

Answer: Unification. The PRC appears to be using a strategy of winning the hearts and minds. Taiwan appears to be happy doing business with mainland China.

Taiwan's Goal is to maintain the status quo and to keep the PRC at bay.

The PRC does not appear to have plans for change. While the PRC does not appear to have any intention to use force, it still has a large number of forward deployments. As a result, Taiwan believes it needs to have a minimum level of defense to provide a "credible deterrence," to give the PRC pause.

Two weeks prior to our visit the U.S. and Taiwan signed a \$5.8 million dollar deal to help upgrade Taiwan's fleet of fighter aircraft. Taiwan pays the U.S. Treasury cash.

U.S. Pacific Command, based in Hawaii, oversees the U.S. military in the region, and has 50+ personnel



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in town for training, support, and logistics. People to people (military) ties are very strong.

The Taiwan sends many personnel to the U.S., to such places as the Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies (APCSS, Honolulu), the war colleges, command and staff schools, Ft. Campbell-Kentucky, Luke AFB-Arizona to train pilots.

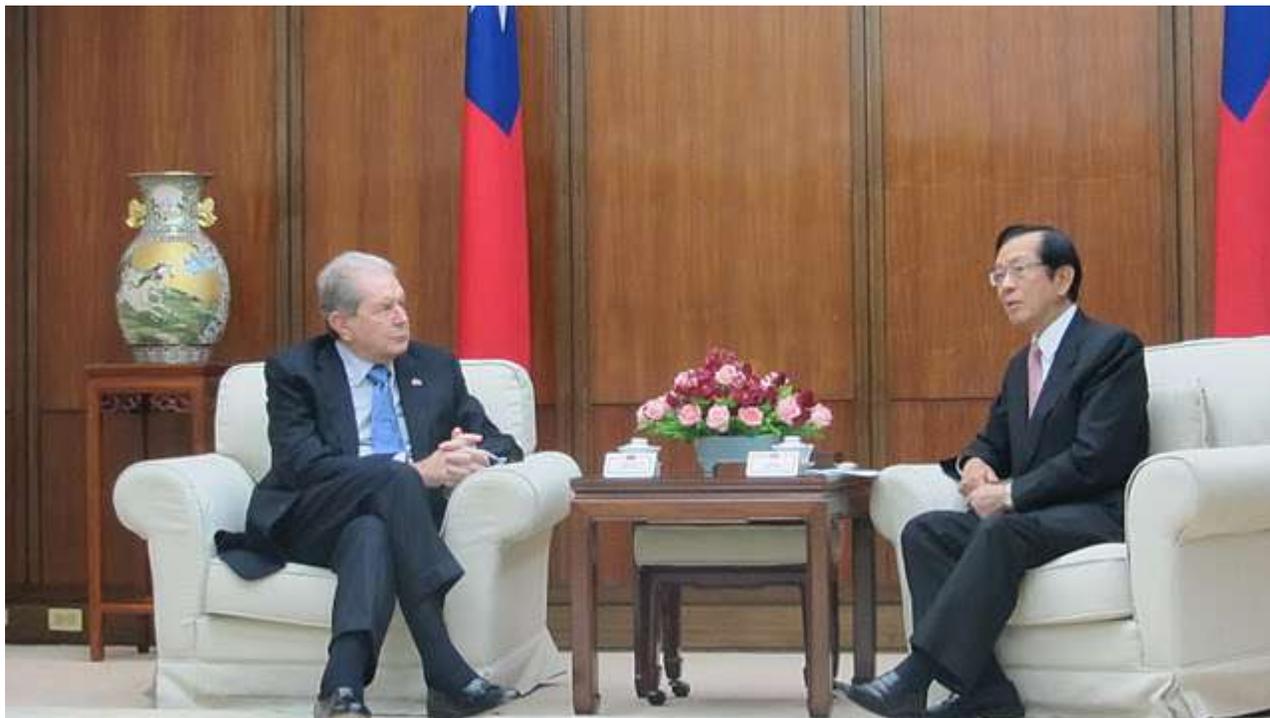
PRC funding for its defense has expanded considerably, and this in turn has made defense modernization a key strategy for Taiwan. They are also moving forward to explore a volunteer force, which has pros and cons.

The PRC maintains a huge stockpile of missiles aimed at Taiwan, as well as fighter aircrafts, ships, and Russian carriers in the area.



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Meeting with H.E. Timothy Chin-Tien Yang  
Minister, Ministry of Foreign Affairs



On October 5, FM Timothy Chin-tien Yang invited the World Affairs Councils Of America’s delegation for a 30 minute meeting in the Foreign Ministry, followed by a banquet dinner together with key FM officials.

