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Our Thanks

The World Affairs Councils of America wishes to thank the Government of the Republic of China, especially the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, for their gracious generosity in organizing our Leadership Mission to Taiwan on May 18-26, 2004. We would also like to thank Ms. Kendra Chen for being our leader as well as the driving force behind all the organizational details for the Taiwan trip.

The delegates especially wish to thank the following individuals, who through their organizational roles, made this trip possible:

Leo C.J. Lee, Director, Political Division, Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office
in the United States

Michael Kau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Ms. Ljiljana Komnenic, World Affairs Councils of America

The trip was extraordinarily memorable and successful, due to the full and varied schedule, the rich and candid discussions throughout the week, Taiwan's unique role in the cross-strait relations and the world, and the deep roots of the US-Taiwan relationship, which many of our delegates were discovering for the first time. We would like to thank a great number of Taiwanese who met us in the many different organizations in Taipei. These insights derive from their time, their attention, and their briefings, which were so eye opening throughout our trip.

The members of our delegation have pledged to disseminate locally what they have learned, to try to return to Taiwan as individuals in the future, to encourage follow-on trips to Taiwan by our 85 world affairs councils around the country, and to seek to raise the level of programming on Taiwan throughout the world affairs council system.

They are pleased to put forward this trip report as a statement of thanks to the sponsors of this trip. Many thanks!

Jerry W. Leach
President
World Affairs Councils of America

WORLD AFFAIRS COUNCILS OF AMERICA

Mission

Engaging Grassroots America in World Affairs

Council System

World affairs councils are non-profit, non-partisan organizations open to all who wish to join. Started in 1918, the current system has 85 councils and 28 affiliated organizations. The council system has 484,000 participants, of which 84,000 are dues-paying members and 350,000 are in the nationwide foreign policy discussion and polling program *Great Decisions*. Councils run on membership dues, corporate sponsorships, grants, in-kind donations, fund-raising events, and fee-for-service activities. Over 2,000 corporations and organizations financially support council work.

The council system has the biggest international affairs speakers' program in the country with over 2,500 events each year. Councils also run international exchanges, school programs, teacher workshops, model UNs, foreign policy discussions, national opinion polls, travel programs, young professionals' programs, conferences, corporate programs, journals, newspaper columns, and local radio and television programs. The system has four flagship programs: *World in Transition*, *Great Decisions*, the radio program *It's Your World*, and *WorldQuest*.

The national office organizes an annual conference, leadership missions overseas, a speaker referral system, international speaker exchanges, people-to-people diplomacy missions, educational workshops, book tours, subscription discounts, operations workshops, research papers, and national publications. It also runs nationwide program series such as State Department Town Meetings, World Bank Town Meetings, Contemporary Europe, Mexican Migration, Environmental Issues, Global Trends, the Two Koreas, American Diplomacy, Russia, the Western Hemisphere, Human Rights and Democracy Worldwide, the European Union, Secure America?, and Weapons in Space.

The 2005 national conference will be January 26-29 on *America: Clashing Within and Without*. The 2004 conference theme was *The US and Europe: Rivals or Partners?* The council system started a national high school world affairs knowledge competition called *Academic WorldQuest*, which takes place annually in March in Washington. As a part of the World Affairs Journalism Fellowship Program, the council system sends journalists abroad each year to do investigative reporting on the international context of important local issues. Councils annually reach over 20 million people with their programs, including 2 million students and 50,000 teachers.

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World Affairs Councils of America

Leadership Missions

What is a leadership mission?

A leadership mission is an overseas fact-finding visit to a city, country, or international organization by a national leadership delegation of the World Affairs Council movement.

The World Affairs Councils of America is the largest non-profit international affairs organization in the United States with 85 councils around the country, 28 national and international affiliates, and 484,000 members and participants.

What is the purpose?

The main purposes are to get to know the people, the issues, and the problems of the city, the country or the organization first-hand and to establish a much greater connection between the country and a well-informed and influential part of the American public. These trips are for meeting and discussion purposes, not for sightseeing.

Better knowledge of the host country and its issues means better programs back home at the local council level. These include country-specific information channeled through more speaker invitations, radio and television programs, council publications, curriculum materials, teachers' workshops, business roundtables, conferences, and travel programs.

The world affairs council movement prides itself on independence. It wishes to confront the world's issues directly, not through the prisms of official foreign policy, interest group ideology, or the national media. The movement strongly believes in people-to-people diplomacy and is one of the preeminent organizations of its kind in the United States.

Who goes?

Delegations are made up of generally 10 national leaders of the council system, i.e. presidents of councils, national board members, local chairpersons, program directors, and local board members. Trips usually last between 7-10 days.

Who pays?

The host government or organization covers the expenses inside the country. The hosts sometimes pay the international airfare to the country as well. Hosts have been the ministry of foreign affairs, the national information service, local foundations, or local non-profit organizations.

What do the delegations do?

Delegations hold a wide variety of discussions and make numerous site visits. Typically, discussions include a session at the foreign ministry and also often with defense, education, economics, privatization, and other field experts. Commonly, delegations meet with the media, business associations, think tanks, foundations, and universities as well. Sessions are largely short briefings followed by extensive question-and-answer periods.

Site visits often include industrial facilities, military installations, development projects, and rural settings. Delegations are usually hosted once by the American Embassy and sometimes pay a courtesy call on the national president.

How do the hosts benefit?

What the delegation learns is communicated to the members throughout the United States through a trip report, local programming, and council conferences and workshops.

Local programming on the host country has increased through 80 world affairs councils as a result of each tour. Perspectives gained on tours appear in publications, on radio and television, at conferences, in national foreign policy discussion publications, and in educational materials which we prepare for classrooms.

These visits also lead to the development of long-term working relationships between counterpart organizations in the host country and the World Affairs Councils. The working relationships produce joint projects, conferences, professional exchanges, speakers' visits to the United States, intern exchanges, publications, or the like. The tours sometimes lead to increased business interest from some of the 2,000 corporations that financially support the world affairs council movement around the country.

National delegation visits often then lead to follow-up by local councils. Many local councils have educational travel programs for their members. Leadership missions often start a series of trips from around the council world. For local trips, the travelers normally are paying their own way.

What countries or organizations have hosted study tours?

Over the last ten years, the world affairs council system has taken leadership delegations to China, Japan, Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Vietnam, Singapore, the Philippines, India, Turkey, Jordan, Syria, Saudi Arabia, Israel, Morocco, Lebanon, Brazil, Canada, NATO, the European Union, Poland, and Kuwait. Several countries have issued repeat invitations.

