

November 15, 2022 Taiwan Elections 2022 – The Politician's Perspective

– [Mark] Do we give another couple seconds for people to log on? We thank you very much for joining us. All right. Thank you.

– Good morning, Boston. Good evening, Taipei. My name is Steve Goldstein and I'm the director of the Taiwan Studies Workshop at Harvard University. This is the first in a series of three sessions on the November 26 local elections in Taiwan. Yep, these are the so-called nine and one elections for mayors and magistrates and major cities and counties down to the village level. Today we are gonna hear from representatives of the major parties in Taiwan. This Thursday the 17th, the day after tomorrow, we will hear from a panel of analysts. And on December 7th, we will have a post-election analysis. It's commonplace to draw a key distinction between these local elections and the elections for the president and national legislature that will be held in January of 2004. Local elections are said to be shaped by local issues and the strength of local organizations, while presidential and national legislative elections are shaped by island-wide organizations and policy issues, especially mainland policy. This seemed to be the case in the last two sets of elections, when the opposition Guomindang, flipped seven of the 23 seats in the major localities, only to be subsequently badly beaten by the DPP in the island-wide elections, a little more than a year later. Yet there were elements of continuity. The KMT presidential candidate was a previously, little-known politician, who won in Gaoshang. In addition, extraordinary events sometimes intervene. The presidential election that follow the local elections. The momentum was changed by a harsh speech in January by Xi Jinping, and by matters in Hong Kong that spring. And it looks as if from Tsai Ing-wen's recent speech that she is trying to mobilize the mainland issue to support the DPP in this election. Okay, enough said. Let me introduce the moderator for tonight, this morning. The moderator is George Yin. George is a distinguished research fellow at the Center for Chinese Studies at National Taiwan University and closer to home here, he's a research associate at the Fairbank Center for Chinese Studies and part of the Taiwan workshop. George.

– All right. Thank you Steve, for the introduction. So before we formally start the event, let me just take a moment to introduce our panelists today. So by alphabetical order. So first we have Ambassador Leonard Chao, who's the chairman of the International Affairs Committee, and Deputy chairman of the policy Think Tank of Taiwan People's Party being joined. Second, we have Mark Ho, Congressman, and also a member of the standing committee, of the Democratic Progressive Party. Third, hello. And third, we have Alfred Lin, who is a Deputy director of the Culture and Communications Committee, and member of the Central Committee of the Guomindang in the past member of the Guomindang KMT.

- Thanks for having me.

- Oh, good to have you. And last but not least, we have Wan Yu Wang, a congresswoman and also member of the central decision committee of New Power Party. So we very much, hello. So we very much look forward to learning from all of you. So each panelist would have about, between 10 to 15 minutes to give their presentation. And so, feel no pressure to take up all 15 minutes. We always enjoy some extra time to grill you guys, but without further ado, we should give the floor to the panelists. So our first panelist, as I have just mentioned, is Ambassador Leonard Chao. Ambassador Chao, you have the floor.

- All right, thank you. Thank you, George, for your kind words, and I'm going to follow-- The time constraint, the PowerPoint, the version of my talk. Now, we can follow, I can help you leave a gentleman to understand one. Now, hit the first page. Today I'm going to, in relation the role of the Taiwan People's Party, And okay, let's carry from the next page. Next page, please. Yeah.

- Mark Grady. Next page, please. And Ambassador Chao, I think your connection might be a little bit spotted. Do you think it might be a good idea for you to turn off the video?

- For me?

- Yes. Can you turn off the video, so that we could hear you better. Apologies for that.

- All right, no problem. I turn off the video, Let me, how do I, I gonna do it? Am I doing okay now?

- Okay.

- Okay, I have turned off the video.

- [Ambassador Chao] Let me get this. Let me see if I can, okay. Now here, okay, just briefly. Briefly, you can read the text on the screen, that this year, well, I'm going to briefly, share with you guys and Miss Wang that the meaning for TPP, and this year for this elections, we have nominated three female candidates and recommend one, recommended one. So four ladies, from our party for this local elections, but also nominated more than 100 city council members and on the levels of the government representatives nationwide. Okay, that's it. All right. How am I doing, okay, George?

- Yes, yes, yes, yes. And we could hear you fine now. Thank you so much.