FM Yang introduced himself to WACA by noting that he was well familiar with our organization. In fact, during his career, he had been invited to speak at WAC venues in Orange County, CA and Dallas, TX.

FM Yang pointed to the change in Taiwan’s cross-strait policy over the past three years. In the past, he said, his country’s relations were “more difficult” but his government had now found that it needed a “virtuous” policy, not a dogmatic one. His government is now discovering that its pragmatic approach is very fruitful – Taiwan is making progress on cross-strait issues while preserving its relationships with the U.S., E.U. and other countries.

FM Yang referred approvingly to recent congressional testimony on Taiwan offered by Assistant Secretary of State Kurt Campbell. He also expressed appreciation for the U.S. support on the F-16 A/B retrofit and the “important support” Taiwan enjoys generally from the U.S. Government, Congress and many U.S. friends. Taiwan will always regard the U.S. as its #1 friend, he said.

Yang acknowledged that some in Taiwan worry about a “tilt” toward mainland China, but he added that



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you can choose your friends but not your neighbors. Taiwan will always remain in the democratic camp – democracy has been hard-earned in Taiwan. While dealing with mainland China, Taiwan needs to strengthen its relations with the U.S., E.U. and other like-minded countries, Yang added.

Citing progress in international relations, FM Yang noted that Taiwan had recently opened a new office in Japan (Hokkaido) and he expressed hope that negotiations with the U.S. on joining the Visa Waiver Program would lead to success by the end of the year.

In response to our questions, FM Yang noted that:

- Taiwan has diplomatic relations with 22 countries and the Holy See;
- When Taiwan lost its UN seat, many thought that it would disappear, but Taiwan has demonstrated its resilience in the intervening years;
- 27,000 Taiwanese students study in the U.S.;
- Yang finds it encouraging that PRC visitors to Taiwan and the U.S. will return to the mainland with “new ideas”;
- He sought our understanding for the “physical” nature of the Taiwanese parliament;
- He noted the robust Taiwanese foreign assistance program, pointing out that Taiwan provided \$230 million in aid to Japan after the earthquake/tsunami in March, the largest single international contribution to the relief effort.



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### 2011 World Affairs Councils of America's Leadership Mission to Taiwan Taiwan High Prosecutors Office and Visit to the Court of Justice



On Friday, October 7, 2011 the World Affairs Councils delegation toured the Court of Justice and viewed a presentation prepared by the Taiwan Taipei District Prosecutor's Office. Three members of the WACA delegation participating in the mission had legal backgrounds (a Lawyer, a law school Professor/Vice-Dean, and a Judge) and requested the opportunity to meet with individuals in Taipei involved in the justice system. The delegation met with Prosecutors Yen-Shou Tsai, Huang Yu Ting, Wen-Chi Huang and Chi-Jen Ching with the Taipei District Public Prosecutors' Office.

At the beginning of the visit, the WACA delegation viewed a power-point presentation regarding the organization and jurisdiction of the office. We learned that there are twenty-two separate prosecution offices in Taiwan, and of those, the office we visited in Taipei is the largest with the heaviest case load. The office handles about 400,000 cases each year, with each prosecutor covering about 100 cases per annually. The top five criminal offenses processed by the office are: 1) Fraud, 2) Narcotics, 3) Driving under the Influence, 4) Assault and 5) Burglary. Our delegation also learned that Taiwan has the Death Penalty as an option in its most serious criminal cases, but it is infrequently used, and there is some amount of public controversy and discussion around its continued use in criminal cases.

The Taiwanese justice system contains some of the hallmarks of the United States' judicial system. These include an adversarial legal system, the right of a defendant to post bond, the right to be represented by an attorney and court proceedings that are open to the public. Currently, Taiwan does not have jury trials. The prosecutors explained that given the compact nature of Taipei City they believe it would be difficult to get an untainted jury pool in high-profile cases. Some of the materials provided to the delegation stated that there is discussion of adding the right to a trial by jury in future judicial reforms. Unlike the US system, the Prosecutors' office also has a specialized division of attorneys that handle the investigation and evidence gathering in some criminal offenses. We also



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learned that the Prosecutor's office has diversionary programs for certain types of crimes. It is interesting to note that all first time drug offenders are court ordered to receive counseling treatment for drug addiction and do not face criminal sanctions until a second or subsequent offense.