WORLD AFFAIRS COUNCILS OF AMERICA LEADERSHIP MISSION TO TAIWAN

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Chairman, Cleveland Council on World Affairs
Cleveland, Ohio

Sally Billington

National Board Member and Executive Director, Charlotte World Affairs Council
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Vice-Chairman, Ventura County World Affairs Council
West Lake Village, CA

Bill Wheelock

President, World Affairs Council of Florida Palm Beaches
Palm Beach Gardens, Florida

**Program for the Delegation of the World Affairs
Councils of America
May 19-26, 2004**

Wednesday, May 19, 2004

20:10 Arrive at Chiang Kai-shek (CKS) Airport via CI 005

Thursday, May 20, 2004

10:00 Attend the Inauguration of the Eleventh President and Vice
President of the Republic of China

15:30 Briefing at Government of Information Office
Executive Yaun

18:00 Reception in honor of the Eleventh President and Vice President of the Republic
China hosted by Deputy Foreign Minister Michael Kau -Venue: Grand Hyatt Taipei

Friday, May 21, 2004

09:40 Call on the Hon. Joseph Wu, Chairman,
Mainland Affairs Council

11:00 2-28 Memorial

14:00 Call at Board of Foreign Trade,
Ministry of Economic Affairs

Saturday, May 22, 2004

07:30 Depart for Kinmen via GE 232

08:40 Arrive at Kinmen
Tour Kinmen National Park

18:15 Depart for Taipei via GE 242

19:05 Arrive in Taipei

Sunday, May 23, 2004

10:00 Visit National Palace Museum

2:00 Visit Chinese Handicraft Mart

Monday, May 24, 2004

- 8:00 Call on American Institute in Taiwan (AIT)
Keith Powell, Consul General
Garvin Davenport, Political Section
William Weinstein, Chief of the Economic Section
- 09:45 Visit Taipei World Trade Center
- 11:00 Ms. Huai-Hui Hsien, Deputy Director, Department of International Affairs,
Democratic Progressive Party - DPP
- 14:00 Symposium at Institute of International Relations,
National Chengchi University
- 16:30 Call at Taipei Times

Tuesday, May 25, 2004

- 09:30 Call at Center for Disease Control,
Department of Health
- 11:00 Call on the Hon. Michael Kau, Deputy Minister,
Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- 12:00 Luncheon hosted by Director General Victor Chin, Department of North American
Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- 14:00 Visit Sin Sheng Elementary School
- 16:00 Call on Professor Su Chi, Convener,
National Security Division, National Policy Foundation, Kuomintang - KMT
- 19:30 Chinese Music Virtuosi in Concert
Venue: The National Concert Hall

Wednesday, May 26, 2004

- Morning Visit Taipei 101 Mall
- 16:40 Depart via CI 006

Overview of Taiwan

Milton Eaton

The World Affairs Councils of America (WACA) and the Taiwanese Cultural Representative Office in Washington (TECRO) organized our delegation, selected from World Affairs Councils all over the country.

The purpose of our visit was to attend the inauguration of the eleventh President and Vice President of the Republic of China and meet with government and non-governmental organizations in and around Taipei. Other visits included museums, an experimental school and Kinmen (Quemoy to older generations) island. The island was beautiful and green, with national parks dedicated to the island's defenders against the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1947 and 1958. Many of the things we saw preserved the ancient culture and buildings of China.

What our mission saw was a modern, vibrant, booming, industrialized country. Construction of public works and modern housing were everywhere. Thanks to free trade, we saw all the world's goods and "7-11s" everywhere. It wasn't just the building of a 101-story skyscraper or bullet train; emerging countries always do showcase projects. It was the beautiful wide tree lined boulevards filled with cars and motor scooters, and pedestrian signals that counted down time with figures that walked and then ran.

For me, it was like Tokyo five years ago. This was a country with a free press, over 100 TV channels, multiple political parties, potable water, and little sign of poverty. Truly, we saw an Asian economic miracle. Now the 15th largest economy in the world - different - but similar to Japan, Korea, Hong Kong, and Singapore.

Uniquely in Asian and Chinese history, the Nationalist Government of China (Kuomintang - KMT) peacefully gave up its dictatorial control of the country after land reform and an extended period of modernization and industrialization. With the prosperity, indicated by a '02 per capita GNP of \$13,318, control and allocation from the top had proven inefficient and stifling. Taiwan, without a history of peaceful change, chose the democratic way. Now Taiwan is investing abroad, sourcing off shore and importing unskilled labor like other industrialized nations.

How did the ROC get here? In 1945, Taiwan was a prosperous agricultural colony of Imperial Japan. For fifty years, the Taiwanese "natives" (largely Fujian and Guangdong immigrants in the 17th -19th Centuries) were forced to learn Japanese, go to school, serve in the armed forces and modernize in the Japanese mold.

The Nationalist Government of China (Kuomintang - KMT) under Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek took control of the island at the end of WWII. This new, one party government, suppressed anything but Mandarin and Chinese culture dividing the country. The February 28, 1947 incident led to the massacre of tens of thousands of the Japanese educated intellectuals and thirty-eight years of martial law. During this period, the final retreat to Taiwan by the "mainlanders" ended in 1949.

After 1986, under President Chiang Ching-kuo, political divergence was allowed and led to the election of a native KMT President Lee Teng-hui in 1996, and the election of an opposition native DPP President Chen Shui-bian in 2000 and 2004.

Today, the mainlanders and older conservatives dominate the KMT and extremist parties of the right, while the Democratic People's Party (DPP) and extreme independence parties tend to be native, younger, less experienced and liberal. They disagree freely, using a licentious press and 100 TV channels to sell their positions to the public, rehashing ethnicity, history and ideology.

Their real disagreement is about how to deal with *de facto* independence and the *de jure* relationship with the mainland PRC under the "One China" policy. Although the ROC abandoned any claim to ruling China in 1991, the PRC has not given up its unilateral military option to reclaim the island. Who can be pushed? when? how? is the cross-strait conundrum. Domestically, the only differences seem to be who is in power.

This is an island that moved from night soil to suburban environmentalism in one generation. Not bad for an island one-third the size of New York state.



Dr. Sun Yat-Sen, the Founding Father of R.O.C.

Inauguration of the 11th President and Vice President

Speakers: His Excellency Chen Shui-bian, President of the Republic of China
Her Excellency Annette Lu, Vice President of the Republic of China
Date/Time: Thursday, May 20, 2004, 10:00 a.m.
Location: Presidential Building
Rapporteur: Chris Brown, Southern Center for International Studies

On the morning after our arrival we had the honor of attending the second inauguration of Taiwanese President Chen. It was quite a memorable event, partly because of two disadvantages: pouring rain and the delivery of the speech without translation. These disadvantages accentuated the many impressions of Taiwan left by the event, and are only overshadowed by the historic nature of the remarks made (a text translation of the speech was later provided).

Images left by the ceremony include: the huge picture of Sun Yat-sen behind the podium; the tens of thousands of people wearing the same yellow plastic raingear, as well as similar ball caps or rain hats; the military guard—dressed in white in front of our delegation—standing motionless and facing the president while he delivered his speech; the Taipei 101 building (now the world's largest) shrouded in clouds off in the distance; the opposition KMT building with the banner “No Truth, No President” hung on its side; the parade of huge floats, which included dragons and other odd creatures; the introduction of heads of state and other dignitaries, all from smaller countries that maintain relations with Taiwan and not the People's Republic of China; the ever increasing amount of water flowing off of everyone; and, for me, the guy from New Jersey named Bo (a consultant for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs) bending over and trying to offer a translation of key points. No cameras were allowed, but the event is sure to remain vivid in the minds of those in attendance for many years to come.

President Chen covered all the key issues facing Taiwan in his speech. Our group was able to use his speech as a starting point for our journeys and discussions on the island, making our trip unique and special. Space limits me to three key excerpts:

“We must seek to establish a civil society, and through joint participation and collective efforts to create an identity with this land and a common memory, if we are to transcend the limitations of ethnicity, lineage, language and culture, and to build a new unified sense of shared destiny.” This quote highlights the ongoing discussions our group had, both amongst ourselves and in our different meetings, about the continuing development of a Taiwanese “nationhood,” and about how this reality is infused in so much of the tensions and debates.

“I am fully aware that consensus has yet to be reached on issues related to national sovereignty, territory, and the subject of unification/independence; therefore, let me explicitly propose that these particular issues be excluded from the present constitution re-engineering project.”