- [Ambassador Chao] You're welcome. So next page, please.

- Oh, sorry, Mark, next page please.

- Oh, Mark.

- [Mark] I'm on the introduction of TPP page. Is this correct?

- Yes, I believe so.

- [Ambassador Chao] Thank you, Mark. That's right, okay. All right, thank you, Mark. And just briefly, I don't have to follow, you know, word for words. You can if you can check it, and of course we have been growing rather rapidly, more than we expected. And then the secondly, in terms of the number of party of members and elected officials, we rank the third. So far compared with the DPP. With that, we have outperformed KMT. Increasingly, its a certain, a certain poll nationwide. And thus we have been considered, a powerful political party in the country. The distinction between the three, between the three parties, that the, our party here... Well, just briefly, KMT has been considered, for indication any DPP, if that's considered... Opinion, currently professionalism, we spread professionalism. And thirdly, are the Taiwan values. Now, speaking of values, how should I help by TPP? I think namely democracy first and secondly, freedom. And then diversity, human rights. Considering a comparing, I'm sorry, capability. Mark, next page please. Mark? Okay, my point... is ticking, Mark?

- [Mark] Yes, the next.

- [Ambassador Chao] Go to the next page. Thank you. Okay, thank you, Mark. Two points for this page. That the TPP, Taiwan People's Party, you know, very simply, introduced--

- Ambassador, sorry for the interruption. Can you hear me? Ambassador Chao?

- [Ambassador Chao] All international friends.

- Oh, sorry. Ambassador Chao, I think the internet connection has been pretty bad. It actually got a lot worse, Ambassador. I'm wondering if you might want to look into, maybe look into a possible way to, oh, now the ambassador is gone. Okay. Sorry, Congressman Ho, are you here?

- I'm here, I'm here. Hi.

- Hello. Apologies, I think maybe the best, the best way to proceed for now is if you don't mind, to maybe have you start first and we can then maybe loop back to Ambassador Chao. Apologies, will that be okay, Congressman Ho?

- Sure, sure. I'm good for that.

- Okay, all right, so now you have the floor, 10 to 15 minutes.

- All right.

- Please.

- Oh, sure, sure, sure. Okay, first of all, I'm gonna talk about Taipei more. I'm pretty disappointed on the election because in this election, there are a couple things we should be aware of. It seems like the public awareness is talking about how the candidates focus on very small things, or their personal information regarding to candidates personality, their family background. We even drag the issue to talk about specific candidates DNA, whether or not he is Chiang Kai-shek's grandson. And the second thing is, the first thing I have, oh, hi. I actually steal your time. Is the ambassador back? Hello, George. George?

- Yes. Let's have Congressman Ho, give the presentation first and then we'll circle back to you, Ambassador Chao, because the internet connection was pretty bad. And let me give you a call and we can talk about how to address the issue. Okay, Congressman Ho, you have the floor back again.

- Sure, sure, sure, sure. Okay, so we have only 10 days left for the election, and then I'm gonna focus more in Taipei, because after all, it's the capital city of Taiwan and then everybody's paying a very high attention on that. And then after the pandemic, I thought people are supposed to focus more on economic, focus more on post-pandemic lives. But this election in Taipei, we talk about little things only. And then in terms of policy wise, in terms of the local issues, it's not highly emphasized. And then second, the battlefield of this mayoral election, it seems to be limited between Chen Shih-chung and Chiang Wan-an. And both of them are relatively kind and being generous to Huang Shanshan. Why is that? Because they want to appeal to her supporters and then maybe there's a day for those undecided, will vote for Chen Shih-chung or Chiang Wan-an. I think that's the strategy. And then the third one, in TV debates, I felt that some municipal issues are ignored by some candidates. For example, Chiang Wan-an, in the TV debates, he basically, he left about five minutes blank. And then without saying anything, without talking about his plan or whatever he wants to achieve, when if one day he's a mayor, and also in Taipei there's a place called , which eventually will be the biggest urban development or urban revitalization in the city. And it's not even emphasized. So you will see a lot of voters, they don't want to make a decision when they pick up the phone call to do the polls, and voters can barely know what's the features or the future they gonna bring to Taipei. However, due to this, due to this three-way race, from what I see now, the gap in between a very, very narrow, the rate gap. The