In addition to the prosecution of all types of crimes, the District Prosecutors Office also plays a role in overseeing community based treatment programs and supervising probation and parole of defendants. They are involved in enforcing restitution payments and making plans to for the protection of crime victims in the future. The delegation noted that there were a substantial number of women prosecutors, and we learned that women are well represented in the Taiwan judiciary. Judges are selected by scoring in the top eight percent on a standardized exam. Once selected, the judges also have a type of internship in which they learn and study under other judges for a six year period.

After the discussion portion of the program, the delegation was taken on a tour of the courtrooms. During the tour, we were able to observe actual courtrooms as well as a proceeding involving two criminal defendants charged with fraud. We were not allowed to take photographs of the actual live proceedings. Like the Federal Courts in the US, individuals are allowed to make drawings of the courtroom action. The courtrooms were structured somewhat similar to those found in the US with a raised bench for the judge and separate opposing tables for the lawyers representing the accused and the government.

There was a written computer record kept of all of the proceedings. The judges wear black robes with a white collar while the prosecutors wear black robes with purple collars. The accused is present and in the courtroom at the time his or her case is called.

Overall, the delegation was impressed with what seemed to be a serious effort at a democratic system of justice with due process rights afforded accused defendants. The Prosecutors Office was open and eager to answer our questions and freely allowed us to tour the courthouse and their offices. They also provided information regarding new programs and technological advances implemented by their office. They were proud of a system in place to video tape evidence of victims in serious types of offenses to save them the difficulty and suffering of telling their story many times. We left the meeting with a much greater understanding of the justice system in Taiwan and issues it will face in the future.



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### Meeting with Ms. Huai Hui Hsieh Deputy Director, International Affairs Department, Democratic Progressive Party



Ms. Hsieh has the title of Deputy Director, Department of International Affairs of the DPP. Her presentation covered the founding of the party, its rise to power during the 1990's, the DPP Presidency from 2000-2008, and the current prospects for success in the January 2012 elections.

The Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) was formed in 1986, during a period of martial law when opposition parties were officially banned, although the ban was not enforced. Martial law was lifted in 1987, and in 1989 the Civic Organization Law legalized the formation of the DPP and other political parties. Prior to that time, the Kuomintang (KMT) was the only legal party. Ms. Hsieh stated that the DPP core beliefs “mirrored American values of democracy and human rights.”

An initial focus of the DPP was parliamentary reform. In 1991 the first general election for parliament was held, with the DPP winning 30% of the seats. By 1997, the DPP had grown to the point that the party won a majority of local contests for city mayors and county magistrates, outpolling the KMT. Then in 2000, in the second direct election for president, the DPP candidate Shui-bian Chen, won with a plurality in a three-way race.

Ms. Hsieh did not relate events from the first term of President Chen, who was re-elected by a slim margin in 2004. She did, however, indicate that his second term was a difficult one. One of his goals had been to increase purchases of military hardware from the United States, but parliament, still controlled by the coalition led by the KMT, cut the budget. In explaining why the DPP was soundly defeated in the elections of 2008, Ms. Hsieh surmised that the party had not learned how to govern, and that many officials had “given in to a feeling of privilege.” While the DPP representative was understandably reluctant to go into details, our group had learned from other sources that President Chen



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had been accused of both embezzlement and bribery in 2006. After leaving office, both Mr. Chen and his wife were convicted and are serving long prison terms.

Ms. Hsieh then turned to the current situation and stated that the party is coming back. The DPP candidate for president is Ing-Wen Tsai, who has been chairwoman of the DPP since May 2008. Ms. Tsai is 55 with a Masters in Law from Cornell and a Ph.D. from the London School of Economics. Recent polls show her running less than 10 percentage points behind the current President Ying-jeou Ma. Past polls have had large prediction errors, according to Ms. Hsieh, so the DPP is confident that victory is possible in January.

The session was cut short, due to a prior commitment for Ms. Hsieh. Prior to leaving, she was asked how the policies of the DPP differed from those of the ruling KMT party. Her response was not specific, stating that the KMT focused too much on mainland China. As an example, she stated that government ministers take many more trips to the mainland than to other places, including one minister who spent nine months of the year there. Other policy statements were of a general nature, such as an emphasis on “peace and stability”, and an agreement to support the recently signed Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement with mainland China.