This excerpt touches on several key points, particularly the ongoing debate over a new Taiwanese constitution and the questions over independence. The fact the President Chen de-

linked these issues was both politically expedient and important for U.S-Taiwanese relations. In general, the speech was seen as conciliatory, very important to a preoccupied U.S. Untrusting mainland China, however, criticized the speech as insincere.

Indeed, cross-strait relations dominated much of the second half of the speech. The president remarked that: *“We can understand why the government on the other side of the Strait, in light of historical complexities and ethnic sentiments, cannot relinquish the insistence on the “One China Principle.” By the same token, the Beijing authorities must understand the deep conviction held by the people of Taiwan to strive for democracy, to love peace, to pursue their dreams free from threat, and to embrace progress.”* Here, we find reference to the Taiwanese conundrum: how to maintain the facts of Taiwanese sovereignty and democracy, given the historical and geopolitical context.

Taiwan’s skyrocketing progress from a third world country to a modern democracy is truly remarkable. –
Ljiljana Komnenic

Government Information Office

Speaker: Ms. Lee Cher-Jean, Deputy Minister
Date/Time: Thursday, May 20, 2004, 3:30 p.m.
Location: Government Information Office, Executive Yuan
Rapporteur: Bill Wheelock, World Affairs Council of Florida Palm Beaches

Our delegation attended the inauguration of the President and Vice President on May 20 in a constant rain storm (we, like others, looked and felt like wet ducks). After a return to the hotel for a very quick shower and change, we were treated to our first Taiwanese Chinese cuisine lunch and then proceeded to the Government Information Office (GIO) for a briefing and question and answer session with Deputy Minister Ms. Lee Cher-Jean, Government Information Office, Executive Yuan. Ms. Lee received her Masters degree from Boston University 25 years ago. She explained the role of the Government Information Office and we learned basic facts about the country and had an opportunity for questions.

Interestingly, since the new government was just taking office and many of the ministers and cabinet officers were just taking new jobs, we found in our briefings that if he/she was just taking a new post, he/she was not fully knowledgeable about all the details of the position.

First we watched a 20-minute video learning many facts about Taiwan including:

- A population of 23 million friendly & hard working people
- 13,877 square mile land area
- 6 distinct national parks covering 2,775 square miles; 20% of Taiwan’s total land area
- a democracy based on freedom & equality
- economic prosperity where education & health care is emphasized
- \$13,318 per capita income in 2002
- broad industrialization in many areas (electronics, textiles, machinery, etc.)
- joined WTO in 2002; became “green silicon island” knowledge-based economy

- long tradition of religious tolerance
- martial law was eliminated in 1987 leading to elections for the legislature in 1992 and election of president and vice-president in 1996
- relationship between PRC and ROC is continuing issue and threat to Taiwan

Next we had a short briefing from Ms. Lee followed by questions and answers covering:

- The role of the Ministry of Government Information Office (GIO) is to foster communications between the government and the general public
- GIO has 900 employees & 60 branch offices with 15 in North America (12 in U.S.)
- They regulate radio/TV which will merge with Telecommunications Ministry - - likely NCC (National Communications Commission). Telecom can now provide cable TV
- There are 5 TV stations (1 is public TV)
- People pay \$18 per month for 100 TV channels, including many stations that are premium in the U.S.
- Penetration rate of cable TV coverage in homes is 95%
- Tourism in Taiwan mostly comes from U.S. and Japan
- The 23 million people in Taiwan have 27 million cell phones
- Schools are all networked with broadband
- Government set a challenge to double tourism by 2008 (1 million tourists per year now)
- There are two unresolved issues from the recent presidential election
 - Gunshot wound to President is still under investigation
 - Ballot recount (started May 10 for 10 days)—Ms. Lee does not believe the close election is likely to be overturned
- University education: more opportunities on the island now and broader choice of countries for graduate degrees (U.S., Europe, Australia, etc.)
- All school children study English starting in 3rd grade
- GIO relations to mainland China
 - PRC had radio & TV reporters here for inauguration
 - Waiting to hear what PRC says about the President's speech
 - 500 missiles pointed at Taiwan by China which presents continuous threat to Taiwanese
- The cross-strait tensions and relationship with mainland China are the overriding issues that dominate the Taiwan people's attention, focus, and difference of opinion on how and when this should be resolved.

Mainland Affairs Council

Speaker: Hon. Joseph Wu, Chairman

Date/Time: Friday, May 21, 2004, 9:30 a.m.

Location: Mainland Affairs Council Headquarters

Rapporteur: Norma Maidel, Ventura County World Affairs Council

The Mainland Affairs Council (MAC) was established in 1991 as a ministry-level agency responsible for policy planning, implementation, and enforcement of matters concerning

mainland China. It reports directly to the Executive Yuan.

“Taiwan faces tremendous difficulties with mainland China and these issues cannot be resolved unilaterally,” according to Dr. Joseph Wu, newly appointed Chairman of the Mainland Affairs Council. The most serious include the following:

Military

China is rapidly developing its military capabilities, acquiring resources, and becoming more technologically sound. Russia is contributing to this development. Within five years, China’s military will be strong enough to tip the balance in its favor. The US advises Taiwan to increase procurement efforts, particularly of anti-missiles, but Taiwan, which pays cash for purchases from the US, naturally has budget restraints.

Diplomacy

China blocks any attempt that Taiwan makes to speak for itself. For example: Taiwan has applied for ‘observership’ in the WHO/World Health Assembly as a geographic entity. Mainland China fought that effort and Taiwan received only 25 votes out of 170. This was a serious problem when SARS hit in 2003 and China hid information from the world.

Frequency of Exchange

Every issue between mainland China and Taiwan is problematic and discussion is difficult. For the most part, exchanges today take place via FAX machine.

For example, Taiwan has between \$80 and 100 billion invested, in all sectors, in mainland China. Also, three and a half million Taiwanese visit the mainland each year. Cross-strait exchanges (cultural, economic, and social) are vital. Taiwan wants a framework to manage these exchanges.

Democratization

China reacts each time Taiwan hints of reforming its political system. For example, the current Taiwanese constitution was written on the mainland by the KMT in 1947 during the civil war for a country under communist rule. All parties agree that the constitution needs to be revised. However, China does not want the first six articles changed. Those articles deal with the official name of Taiwan (ROC), definition of the territory, and the issue of sovereignty. The remaining articles can be updated without China’s displeasure, but even that will be difficult considering the political disagreements among the parties involved.

The Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) and the Kuomintang (KMT) are the two major political parties. In the legislature, the Pan-Green (DPP and affiliates) have approximately 100 seats; the Pan-Blue (KMT and the Peoples’ First Party and others) have 125. Thus, any change initiated by President Chen and DPP meets with strong contention. The biggest issue is *de jure* sovereignty sought by the DPP. The KMT, on the other hand, supports the ‘One China Rule’ with *de facto* sovereignty.

President Chen set a conciliatory tone in his Inaugural Address for cross-strait issues. He assured the public that he will not seek to change the Taiwan's historical name, Republic of China (ROC), nor will he try to seek independence. He wants to build in a framework for peace for working with China.

When asked of Taiwan's basic goals, Dr. Wu quickly said, "I can't say." He went on to add that Taiwan is already independent, so to speak, with a democratically elected president and vice-president and parliament, its own monetary system, and it exercises exclusive jurisdiction to political problems.