rate gap is really small. And in Taiwan, it's quite a special. We have a law, we make it into written law. We prohibit to do or to reveal or to discuss the poll publicly, 10 days before the elections. So right now, right here in Taiwan, tonight is the last night we can talk about the polls. And because the capital city is so important and Taipei Mayoral election is pretty much, we will see how the candidates, how to stay related to China. And then China issues, time to time will be raised up to talk about. And then right now, allow me to introduce, maybe talk a little bit more on Chen Shih-chung, which is DPP's candidates. He is actually a tough fighter. And during his time at the CDC, as a chief of CDC, we can see many countries around the world was suffered from its health, politically and then economically, but not for Taiwan. For example, Taiwan, we have, our records, we have low access mortality rates, during the COVID-19. And our GDP performance, the economic is way better than other major economics. And in every, in the very beginning, Chen Shih-chung, his approval rate reached at a peak at 91%, which means nine out of 10 people really like him in the March of 2020. And then he was in front lined, for the past two years, safeguard the health of Taiwan citizens and prevent further damages and which may cause by the virus. And his commitments to safe and protect Taiwanese people in terms of economic and public health wise, he did a good job. However, our team makes some mistakes. For example, when he wants to have, there's electronic, I don't know how to say that in English. We all know the toilet, right? The toilet will have sprinkled water, whatever. And then he, our team actually make couple mistakes. And then, I have to be frank, DPP has factions and different factions could not work well with each other. I think that's another issue, which makes our election pretty challenging. And then right now, let me talk about Huang Shanshan. I would say Huang Shanshan she is a very decisive variable. In the very beginning of the election, the race seems to be very tight. And then DPP wanna be a little bit more friendly to Huang Shanshan make it a real three-way campaign. And then three-way race. And then for Chiang Wan-an and from the poll we will see Huang Shanshan actually attracted lots of so called KMT supporters. So it, it will explain that why Chen Shih-chung and Chiang Wan-an, they were being so polite and being such a gentleman to Huang Shanshan And then after, but by the time it's getting closer to the date of election, KMT and the DPP, we mobilize our supporters to support our own candidates. KMT as well, and DPP as well. So we will see Chaing Wan-an, he actually resigned it from from legislative, resigned it as a lawmaker. And then the gap between Huang Shanshan and Chen Shih-chung and it's getting smaller and smaller. So in conclusion, Huang Shanshan still, let me emphasize again, she is still gonna be a very decisive factor for this election. In my prediction, once she owns over than 25% of the votes, I do believe that Chen Shih-hung will have a higher chance to win the election. And then right now, let me shift to so called the median voters. In this election, you will see KMT and the DPP, we mobilize our supporters and then from the past, from the history, people wanna be the mayor of the Taipei. They will want the median vote, the median voters support. So they

probably will throw out some policy or public image to attract them. But this specific election, Chiang Wan-an and Chen Shih-chung, they both focus, highly focus on their own supporters instead of to have general public or the median voters to have higher attentions on them. And then this election, I think a lots of people don't wanna to answer the poll, or don't wanna reveal who they really support. The reason is, first of all, the house, the housing issue is still sky rocket high. And then the second thing is Taipei and New Taipei City, we have tons of people come over to Taipei for work. And then people actually travel in between Taipei and New Taipei City. And then three candidates hasn't really generated or came out with real good public transportation plans. And then the median voters, the median voters, they care about bilingual policy, and then also the fourth one, that inflation's killing everybody, but it's not there to be emphasized or in order to talk about it. And then for the youth, the younger generations, I think DPP is putting lots of efforts into it. And our President Tsai, and then vice president, William Lai, we are talking about 18-years-old, we want have younger generation, we want them able to vote. And then due to Taiwan is getting, its aging, the long term caring system issue is also there. And then I'm happy that-- Can you guys hear me? Are we good?

- Yes, we can. Yes.