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### Meeting with Ambassador Stephen S.F. Chen Convenor of National Security Division, National Policy Foundation

The WACA delegation met with Ambassador Chen, who detailed the role and make-up of the National Security Division within the National Policy Foundation, a premier think tank in Taiwan:

- 150 staff members
- 15 researchers
- Focus on cross strait issues and defense policies

The Ambassador emphasized that the terms “Republic of China” and “Taiwan” are not synonymous. The Republic of China is the successor state to the Manchu Dynasty of China and existed before coming to Taiwan. He suggested the correct phraseology would be “the government of the Republic of China on Taiwan.” His paper, *Taiwan Belongs to the Republic of China*, notes that the Cairo Declaration in 1943 and the Potsdam declaration of 1945 required Japan to return all the territories taken from the Republic of China including Formosa, so the ROC immediately reclaimed Manchuria, Formosa and the Pescadores. After losing control of the Mainland to the Chinese Communists in the Chinese Civil War the ROC government relocated from Nanjing to Taipei in 1949. Once the People’s Republic of China (PRC) was created on Oct 1, 1949, and the Korean War broke out on June 25, 1950, the status of Formosa took on greater significance to the stability in the region but its status remained “undecided.” It was not until the U.S. signed a ROC-US Mutual Defense Treaty in 1954 that Taipei’s international status greatly improved and served, according to Ambassador Chen, to confirm the ROC’s sovereignty over Taiwan and the Pescadores.

He went on to discuss the complexities and nuances of finding common ground with Mainland China in the 1990s, highlighting the 1992 consensus between the Mainland and ROC on the idea of “one China.” The Ambassador pointed out the concept was unfortunately only documented in a fax, so the actual year of the consensus remains ambiguous. Each side recognizes there is one China, but hold their own perceptions of that identity.

As he highlighted the progress made by the Kuomintang, (KMT), the Ambassador mentioned the Journey of Peace to the Mainland in April 2005 where to reduce tension, Lien Chan, then chairman of the Kuomintang (KMT) Party, went to Beijing at the invitation of Hu Jintao, General Secretary of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). The KMT was in opposition then, so the two leaders issued only a joint vision statement on April 29, 2005, which could be summarized as follows:

1. Resumption of talks on the basis of parity and the 1992 consensus;
2. Reaching a peace agreement between PRC and ROC, including the establishment of a confidence-building mechanism;
3. Promoting full-scale economic cooperation across the Strait, leading eventually to a cross-strait common market;
4. Promoting the exchange of views with regard to Taiwan’s participation in international activities;
5. Establishing a party-to-party platform for consultation.

When Ma was nominated by the KMT to lead the ticket in the presidential election, he basically adopted the planks in his campaign platform.



## World Affairs Councils of America

### Ma's Foreign and Cross-Strait Policies

1. Three Nos: no unification, no independence, and no use of force
2. Mutual non-denial
3. Cross-Strait identity: according to the ROC Constitution and the Statute Governing Relations between People across the Taiwan Strait, cross-Strait relationship is a special relationship, but not a state-to-state relationship
4. Economic policies: signing a Comprehensive Economic Cooperation Agreement to achieve cross-Strait economic/trade normalization, leading eventually to a cross-Strait common market, so as to pursue a win-win situation in cross-Strait economic/trade relations.

The Ambassador concluded by saying, "President Ma has been doing the right things" regarding:

- Taiwan's growth of 5% has been the envy of Europe.
- The Taiwan Straits are no longer a tinder box.
- Taiwan has maintained a credible defense against the Mainland by maintaining the U.S. as a best friend.

When asked what would most concern him if the DPP came back to power the Ambassador answered, "It would jeopardize what has been done in the last four years."



## World Affairs Councils of America

### Meeting with Taiwan Bureau of International Culture and Educational Relations Hon. Dr. Tsong-Ming Lin, Deputy Minister, Ministry of Education

Dr. Tsong-Ming welcomed the World Affairs Councils of America's delegation and expressed his appreciation for their visit to the Ministry. He gave an overview of the educational system in Taiwan, beginning with the number of students enrolled in Taiwan. There are over 5 million students enrolled with 1.3 students in colleges and universities and 3.7 students in elementary—grades K-6, junior high schools—grades 7-9, and senior high and vocational schools—grades 10-12. Education is free and compulsory for the elementary and junior high grades. Although high school and vocational school are not compulsory, 95% of the students do continue their education at high or vocational school. The assignment of students to senior high schools is based upon their scores on a national senior high school entrance exam. They can also opt to take a separate national vocational school entrance exam if they wish to attend vocational school. Dr. Tsong-Ming emphasized two points regarding high/vocational school. The first point made was that there has been an ongoing discussion regarding the assignment of students to a school based on their scores. The question that is being discussed is whether or not that is too early to “sort” students. The second point involved the number of years of compulsory education. Beginning in 2014, there will be 12 years of compulsory education, an increase of 3 years. The 3 years of high school will also be free. Although the cost for this change was not given, Dr. Tsong-Ming stated that its implementation is a major challenge. At present 5.8% of Taiwan's GDP is for elementary and secondary education.