"We don't like it," Wu added, referring to the major issues surrounding sovereignty. He went on to add that they don't want to make waves due to the severity of the mainland China threats. This, of course, is exactly what the United States is advocating. Stay away from the 'red line.'

Dr. Wu was asked how the 'no waves' policy would impede development of Taiwan in the future. His response was that the current stage serves their interests for social and economic issues, yet the fact that Taiwan is excluded from international participation is very restrictive.

Economic development in mainland China is happening fast. Eventually, China could use it as a weapon and try to shut Taiwan down. Dr. Wu's personal assessment is that Taiwan's economy is sufficiently integrated into the international system to withstand any effort China might make to impede Taiwan's development, particularly in the area of information technology. Today, Taiwan takes the orders, banks the dollars, and seeks cheap labor from mainland China.

Mainland China does not want mainland Chinese traveling to Taiwan. Perhaps, according to Dr. Wu, they are afraid of 'spiritual pollution.' Regardless, about 10,000 mainland people come here each year.

Dr. Wu responded to the question of energy independence by saying that it is not currently clear what decision will be made. Taiwan currently has three nuclear power plants and a fourth which may be situated in an unstable area. Final decisions may be made through a referendum process.

Dr. Wu's assignment to MAC was less than two hours old when he took time to speak to us. That he was able to do this public relations act at all was commendable. We thoroughly enjoyed and appreciated his time.

Board of Foreign Trade, Ministry of Economic Affairs

Speaker: Dr. James Hsin-hua Wu, Deputy Director General, Board of Foreign Trade
Date/Time: Friday, May 21, 2004, 2:00 p.m.
Location: Ministry of Economic Affairs
Rapporteur: Milton Eaton, Windham World Affairs Council

On our arrival, we were met by Commercial Secretary Chen Huei-Chin, Commercial Secretary, Department of Bilateral Trade Relation (America, Europe & Africa), who welcomed us to the Ministry.

We first watched an excellent film presentation covering the historic changes in Taiwan's trade policy. Following the period of product substitution after WW-II, their "fine tuned" trade policy progressed through various steps, to their ascension to the World Trade Organization in 2002.

At that point, Dr. James Hsin-hua Wu, Deputy Director General, joined our group to personally brief us and join in a lively Q & A session before his meeting with the new Minister. It was extremely generous of him to meet with us on the first day of the new government.

Taiwan is the 15th largest trading country in the world and the eighth largest for the United States. In the mid 80's, Dr. Wu stated, exports to the US accounted for just less than 50% exacerbating the bilateral balance of trade problems. Since that time, exports have been diversified and now US is 15%, EU 13%, ASEAN 13%, China 25%, and Japan 8 percent.

Dr. Wu stated that there were three purposes for the Bureau of Foreign Trade:

1. Improve trade environment
2. Enhance trade relations
3. Promote trade.

Under this mandate, there are four trade issues being addressed.

1. Protection of rice farmers. As part of the ascension to the WTO, Taiwan opened 8 % of its rice market to import supply. Of this 8%, 75% is supplied by the US.
2. IPR (Intellectual Property Rights) to stop piracy.
3. Telecomm Net rights/access
4. Pharmaceuticals

The main port of Taiwan is Kaohsiung City. Today, Kaoshiung is the sixth largest port in the world. Fifty percent of exports are electrical or electronic. Major imports are raw materials including corn, wheat, soybean and rice from the United States. Taiwan is the fifth largest importer for American agricultural products.

Seventy-five percent of export to the PRC is for re-export after assembly, largely in Taiwanese owned plants. Twenty percent of exports to China are capital goods and only five percent are for consumption. This means Taiwan, like the US, is exporting low-pay, low-value jobs abroad because domestic intensive labor is no longer competitive. The Bureau and Labor Ministry are

conducting training for new jobs and have programs to move product through the three stages of competition/profitability growth:

1. OEM (original equipment manufacture) using customer design and name.
2. ODM (original design manufacture) with greater control and profit.
3. OBN (original brand name) sales of product to the market.

Currently, Taiwan has huge Japan source imports.

In answering the Q & As about the impact on unemployment of the job training, the Director General noted that was a Labor Department problem and they have about 300,000 legal foreign workers in country for an allowed period up to 3 years. Most of the workers are from the Philippines, Thailand, and Indonesia. Illegal Chinese immigrants are very difficult to identify or quantify.

24 TRQs (Tariff quota system limits) include cars, which are locally assembled.

The World Trade Center (WTC) is owned by the Board of Foreign Trade and leases out the building for lessee operation by a nonprofit government corporation. It has been open 15 years, holds 2700 booths and has 8 major trade shows per year.

They have changed their school system from the elitist system inherited from Japan for the broader availability of the American system. They now have 150 universities, which exceeds the current demand.

Memorials in Contrast
February 28, 1947 – Taiwan
October 25, 1949 – Kinmen
August 23, 1958 – Kinmen

Date/Time: Friday, May 21, 2004 and Saturday, May 22, 2004

Location: 2-28 Memorial Museum Taipei and Kinmen Island

Rapporteur: Ken Furst, World Affairs Council of Western Massachusetts

As the people of Taiwan develop their self identity, a vital ingredient for developing a viable democracy, an understanding of their history is an important step. The government has built three memorials that, at least in part, help to serve this purpose. These memorials commemorate events that highlight the dangers encountered after World War II and the suffering that was endured by the people either through casualties or mental anguish. The memorials are the Taipei 2-28 Memorial Museum, and the Kuningtou Military History Museum and Battlefield, and August 23rd Artillery War Museum both on the island of Kinmen.

The 2-28 Incident

Prior to World War II (1895-1945), Taiwan and the islands in the Taiwan Strait were a part of Japan. In fact, the Taiwanese prospered under Japanese rule were forced to adopt the Japanese

language, education system, etc. which made them feel “Japanese.” In 1945 as part of war reparations, Taiwan was given to the Republic of China (ROC) and the clash of cultures started to become evident.

On February 28, 1947, a small contingent of Kuomintang (KMT) troops was involved in a minor clash with a small crowd which was protesting the arrest of a woman for selling untaxed cigarettes. The KMT called for reinforcements and when they arrived on March 8, began the killing and arresting of many innocent people and of leading citizens including the intelligentsia. Thus began the White Terror which lasted for about two years and took an estimated 20,000-30,000 lives (killed or abducted never to be seen again).

The 2-28 Incident has two noteworthy aspects for understanding present-day Taiwan. First is that today’s opposition party, the KMT, the ruling military and political power in Taiwan from 1945-2000 (under martial law until 1979), had perpetrated the atrocities or not stopped the “unknown” perpetrators. The KMT effectively hushed the incident and few Taiwanese knew about it until after martial law was lifted in the 1980s.

The second is that the KMT began a transition to truth and openness in the 1980s and now is one of the two major political parties in the Taiwanese democratic form of government. Although many details are still unknown about the incident, the fact remains that although the Democratic Peoples Party built the 2-28 memorial, the KMT has taken a role in telling the story and helping the Taiwanese understand a tragic piece of their own history.

Kinmen

The island of Kinmen is a small but important island on the western side of the Taiwan Strait that stands strategically between Taiwan and the mainland. Control of Kinmen is important to Taiwan because it provides the key buffer from attack by Peoples Republic of China’s (PRC) forces and is the nearest point to the mainland—two kilometers.