- Okay. I just got turned into mute. And then, allow me to talk about other stuff. Okay, so future predictions. In this time, if DPP doesn't do well in the election, I think our party internally, we will have a hurricane inside of us. But if we are doing well, then I think for the 2024 election, the presidential and the legislative, the lawmaker election, may have some difficulties, it will get more even challenging. And however, I do see in Taiwan, lets reveal the election in 2018. We pretty much failed in the local election. It was a huge failure, but we did well in the year of 2020. So either way, if we don't do well, we might do well again in the year of 2024. But if we don't do, if we do, I'm not really being optimistic for this election for now so far. And I know lots of people will wanna know or wanna pay attention on China factors. Wan-an and Huang Shanshan, they are, they are more pro, compared to DPP. They since have a lot of friendly gestures to China, and friendly gesture to Xi Jinping. But too bad, this is a local election. So we have so little things to do with China, but from my perspective, and from the poll I see, China is still an important factors for each candidate. And then in this time, in this term, for example, our it seems sometimes if we don't handle the China factors well, it will actually do something, it will actually fire back to us. And in conclusion, this election, the policy or the local policy or their plans isn't being emphasized. And then I will see, because due to the pandemic, people are too tired and people are too, the economic is economic issue. And then the pandemic issue, people don't wanna focus that much on political things. Or politics that much. That is why people tended to focus on tiny things, maybe

their personality or maybe their DNA. And then people don't wanna reveal how much they support specific candidates. And then this election, from a grassroots observations, time to time we would try to mobilize people to rally. But this time, KMT or DPP, we didn't do that well compared to before. Huang Shanshan, I think she, in a way, she doesn't have that much of public events, because I think it's a trace back, because we are still in the pandemic, controlling things. So it's hard to mobilize people. And the second thing is, after this election, I think we gonna rethink about what the voters want, instead of what we wanna say as a politician. And then after this election, I think, so called blue or green, DPP or KMT, the line in between will get blurry because from our perspective, I think a lot of small parties, they're probably gonna do well in this local election. I'm not talking about mayoral election, I'm talking about the city counselors. We see or train smaller party, they probably will earn, will do better and earn more positions. And then that's all my presentations. Thank you so much. Thank you.

- Thank you Congressman Ho for the excellent, very interesting presentation. So we would definitely have to push you and ask you more questions on a possible hurricane for instance. How will that kind of hurricane look like and your estimate of the possibility of such a hurricane if the DPP doesn't do well. And of course we would also love to know more about factional politics, within the DPP. And just a quick note to the audience, So Congressman Ho is a congressman from Taipei, and he is also the head of one of the six major factions, of the DPP. So we assured, we would have a lot more questions for you, Congressman Ho. Many thanks for the excellent presentation. So, Ambassador Chao, so you had about 10 minutes left, so if the internet works well for you now, if your internet connection, let's have you return to the floor and, alright, Ambassador Chao, you have the floor now. And Mark, please help Ambassador Chao with the presentations slides. Many thanks. Okay, Ambassador Chao, you have the floor. Ambassador Chao, you are muted right now.

- Okay, I got it.

- We can hear you now. All right.

- Good. Once again, thanks for your patience. And I think the function, the website works better now. Let me get back to where I left. So not much more to say about the party, my party and you know, we're working in the world that we are trying very hard for this elections, because the first time, since the birth of TPP, three some years ago. And so this time we are, we're working on it very aggressively before you know, speed that we're trying to get our voice better heard throughout the island, throughout the nation. And I think we are, have select very carefully selected some several candidates representing our party in the mayoral election and also in some magistrate or local, council members election. So although we are not,

we have no reason to be optimistic about the prospects of our election result. We are think this is the same goals, you have to start somewhere, particularly for a young party like TPP. I think we have long way to go. However we have some confidence in the future of Taiwan, because as you know, Taiwan's political landscape, it's not from my personal view, I think rather I've heard, so extensively from all the friends, from all walks of life. And all of my friends, either they belong to the Green, Pan Green or the DPP, or they are from the KMT or from some other independent. They all come to, a kind of a majority believe that Taiwan's political landscape of the past few decades, has been monopolized by the Pan Blue and the Pan Green, and then they kept taking turns for the power, the rotation. But look at what they have done. And I think there's a general popular opinion that they have done well, something good, but I think they have done even more, you know, negative results. So I think people are simply sort of, are sick and tired of the tug of war, between the blue and the green teams. So in this contest, the TPP occurred, presenting maybe another option. Okay, maybe a better choice. At least we could have presented ourselves to be a possible choice for the Taiwanese general public to make a choice. If I have some time left, I'll like to show you a certain pictures, because for our audience, around the world, particularly in America, most of them, most of you might not have very sufficient understanding, knowledge about the TPP. I would like to take this opportunity to introduce the TPP. Let me show you, if Mark can help me carry on the next pages. I'd like to show you some pictures, photos to the audience, please. Hello, Mark?