Of the 1.3 million students enrolled in Taiwan's 160 colleges/universities, 1 million are in undergraduate degree programs, 270,000 in graduate programs and 30,000 in Ph.D. programs. Students take a national university entrance exam and must pass it in order to be admitted into a college or university. This level of education is not free although scholarships from colleges and universities as well as government loans are available to provide students with the opportunity to attend. He gave as an example that the maximum student loan for a Ph.D. student is \$75,000 (\$2 million NTD).

The Deputy Minister responded to a number of questions posed by the members of the delegation that included:

- School funding: Public schools are financed through income and “other” taxes.
- Competitiveness/creativity/innovation: Taiwanese society is very competitive. Parents encourage competitiveness, to work hard to excel. This competitive mind set is expressed in sports and extracurricular activities, exams, and creativity and innovation. Regarding creativity and innovation, the Minister stated that Taiwan has won 7 international championships for innovation. In addition, the government provides subsidies to schools with innovative programs.
- Challenges for the next 5-10 years: Taiwan's birthrate of 0.9% is affecting education. This rate translates into 190,000 births last year while there will be a capacity for 320,000 new students.
- Exchanges between Taiwan and the PRC: At present there are 3,000 MOUs between Taiwan and the PRC for student exchanges to attend schools in Taiwan.
- Teaching profession: Attracting teachers to the teaching profession is similar to the challenge faced in the US in which business pays more than education. Teachers earn around \$15,000 per year with subsidies for more challenging rural areas.
- School year/day: The school year consists of two semesters with a summer vacation of 2 months and a winter vacation of 2 weeks. Schools are open 5 days/week with a school day of 8 hours beginning at 8:00 am for students in all grades. Students who need to are bussed to school.



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- English in the schools: English is a very important language. Students begin learning English in the third grade. Also, at present, there are 80-100 US citizens teaching English in Taiwan.

Appreciation for the opportunity to meet with and learn from the Deputy Minister was expressed by the members of the delegation.



## World Affairs Councils of America

**Meeting with Taiwan International Cooperation and Development Fund (ICDF)  
Deputy Secretary General Morgan C.P. Chao and staff  
October 10, 2011**

SG Chao began the meeting by thanking that World Affairs Councils of America's delegation for coming to the ICDF. He noted that Taiwan had been a development assistance recipient during the 1950s and 1960s, having received help from the U.S., Japan, the World Bank, and Saudi Arabia, among others. From 1951 to 1965, the U.S. offered a total of \$1.5 billion in assistance (measured in 1960s dollars). At the time, U.S. assistance represented 10 percent of Taiwan's total GDP. It came in the form of loans, material assistance, seminars and scholarships, and it helped in Taiwan's capacity building. Throughout our stay, Chao demonstrated appreciation for that era of U.S. assistance. Taiwan now has an obligation to give back, Chao indicated.

ICDF's assistance programs are divided into four categories: humanitarian assistance (such as that offered to Japan after the earthquake/tsunami of 2011 and to Haiti after the 2010 earthquake); lending/investment; agricultural assistance, and international training and education.

Today, a key aim of Taiwan's assistance program is to support environmental sustainability and clean tech development. Advancing the delivery of advanced medical care is also a high priority. Taiwan's assistance also supports private sector development and human rights.

In answer to our questions, SG Chao informed us that:

- Agriculture and clean energy represent the largest development assistance investments.
- Together with the EBRD, Taiwan is offering \$80 million in co-financing for green energy projects.
- Taiwan's foreign aid budget represents 10 percent of its total government budget
- One major aspect of Taiwan's assistance is education and training. Taiwan gives out 160 full scholarships annually (mostly to citizens of countries with which Taiwan enjoys diplomatic relations).
- Taiwan does not provide any aid to the mainland.
- In 1969, Taiwan had 81 technical missions abroad. Today the number is 29.
- Taiwan does offer some micro-financing, but mostly in concert with the MDBs – IDB in particular.
- On GMOs, the ICDF staff noted that the issues surrounding genetically modified food does not seem to arise in the countries Taiwan operates in.
- Taiwan offered Japan \$230 million in assistance after the earthquake/tsunami this year, the largest single international donor to Japan.
- Taiwan offers some support to education in 69 countries, including Russia.
- Taiwan is constrained in how far it can cooperate with the UN on certain development assistance projects.