Kuningtou Military History Museum and Battlefield

While the KMT kept the 2-28 Incident under strict wraps from the Taiwanese people, it loudly proclaimed victory and pride for its success in the repelling of about 15,000 PRC troops which invaded Kinmen on October 25, 1949. This was the first of two attacks on the Taiwanese by the PRC on Kinmen. In a two-day period, ROC forces stopped the advance of the PRC and won the battle. A museum was built to commemorate the victory and boast of the success of the KMT over its mainland rivals. This incident was not hushed.

August 23rd Artillery War Museum

Nor was the second key battle on Kinmen. For 44 days, beginning on August 23, 1958, the PRC bombarded Kinmen with an estimated 500,000 artillery shells. The ROC answered in kind and takes credit for forcing the PRC to call for a ceasefire. A museum was built on Kinmen to again commemorate the victory and boast of the success of the KMT over its mainland rivals. In both of the battles on Kinmen, the KMT used its military successes to enhance and reinforce its status among the people.

These three events which are now memorialized clearly show the rather amazing transition by the KMT from dictatorship to open political party in a young democratic system.

American Institute in Taiwan

Speakers: Keith Powell, Consul General
Garvin Davenport, Political Section
William Weinstein, Chief of the Economic Section
Date/Time: Monday, May 24, 2004, 8:00 a.m.
Location: American Institute Headquarters
Rapporteur: Sally Billington, Charlotte World Affairs Council

In many other locations around the world, the American Institute in Taiwan (AIT) would be an embassy. They conduct business as do our other embassies around the world and are responsible for issuing visas, promoting exports and selling military equipment. The AIT is a corporation run by the US government with a budget which comes directly from Congress. They have a good relationship with President Chen's administration and meet regularly with representatives from the current cabinet.

In 1978, the US broke formal relations with Taiwan to recognize the People's Republic of China and continues to have a "One China" policy. Taiwan is our 8th largest trading partner and the second consumer of our agricultural products. Over the last several years, they have been either number one or two in the purchase of military defense products, alternately trading places with Saudi Arabia. The US also trains the Taiwanese military to use the equipment either in Taiwan or the United States. During the 1980s, the AIT urged the government towards democracy and was the only place for the Democratic Peoples Party (DPP) and the Kuomintang (KMT) to meet on neutral ground.

A major part of our discussion centered around the recent election and the differences in the (KMT) and the (DPP) which currently holds power in Taiwan. Mr. Weinstein explained that both parties focused on ethnicity and the past rather than running on issues. The KMT is the conservative, culture-bound party. Their members are teachers and civil servants who look at the KMT as the party which brought economic prosperity to Taiwan. The KMT represents stability and is the proven party of government.

The DPP is a party of factions without experience governing, but they have developed good political skills. According to Mr. Weinstein, the DPP was surprised to win the Presidential election in 2000. He also stated that he thought the assassination attempt on President Chen and Vice President Liu was real and that we may not see any conclusions from the current investigation.

In the most recent election, 80% of the population voted. The election is being contested by the KMT who feel the DPP won unfairly. Mr. Weinstein described a raucous democracy without media controls. Several suits have been filed by the KMT who allege that the assassination attempt was bogus and that ballots were not properly cast or counted.

The US is very concerned with cross-strait relations. Many people in Taiwan have become complacent and do not think China will not act on their threat to attack Taiwan. The current administration needs to be very careful how they go about seeking independence to gain consensus and avoid confrontation. Mainland China does not trust President Chen and their willingness to compromise depends on internal politics. On the other hand, China benefits from \$80 to \$100 billion which Taiwan invests annually. Taiwan also provides millions of jobs for the citizens of mainland China.

The US promotes a “One China” policy and will support Taiwan defensively, but will not support their independence. Our representatives at the AIT expressed concern with an increasing lack of understanding on both sides.

Taipei World Trade Center

Speaker: Lee L. Chen, Project Manager, Public Relations Office
Date/Time: Monday, May 24, 2004, 9:45 a.m.
Location: Taipei World Trade Center Building
Rapporteur: Patricia Jansen Doyle, Cleveland Council on World Affairs

Looking down on the ground floor Exhibition Hall of the Taipei World Trade Center from the 7-story atrium that surrounds it, our delegation was almost blinded by the dazzling white glow of halogen lights and colorful neon bars emanating from booths at the International Auto/Motorcycle Parts and Accessories Show. This was one of 20 international trade shows and 80 total exhibitions being held in the center during 2004, making the center the world’s largest trade show venue.

On the atrium levels surrounding the hall are 1,052 show rooms, 90% of which are reserved for Taiwanese manufacturers. The complex also includes 26 trade representative offices, including 12 from the U.S.

More than anything else our delegation saw in Taiwan, the center dramatically demonstrated that Taiwan had become an economic powerhouse that belies its size—an island complex of 23 million people living on land roughly equivalent to Massachusetts and Vermont combined. Taiwan is the world’s largest producer of computer chips and motherboards, the second largest producer of computer notebooks, and a world-class producer of bicycles, plastics, chemicals and other products.

Showrooms also feature such varied products as brightly printed paper drinking cups, custom designed jade and coral jewelry, sleek steel kitchen cutlery, porcelain dinnerware, subtly colored glass lavatory bowls for designer bathrooms, ballpoint pens of every color and shape, and a bicycle display room proudly proclaiming, “It’s well made in Taiwan.”

All that was missing, cited several Taiwanese we met with, was brand-name recognition. Only *Acer*, the maker of think pads, comes close.

Nonetheless the volume of trade activity is awesome--\$271.5 billion in 2003 with an accumulated surplus of \$16.98 billion. Taiwan is the U.S.'s eighth largest trading partner while the U.S. is Taiwan's second largest trading partner, having slipped behind mainland China. Taiwan vies with Saudi Arabia as the No. 1 purchaser of U.S. made military equipment.

The World Trade Center is a 4-in-1 complex that was conceived in the 1970s as Taiwan's business economy began to boom. It was built and financed by the government and is owned by the Board of Foreign Trade, a governmental agency. In addition to the seven-story Exhibition Hall and permanent display rooms, which opened in 1986, the complex also includes a Convention Center, a five-star Grand Hyatt Hotel, and a 34-story International Trade Building that provides one-stop shopping for banking, shipping, insurance and other services necessary to complete trade transactions. A nearby 101-story office building that dominates Taipei's skyline is being readied for opening as the financial 4 plus 1 building for World Trade.

Democratic Progressive Party

Speaker: Huai-Hui Hsieh, Deputy Director of the Department of International Affairs
Date/Time: Monday, May 24, 2004, 11:00 a.m.
Location: Democratic Progressive Party Headquarters
Rapporteur: Ljiljana Komnenic, World Affairs Councils of America

On our way to the meeting, we walked through gray hallways with little decoration and drab furniture that much resembled those of Eastern European government buildings. DPP rents 3 ½ floors of an older building. During the elections, up to 400 staff worked together in this small space. Still one does not feel claustrophobic or depressed upon entering - this headquarters booms with life and energy! Young party members smile and greet our delegation while diligently working in their square-meter cubicles.

Our meeting at the DPP occurred one day after the party's primary elections. Many DPP officials were out of the party headquarters, busy dealing with the elections. We met with Huai-Hui Hsien, Deputy Director of the Department of International Affairs. Ms. Hsien received her degree in Great Britain and studied political science with an emphasis in democratization. Initially a math major, her interest in politics was spurred through participation in student protests and union activities. After serving in DPP headquarters for 2 years, she worked in local government of one of the counties, where she learned a lot about domestic affairs. In 2000, after presidential elections, she was appointed to her present position.