- [Mark] There may be a delay. The photos are up.

- All right, okay, understand. Thank you. All right, here we go. These are several, the TPP is on the campaign trail, okay, per se, several pictures. The first one, Ko Wenje, he's helping set several candidates for the campaign. Next, please. Yeah, another shot of the Ko Wenje's appearance in the TPP campaigning. Yeah, it's gaining in popularity as you can tell, throughout the island. All right, next page, please. All right, now this lady, she's getting increasingly prominent, in Hsinchu, a mayor candidate for Hsinchu. And she, so far still on the, on the several post, she's ahead of the other two candidates, she attracts more, more critical attacks from the other two parties in the past few weeks, and then almost every evening on the major TV channels, we can see that some of the pro DPP TV channels, they're bombarded, okay with a lot of, critical attacks or smear campaign and with certain reasons. I don't want to go any further. I think you can check with the news report, but lots of them, I think it's purely simply from a political conspiracy, and a lot of things remain, is no evidence for those accusations. All right, next page please. All right. This another, one of the media's report about the comparison, the campaign, the results comparison between several parties. This one is for the ruling party, DPP, and then the TPP, the gap is getting narrowed down between the two parties. Now, next page please. All

right. This another comparison, another chart for the competition between the blue team and so called TPP, has been classified as like a white, as opposed to the blue team and the green team. People tend to consider or classify the TPP as a white team. That's another, the chart sitting, the chart between the blue and the white teams for your reference. All right, next page. The photos, Okay for you, for ladies and gentlemen to have a look at, our International Affairs committee, what we have been doing, several events for your reference. Next page, please. All right. Earlier this year in March, for the first time in the TPP history of few years, we held international spring reception, where we invited quite a few, representatives of the countries, of all the major countries opposing Taipei, including the United States, Canada, Japan and in the Singapore, along with some other major countries, European Union. So a single 12, 12 out of the, we didn't invite all of them, only several because of the size of the venue. To our surprise that the 12 major representatives for the other countries, so called de facto ambassadors, they showed up in our reception. So that is a picture. Next please. Here is the mayor Ko Chairman Ko Wen-je, he was giving his remarks at the international spring reception. Next, please. That's another event. IAC, International Affairs Committee of the TPP. We held last year, late last year, we held a seminar on international situation and Taiwan's role, which has a very good turnout to our surprise and lot of you know, quite a few, the pro blue, a pro green, okay? The youngsters, they came to reception, I'm sorry, came to the seminar. And I found them very encouraging. We intend to, engage in this kind of international, the organic exchanges on the seminar forums in the future. Thank you. All right, let's carry on. We don't have much time on left. Okay, this is another seminar. We held, what was held only three months ago on the Russian-Ukraine war. All right, here, next one please. All right, that's it. Okay, thank you for your attention and again, nice being here and my pleasure to have this opportunity to exchange view points with all guys here and I look forward to receiving more questions, and we can have some Q and A later on. Thank you very much.

- All right, thank you Ambassador Chao, and we surely will have some questions for you. So it looks like the TPP has spent a lot of time trying to strengthen party organization and formulate more policy, ideas. So we would love to learn more about, for instance, what's the TPPs position towards China now and what's the TPPs position towards the US in addition, to some further possible questions, on how the TPP might perform in the local elections. But thank you ambassador Chao for the presentation. All right, next we have deputy director Alfred Lin, from the KMT. Alfred, are you there?

- Yes, I'm here.

- So Alfred, you have the floor, we look forward, very much look forward to your presentation.