We were informed that the DPP currently counts 400,000 members. To become a member, one needs to register at the local branch and, in most cases, have a sponsor who is already a party member. To vote, no registration is necessary, all members are automatically registered.

Elections are financed through multiple fundraising methods. A candidate needs to raise funds and contribute funds to the campaign. A public fund is also available based on the number of votes. One vote carries \$1.

Asked about the strengths and weaknesses of DPP, Ms. Hsien explained that the party just celebrated its 14th anniversary with the 2nd free Presidential election. It is young and full of enthusiasm and optimism. However, there is lack of experience in certain areas and a lot still to be learned.

Taiwan is preparing for its legislative elections in December 2004. According to Ms. Hsien, the focus will be on domestic affairs rather than international or cross-strait relations. The paramount domestic issues include education, health care system, and economy with an emphasis on communication. She is of the opinion that Taiwan might become a two-party system, with the two pan-blue parties, Koumintang (KMT) and People First Party (PFP), running on a joint ticket. DPP still has not joined with Taiwan Solidarity Union (TSU) due to TSU's radical leaning on nationalism and cross-strait issues.

The primary election is a two-part process. Each potential representative needs to get 30% of constituency vote by primary election vote. 70% has to be elected by a telephone poll conducted by the party.

Traditionally, the south of Taiwan is more pro-DPP or pro-Taiwanization. During the KMT rule, more emphasis on economic development was put on the northern provinces. DPP attempts to balance the allocation of resources throughout Taiwan.

When asked about the role of women in the political process, Ms. Hsien mentioned the quota system instituted by DPP in 1997. For every four candidates, one has to be a woman. Although the quota system is not part of the constitution, KMT is also changing its policy to recognize women's party participation.

Ms. Hsien stated she is confident that the recount vote process will not change the result as no fraud was found and only some 40,000 ballots are questioned on both sides.

DPP has efforts to smooth waters and enhance relations with the mainland China, but mostly on an individual and not official basis. Ms. Hsien recognized it is important for the future of trade relations that the cross-strait travel and transport occurs through direct links. Currently, mail for both sides is delivered with no difficulty, however, the same is not true for direct shipment and cargo. Currently, China is not ready to negotiate any issues unless "One-China" policy is assumed.

<p>DPP and KMT are not running on issue differences. They are similar. It's mostly about the past, power, and ethnicity. – <i>Keith Powell, American Institute in Taiwan</i></p>
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Institute of International Relations

Speakers: Dr. Chen-Yuan Tung
Dr. Tuan Y. Cheng
Dr. Fu-Kuo Liu
Dr. Vincent Wen-Hsien Chen
Date: Monday, May 24th, 2004, 2:00 p.m.
Location: National Chengchi University
Rapporteur: Norma Maidel, Ventura County World Affairs Council

Research is the prime task of the Institute of International Relations (IIR). The responsibilities are divided as follows:

- Conduct research on America, Europe, and Africa, including their international political and economic relations and international organizations
- Cover similar topics in Asia, Oceania, and the Pacific Rim
- Conduct research into mainland China affairs, specializing in ideology, politics, law, foreign relations, and military affairs, as well as Taiwan-mainland relations
- Focus on the social, economic, cultural and minority affairs aspects of mainland China

According to Dr. Liu, a continuing area of study for the IIR is the on-going crisis between Taiwan and mainland China and the involvement of United States in the process. He believes that President Bush does not fully understand this very complex situation. He acknowledges that Bush is troubled on many issues and gives him credit for supporting Taiwan. But Taiwan is not a trouble-maker. It does need help in negotiating discussion and decision making with China. The fact that Bush and China do not trust each other does not help.

Liu suggested that the referendum process will become a frequently used tool in the exercise of developing a direct democracy. Dr. Chen remarked that 90% of those voting on the two referendum issues in this last election voted in the affirmative. The referendums failed because they were not affirmed by a majority of the eligible voters. Having a referendum is viewed as a threatening act by the PRC because they view the process as move toward independence.

Dr. Cheng predicted that within two years, the issue of nuclear power as an energy source will be brought before the people in the form of a referendum.

Another serious issue for study at the IIR is that of national identity. The greater the trend to national identity, the greater the possibility of a desire for independence. Dr. Tung reported the increase in the national identity trend as demonstrated below:

- In 1992, 40% of the people identified themselves as only Chinese. In 2002, only 20% did.
- In 1992, 40% identified themselves as Taiwanese and Chinese. In 2002, 40% did.
- In 1992, 20% identified themselves as Taiwanese. In 2002, 40% did.

Taiwanese are thinking about independence. However, most are willing to maintain the *status quo* because of the complexity of the issues and the threat from the mainland China. They believe that the time will come when independence may be appropriate.

The group agreed that Taiwan's future will not be determined by the people's choice. It will be determined by politics. Taiwan needs to learn how to dance with the wolf!

ON BEING TALL....

IN TAIWAN...actually, all sizes of persons hurry through the downtown streets of Taipei. The women are basically small but I didn't feel particularly tall in the multitudes.

In Kinmen (island) it was very different. I was very aware that my 5'10" self was quite a surprise to people. Heads turned. Often heads kept turning and people even bumped into each other - or me! Several times young girls came up to me and just stood or walked beside me, looking up. They would always smile - or giggle - and say something pleasant. They just want to see where they might measure up - or get their picture taken. It was good fun. – *Norma Maidel*

Taiwan and the Press

Speakers: Chang Kuei Lee, President, *Taipei Times*
Laurence Eyton, Editor-in-Chief, *Taipei Times*
Date/Time: Monday, May 24, 2004, 4:30 p.m.
Location: Taipei Times Headquarters
Rapporteur: Patricia Jansen Doyle, Cleveland Council on World Affairs

With the rise of democratization in Taiwan, there has been a proliferation of politically-oriented local media described by one official at the American Institute of Taiwan as “a raucous, out of control media.” Taipei now has nearly 300 publications dispensing news and more than 100 cable stations. Most critical in framing the debate are a dozen mass circulation newspapers—nine printed in Chinese and three in English—plus six or seven 24-hour cable news stations.

While the majority of newspapers are anti-independence, our delegation received a briefing from the President and an editor of *The Taipei Times*, the English-language newspaper launched in June 1999 as an affiliate of Taiwan's largest newspaper, *The Liberty Times*. Both are considered pro-green publications supporting the agenda of President Chen's Shui-bian's Democratic Progressive Party (DPP).

With the largest staff of talented English-language writers in Taipei and a website that receives 200,000 hits a day—mostly from the United States, Canada, and European countries—*The Taipei Times* has enormous influence beyond its circulation of 40,000. It is read by policy makers in Washington, D.C., before the paper hits the streets in Taipei. As a result, officials at AIT, the U.S. office that substitutes for an embassy, awaken to questions from Washington that require responses to explain, nuance, or correct facts of coverage in *The Times*.

Associate Editor-in-Chief Laurence Eyton, however, described his paper's new coverage as “pretty” objective, while its editorial policy is split between “pro-independence” and “pro-self determination.” In his briefing, the British-born editor reinforced our group's impression that

Taiwanization is a process that has been gaining momentum for more than a decade. He stressed that national consciousness was raised by the lifting of marshal law and the release in 1990 of the award-winning film, “City of Sadness,” which dramatized the tragic events surrounding 2-28. The film became a watershed, Eyton said, enabling people to talk about Taiwanese history—a tragic history—without fear of repercussions and thereby countering 40 years of the Nationalist Party (KMT) view of Chinese greatness and the inevitability of unification.

“There began to build a separatist mentality that was not a Chen thing, but an evolutionary consciousness that had been growing for a decade.” In fact he conveyed a sense that en route to becoming president, Chen Shui-bian capitalized upon a sentiment that was permeating the country rather than driving the concept.

Since the first election of President Chen in the year 2000 and subsequent growth in the DPP, he said, the ousted Chinese Nationalist Party (KMT) has been erratic in striving for a message to regain control. “It is unclear how much they have mellowed,” he said. He believes they have spent the last four years trying to negotiate unification with Beijing while claiming to be merely mediating ties for Taiwanese businessmen in mainland China. Furthermore, some KMT tactics have been counter productive: its “witch hunt” tendency to assign blame for the losses of the 2000 and 2001 elections and its effort to recapture its core support by running on slogans from another era--“the good old days when there used to be hope,” which Eyton described, with irony, as the days of “no free speech, full jails, and martial law.”

Furthermore, he stressed that during the election this spring, the Pan-Blue ran an incredible “hate campaign,” labeling Chen as an Osama bin Laden, a Saddam Hussein, and a Hitler. In the process, he said, the KMT lost what appeared to be a substantial lead a few weeks before the election while Chen’s green party closed the gap with its hands across the nation demonstration.

In regards to the United States, the newspaper editor said that the U.S. has made it quite clear that it doesn’t want any conflict in the Taiwan Straits, that Taiwan is grateful for the Bush administration’s willingness to sell the country high tech weapons for its defense, and that many are worried about a potential Kerry Administration in view of Taiwan’s view that Clinton made too many concessions to China.

The WACA delegation also was welcomed by Chang Kuei Lee, President of *The Taiwan Times* who is Professor Emeritus of Business Administration at the National Taiwan University. He described the vicissitudes of trying to publish a newspaper that has failed to yet make a profit, but held out high hopes for the future profitability of its website.

Centers for Disease Control

Speakers: Dr. Jih-Haw Chou, Deputy Director-General
Dr. Ho-Sheng Wu, Director, Surveillance and Investigation
Mr. Hwan-Feng Wang, Section Chief, Emerging Infectious Disease
Mr. Chin-Shui Shih, Director, International Cooperation Office

Date/Time: Tuesday, May 25, 2004, 9:30 a.m.

Location: Department of Health, Executive Yuan

Rapporteur: Donald M. Gragg, M.D., World Affairs Council of San Diego

The Centers for Disease Control (CDC) was established within the Department of Health in 1999 by merging the Bureau of Communicable Disease Control, the National Institute of Preventive Medicine, and the National Quarantine Service. The goal of the CDC is to combat the threat of communicable diseases.

Communicable diseases of particular interest in Taiwan include dengue fever, HIV/AIDS, enteroviral diseases, tuberculosis, and bacillary dysentery. SARS presented a major problem in 2003. Polio was eradicated in 1979 through a vigorous immunization campaign. Routine immunizations are virtually universally administered and include all the standard vaccines used in the US plus BCG (against tuberculosis) and vaccines against hepatitis B and Japanese encephalitis.

During the worldwide SARS epidemic in early 2003, Taiwan experienced the world's third highest number of cases with 346 "probable" cases and 73 deaths. Vigorous control measures were used to control the epidemic including quarantining for 10 days over 50,000 persons who had been in contact with persons suspected of having SARS and over 80,000 persons arriving from areas where the SARS epidemic was active. Quarantined individuals were required to remain at home or in a special quarantine facility such as a military facility, take their temperatures two to three times daily, and be evaluated by a health care worker daily. Meals were delivered to these individuals.

Evaluation indicated that the quarantining of persons from regions where SARS was occurring was not cost effective and, therefore, discontinued on June 9, 2003. All persons traveling on public transportation (trains or buses) during the epidemic were required to wear facemasks. Access to public buildings required that the person's temperature be taken. (Even though there had been no new cases of SARS reported in the world for over a month, the World Affairs Council delegation had their temperatures determined before entering three official buildings.)

When the Chinese membership in the United Nations was transferred to the Peoples Republic of China in 1972, the Republic of China (ROC-Taiwan) also lost its membership in the World Health Organization (WHO). In 1997 Taiwan began attempts for observer status in the World Health Assembly (WHA), the membership assembly of WHO.

Taiwan had no official contact with WHO for 30 years until the SARS epidemic and then WHO assistance was delayed for 30 days before the PRC gave official clearance for the WHO to work with Taiwan authorities. Taiwan's request for WHA observer status was again requested in

May, 2004. The request failed to be placed on the WHA agenda by a vote of 133 to 25 with 10 abstentions. The US has been a strong supporter of Taiwan's WHA application, but the PRC has used its influence to prevent approval.

Taiwan has universal health insurance with care provided by a mix of public and private facilities. Life expectancy at birth is 75.8 years and infant, neonatal and maternal mortality rates are low.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Speaker: Hon. Michael Ying-mao Kau, Deputy Minister, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Date/Time: Tuesday, May 25, 2004, 11:00am

Location: Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Rapporteur: Payal Dalal, World Affairs Council of Northern California

On Tuesday afternoon, the World Affairs Council delegation met with Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Michael Ying-mao Kau. Formerly a professor at Brown University, Dr. Kau was familiar with American attitudes and spoke frankly about the goals of the Foreign Ministry. According to Kau, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is working toward three main objectives to improve the role of Taiwan in global politics, stabilize the cross-strait relationship, and promote worldwide economic and political development.

From its inception, Taiwan has struggled with democracy. Until 1987, the Taiwanese lived under martial law; citizens could not form political parties, establish new newspapers, participate in civil society, or travel to mainland China. The country, ruled by the Kuomintang (KMT), was a democracy in name, not in practice. President Chiang Ching-kuo lifted the emergency decree that granted virtually unlimited powers to the president in 1987; a rapid political liberalization ensued. Political prisons were transformed into museums, countless numbers of newspapers and NGOs developed, and political parties flourished. The Taiwanese were finally able to express their unique national identity in a democratic way.

The struggle for democracy in Taiwan led to a deep appreciation for democratic ideals and values. Dr. Kau strongly emphasized that his first policy goal would be to build on Taiwan's foreign relations by encouraging democracy and human rights at home and abroad. Taiwan should join the democratic forces in the world, Kau said, and improve, promote, and study democracy and human rights. Taking its lead from the United States, Taiwan has created its own version of the National Endowment for Democracy, the Taiwan Foundation of Democracy. Moreover, Vice-President Annette Lu has personally pledged to help foster democracy in the Asia Pacific region. Dr. Kau expressed his hope that Taiwan's focus on democracy would positively impact China and the cross-strait relationship.

In addition to promoting democracy, Michael Kau and his ministry hope to promote worldwide economic prosperity. He alluded to the role of the United States in developing the Taiwanese economy and added that it was Taiwan's turn to help others. According to his statistics, Taiwan is fifteenth in global trade and third in the IT industry. Taiwan's economic strength must now be utilized to serve others. The Taiwanese government has established the International Cooperation

and Development Fund (ICDF) (their AID) which sends teams to develop small economic industries and set up micro-financing systems. The purpose of ICDF is to strengthen international cooperation and enhance foreign relations by promoting economic development, social progress and the welfare of the people in partner nations around the world. Kau emphasized the Taiwanese model of sending expertise to developing countries, not money, as essential to Taiwan's success in Burkina Faso as well as in many other nations.