- Okay. Hello everyone. I'm Alfred Lin from Kuomintang, and actually I see of you have a slide. I'm jealous so I made all my own one, lemme show you. Okay. And I think I will start with kind of a bigger picture of this year's general election. I would have for reason to show you the whole picture about the situation here. In terms of overall election situation, the situation coming down this year, I would say is it relatively optimistic and mainly for four reason, I will explain to you. First, most of our county mayors are seeking for reelection and can you see my PowerPoint? Okay, thank you. Okay, next, continue. As I say, most of our candidate, they are seeking reelection. So their governance actually performance has been excellent and has won their reconnection and compliment from the citizen, which has further consolidate the incumbent advantage. As we know, we see this in New Taipei City, Mayor Hou You-Yi, Taichung City, Mayor Lu Shiow-yen. Zhenghua county, Yunling County and Jiayi City, they beat their opponents in the polls and momentum by a very huge margin. Over 20% is now usually seen in a politic campaign. The second reason, frankly speaking, I should say, I'm sorry to say this, but our ruling party right now, DPPs governance performance, not quite good, even make people feel disappointed. Economic, DPP fail to curve inflation. Similar situation in United States a little, and the gap between rich and poor is expanding. Many economic index is now the worst in history right now. You could see on the right side, the inflation rate is sky high and historical high right now. And the failure of energy policy has lead continuous power outages, every single city, every almost everywhere. Which also seriously effects economic production. And governments say they should be blamed on small animals such as squirrels, sparrows, and snakes and could see every single day on our news, even in most support DPP, they have been outage and out of power almost every single day. A media scandal, the government want to control over two major TV news channel and use them to attack political commentator, majorly opposition party of course. Public grumbling caused by academic prevention strategy, controversy and during COVID-19 vaccine, which is supported by DPP government, has become actually malpractice scandal and many poor people support of your actually. There's also one of the directly, the reason why the former CDC director, Chou Jih-haw is right now, actually. Now in the leading position in the election, I will tell this later and even weak in action, in response to the , in August is the reason why actually it's mainly Taiwan people extremely dissatisfied and helpless with DPP government. And those is about all our domestic issue, social issue, economy issue. Some of them are related national defense. And the third reason I shall say, under chairman Eric Chu's leadership, this year actually Kuomintang has said many principal criteria for recommending candidates. Every candidate we nominate this year is a moderate, regional, stable and pragmatic candidates without extreme political ideology, no corruption, no members of criminal organization, every single one out there you see right now, they're all very good politician and statesmen in their own county and

enjoying with a very high supporting rates in their county. First, last but not least, under chairman Eric Chu's leadership, that it changed for the policy line of KMT, back to a more, I would say maybe it's traditional or normal, normal way, party life from extreme populism, people who back the balance, more reasonable policy line, knowledge and encourage you to promote and cultivate young generation. This year we nominate over near 200 young people, near age 30 running for the city council, just trying to cultivate a young generation in the future for the KMT, and for the ROC, because we know in the past, Kuomintang always been described as a grand old party. But now we are changing this stereotype and we are back to pro-US and pro-democracy. Policy like this where we reopen our office in Washington DC, and we back to our traditional international strategy friendly with Japan. Peaceful dialogue with mainland China, and then with no servility. This has greatly changed most of stereotype, conservative stereotype for Kuomintang. So I think that's one, one of the major reason I would say actually public image in Taiwan right now is, is gradually changing by leadership of Kuomintang. And I'll mention a little bit about the Taipei situation, because Mark Ho introduced some situation there and I would say he's very honest, honest about the situation DPP is facing right now. I use a very single term to describe Taipei situation. Okay, we all know Caesar, about a story about crossing the Rubicon. Almost everyone remember what Caesar said, but many even know who is coming by his side. His legions. If we look at situation in Taipei City, we will see actually Chiang Wan-an performing well in politics and he is capable of communicating with median people, younger generation, even netizens. Huang Shanshan, I would say, she's a very senior city counselor with parents and has good performance and reputation in Taipei city hall, but actually is like of the organization and the main city councilor with her. And for on the DPP side, former CDC commander Chen Shih-chung, actually many people feel shocked because he run into election event, his duty as a CDC commander, while our battle with COVID-19 actually not officially end. And he went to election. So that's why actually many people direct their anger, point to him, and make him have a struggle position in the election. So this year I would say we see strong legions, bad legions and no legions in Taipei's campaign. So who will take Rome is very clear situation there and I don't know if I have any time left, I guess my time is running out, but later maybe I have some chance to show Kuomintang situation right now in every city. And as legislator Mark Ho mentioned, tonight is the last hour we can mention some polling issue today actually, so many poll today. Every media from different factions, from different party, different background, they all showing up their last minute polling and you could show, I can show you a little bit, you can see on the photo for the six and seven major city, including Hsinchu city, you could see almost Kuomintang, all almost in the leading position, besides Hainan and Gaoshung, and this is from different internet media and traditional media. Yeah, to show you a little bit, maybe we could talk this later. When we have time, we can see kind of blue wave is coming, but we are still very