The third goal of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is to be a force of peace and stability in Asia. The situation between China and Taiwan is becoming increasingly tenuous, and political rhetoric and threats by the Chinese are escalating daily. When speaking about China, Kau displayed his frustration. China practices unreasonable discrimination, Kau insisted, "even when we help them." Although Taiwan has helped create nearly ten million jobs in China, the People's Republic of China (PRC) refuses to acknowledge Taiwan appropriately. "See how nasty they are," Kau stated, "it's unforgivable."

Despite being frustrated with the PRC, Kau stressed the importance of peace in cross-strait relations and highlighted the impact of potential conflict between China and Taiwan. Dr. Kau underscored Taiwan's commitment to working with the United States to promote peace and participating in dialogue with China. Kau also admitted the need to be realistic. He emphasized that Taiwan must develop adequate defense capabilities to ensure stability in cross-strait relations. Taiwan will continue to look to the United States for help with its defense and military.

As Dr. Kau finished his presentation, he rose from the table and asserted that Taiwan wants to be a good citizen of the world and believes in the importance of US leadership. According to Kau, "Pax Americana should prevail."

Sin Sheng Elementary School

Speaker: Mei-Er Liu, Principal

Date/Time: Tuesday, May 25, 2004, 2:00 p.m.

Location: Sin Sheng Elementary School

Rapporteur: Chris Brown, Southern Center for International Studies

On Tuesday, May 25th, our group met with a group from Sin Sheng Elementary School, a truly unique institution located in one of the nicest parts of Taipei. Our hosts included the school's principal, Ms. Mei-Er Liu, a teacher, and several parents. This meeting offered an excellent contrast with the political and economic meetings attended earlier, and provided insight into the cutting edge of Taiwanese civil society.

Sin Sheng Elementary School is a new institution—first opened in 2000—and was the vision of Principal Liu. After 30 years of teaching math in Taipei city schools, she wanted to create a place that broke the traditions found in Taiwanese schools—learning equals memorization, students constantly facing pressure and competition, set curriculums, isolated classes, inadequate facilities, etc. In essence, she wanted to get away from dehumanizing education. Sin Sheng is a place where they want children to love school and learn to become good members of society. The school emphasizes the use of diverse learning styles, bilingual education (with English being

the primary second language), parent involvement, cooperative learning and team teaching, active use of the internet and other technologies, and flexible classroom spaces. Children progressively learn about themselves and where they fit with society and nature. The idea is to set the groundwork for the child to truly succeed in life.

Of course, traditional subjects—math, social studies, science, physical education, etc.—are taught and the students eventually have to prove their mettle. But students are often not told when tests will be, so that they know the material, not just memorize it. There have also been controversies in Taiwan over curriculum and language (Do you teach about Taiwan or China? Do you use the Taiwanese dialect? etc.), and the school has not been immune to these issues. But as an elementary school, Sin Sheng does not face them to the degree found in the upper levels. Additionally, there is new flexibility accepted in Taiwan with respect to schools, and the principal—a former teacher of the year—is held in the highest esteem by the highest levels of government and society.

Finding the right teachers for such a school is, of course, a delicate process, especially since Taiwan's schools of education preach the old style. But Ms. Liu uses care in her choices, and the school offers weekly continuing education programs. It was mentioned that it takes around two years for the teachers to get used to the new system. Teachers are also given counseling to help them adapt and grow.

But wait, is all this too good to be true? Where's the hitch? Indeed, Sin Sheng has not been without its problems. The school has had to fine-tune its curriculum eight times in four years. Nevertheless, it was clear that Ms. Liu has based the school's curriculum, even its construction, on the very best thoughts in the educational profession. It was mentioned that many of these ideas come from the United States. Also, the facts that students face exams to get into the school, that the school is full and there is a waiting list to get in, and that the school does very well when compared to others in the country show that this place is certainly on the right track. This meeting was clearly one of the most interesting of our trip.

ON WANTING MORE

At the elementary school we visited, a young mother was watching us from the safety of a stair case. "Do you speak English", I asked her. She responded that she spoke 'a little.' She was exceedingly fluent!

She told me about herself, her two children, her husband who is a doctor, her part-time job teaching math at the school three days a week, and about her life in general.

She asked about me. I told her about World Affairs Council and then about AAUW (American Association of University Women) and that its Mission was to insure equity of education for women and girls.

"Do you need that in United States?" she asked. I assured her that we did. I told her about some of our projects and our scholarships for 're-entry' women. She said that she wanted to go back to school and finish her degree but that her husband told her that she was too busy.

She talked more about education and what she wanted to do with her life. When it was time to leave, and as we walked towards the door, she stopped me and turned to face me. "I want you to know," she said, "this conversation has just changed my life." – *Norma Maidel*

National Policy Foundation – Koumintang (KMT)

Speaker: Dr. Su Chi, Convener, National Security Division

Date/Time: Tuesday, May 25, 2004, 4:00 p.m.

Location: National Policy Foundation

Rapporteur: Ljiljana Komnenic, World Affairs Councils of America

Taiwan is politically split right down the middle and the climate is so hostile that in many social situations political discussion is avoided in attempts to save the goodwill.

National Policy Foundation is a think-tank ran by the Koumintang Party. We met with Dr. Chi, who underlined four major issues in front of Taiwan:

1. unfinished presidential elections
2. parliamentary elections in December 2004
3. party reform which mostly concerns KMT
4. avoiding war with mainland China

Unfinished Presidential Elections

Very passionately, Dr. Chi explains the very details of the presidential assassination attempt on the eve of the presidential elections, and concludes that it resulted in swelling of sympathy votes for President Chen. Our delegation was presented with an elaborate publication entitled *Bulletgate: Questions on the Legitimacy of Presidency* that questions President Chen's credibility and the legitimacy of the election process. Lawsuits started in April that will investigate the March elections and will call for the ballot and register recount. The decision will be out in six months, but it could be appealed in front of the Supreme Court, bringing the election controversy to an end sometime in March 2005.

Parliamentary Elections in December 2004

The next major crossroads in Taiwanese politics is the parliamentary elections in December. The rhetoric of the political candidates tends to be radical. They are trying to cut out a radical image for themselves and reach out to that small constituency of radical voters. Even if they get 5% of the votes they are in the game. This, however, does not promote middle-of-the road politics. Unfortunately, discussion on issues or policies does not count as much as image, personality, and personal connections.

Party Reform

Several hot questions are being debated at the KMT headquarters this summer.

- should they merge with the People First Party (PFP)
KMT sees the merger as a way to regain voter majority for the 2008 elections.
- should they have a generational turnover

DPP party members are younger, native, progressive, and liberal. KMT is left with mainlanders and older conservatives. KMT is seeking ways to attract younger constituency.

- should they change their party structure

KMT platform and rhetoric is clearly in the state of flux as its leadership tries to redefine and renegotiate its place and significance in Taiwanese politics. Their rhetoric is muddy when it comes to cross-strait issues and their views on Taiwanese national identity are unclear and constantly changing.

How to Avoid War with Mainland China

Dr. Chi expressed concern over Taiwanese people's carefree attitude towards the possibility of China attack. He said President Chen is naïve in calling China a "Paper Tiger" going into demise. Dr. Chi stressed the implications of Chinese economic and military development for Taiwan. According to Dr. Chi, while Taiwan does not do much to maintain and develop its military capability, President Chen provokes China through his rhetoric. He finds this situation dangerous and emphasizes the importance of *status quo* in cross-strait relations.

China is a long dragon with its head in 21 st century and its tail in 19 th century. – Dr. Su Chi, Convener, National Policy Foundation

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