cautious about every single move, every situation, because we don't want to do the old shoes again, because every time where Kuomintang thought we will win, but in the last time we almost lost. So we will try to prevent this situation happen again. So this time we are still being very cautious about the election, especially you can see in some major city, in Taipei and Taoyuan actually, DPP is taking very close to Kuomintang candidates. So we are still watching very closely. So I think I should better stop here because we still have many very good panelists waiting there. So, I'm done here. Thanks a lot for the attention.

- Thank you Alfred, for your excellent presentation. You know, again, I'm sure we would all have a lot of follow up questions for you. So for instance, if there is indeed a blue wave, right? How might that blue wave shape the presidential primary for the KMT, in 2024. 'Cause we all know that, when things go well, everyone wants to take the credit and take the helm and run with it, right? So yeah, so we might, we would love to get your opinion on that, possibly, during the Q and A. So last but not least, so let's have Congresswoman Wang, to give us her perspective on and the Taiwanese election. Congresswoman Wang, you have the floor.

- Hello, I'm Claire Wang. Nice to meet you all. I'm the legislator and also a member of the central decision committee and the nomination committee of the New Power Party. This local election is the second time that New Power Party has participated in. It is also our first time that we have launched the candidates for the mayors years of county or city, since our establishment seven years ago. So for us, this election is not only an important result review, but also the turning point where the New Power Party continues to break upwards. At the level of local counselors, the four years terms of the New Power Party members has proved to everyone that we are the party that truly defends Taiwan's position by this, by the duties and has the strongest supervisory power. In the past four years, we have seen that although the number of New Power Party counselors is small, they have made a breaking through in the local council, and made them move to more transparent, open or in the regional direction. We can discuss all topics or issues fairly and not just against each other. But unfortunately, we didn't see such a trend in this year's election. The next page please. Next page. Next one. The third one, the third page. This year's election, let's both focus issues or candidates with the grace of Han Guo-yin or Li Yi-ba, in 2018. So it can be said to be very dear and quiet. I think the visit of speaker Pelosi did have an impact on the overall election atmosphere. However, the effects did not last long because it is difficult to see the international issues as the main essence of the local election. And most people are concerned about the domestic issues. Moreover in recent years, Taiwan response to the issues of war has become more and more indifferent. The main reason is that the CCP has threatened for a long time, but has not taken any concrete action so far, which results in the usual,

Taiwanese is compared to international reaction. But I must be point, but I must also point out that recently, the CCP has take taken lots of actions and the entire leadership has turned into Xi Jinping's personal power after the 20th nation Congress, plus the lack of the voter base, advance law has indeed gradually increased possibility of conflict. In this frame, in this regards, this year's election has indeed added a new perspective to the issues of civil defense and the mobilization and the discussion has begun, on how many years take the responding of local civil defense commanders in Taiwan. I think this is not, so this is a different compared to the previous years election. So I mean also in additional, even it's even if the results of the pandemic prevention, pre-prevention are not bad, but the early stage have been unanimous affairs by the world. But building party obviously did not bring such advantage into the election. On the contrary, DPP holds down on the controversy caused by the vaccine issues. I think we, we saw the candidates fight for each other about the vaccine issues, not only on price, but also how we buy the process or how to prove the effect of the medicine. This is especially true for Chen Shih-chung, who participate in the election as a pandemic commanders. At the end of the days, the policy that is discussed most in Taipei city election, was various disputes, when he served as minister, when he served as the minister of health, a minister of health and welfare in the past few years. In my opinion, the main reason for the phenomenons, similar to the Theseus incident, due from the arrogance of the ruling parties responsible, response to relevant dispute, which has results in the achievement of pandemic prevention become a very heavy burden for the local candidates. So I think even we have good, good results in the previous times, maybe the first year of the pandemic and I think DPP should take the advantage, but they did that. And also in the post pandemic period, we didn't do so well and lot of people against for that. And I think that impact, impact in the Taipei cities deductions. I think the biggest mistakes of the ruling party is the election campaign is to overestimate, overestimate the truth, the trust of the people and to be to arrogant and the persistence. The biggest turning point is the entire election campaign, where it's undoubtedly the fastest issues of former many years of . I have emphasized many times when the core of discussion is not the academic qualification or the biggest reason for the voters discuss and the change of public opinion is the entire ruling party. For campaign team to the president was unwilling to face such an obvious mistake. We know that when the serious issue break out, the DPP is always refuses and say they are, they are no copy issues of the Ling Shih-chen, but in the end it proves that Ling Shih-chen has a serious issue and copy his senses from others. So I think this is really not good for the DPP, and it's not correct not to be. I think the politicians should be honest to the peoples. Such as beginnings of the election leads to a very boring campaign of similar roadmap to each other and ranking over the past. In almost every country, every county and city, there is no actual actual policy debates. I think this is very important for Taiwan to improve or to move forward in the

democracies point of views. So I think not only Taipei but also other countries, also have this kind of issues. Even though there was a, there was some debates in the Taipei a while back, we didn't see any specific policies discussion among the candidates. They were caught in analysts attack on each other. Frankly speaking I think the vote rate will be very low this years because the transparency in housing, justice or the parents policies that people really value are not being discussed. And we didn't see a lot of, a lot policy for lacks result from other, from all candidates, which will naturally make people less willing to vote and even hard to encourage young people to return to their hometown to vote. Therefore the election is very likely to become a battle of two main parties. So I think this is not a good point of these years. Another one I want to mention now is my hometown. It has never has never partied, never practiced true parties rotations for past 72 years. It is also nickname as Miaoli countries. It really hurts to see my hometown being like this. People think that Miaoli was ruled by KMT a long time, but instead of any party, any particular party, I think Miaoli was actually ruled by local factions. And these local factions were not closely related to KMT. Yet they have held the, they have held local resources for long time and their way to taking turns to govern is deeply rooted, resulting in in the unhappy local population of Miaoli for many years. Finally, after the last election, more and more local young join the country councils and gradually reveals the corruption and the bribery culture in Miaoli. Unfortunately in this time, the election these years, the candidates who always take the lead the still the spokesman of the Miaoli cultures. The speakers of Miaoli county, who let KMT to run election, even has involved in various scandals from saying cutting people, is nothing, that is he says in earlier stage of campaign. To be reveal of having criminal records of accident injury or death. The former speaker with the country's criminal recourse, has abused his power as counselor for a long time, not only in his native land, reveals to be , he also builds illegal gravel fields, every where to line his own pocket. So that we know this kind of candidate has a lot of money and he has hurt people in the previous years and also he take illegal money from the government, from the policies, from the rules. But to be said, this kind of candidate, the candidates still have supported by a lot support by the majorities. The reason is that the support, and the mobilization of local faction, the local factions are so strong that even the TPP, who always came itself to be fresh and clean, stand with such a candidate, in order to be order to gain local support, which is such a pity. On the other hand, Shih Ling-jun nominated by DPP actually also came from local factions. He originally gain support from the KMT and the local factions and later joined DPP, just tried to run in the election. That's what he said by himself. He say, "There is no difference between KMT and DPP, but he just want to win the election, so he joined DPP. In the last election, he even won't support, he even won the support of the former mayor of the KMT. So I think it's very not good. We only care about the how to win the election but not discuss about how to be better the way of the county

or the cities. The next page, the six page, could you turn get to the six page please?

- [Mark] I'm sorry, this is the last page in my document. Let me see if I can find the other.

- Oh, so the last page of the document? Oh, so you mean go to the former two pages? Sorry, this is will be eight and I will go back to the six one. The title, yes this one. From the election campaign in Miaoli, I also saw the Taiwanese democracy, even after 30 years of the democratization and the countless elections in between. It's still with many immaturities. In fact, among the many election chaos, I think there are four points I want to underlines. Politics controlled by money, local bribery factions, candidates and negative campaigns. Sadly, until this, until the election this year, Taiwan is still full of such an atmosphere and culture. Also, you can see that from the election of Miaoli, that the local faction and the bribery still have a very strong inference on local elections. And the end of June of this year's, our Miaoli partner launched the survey to found out how deep the local party, the local politics in Miaoli is. The result are quite disappointing. Among the more than 500 peoples, that they surveyed, 60% say they, they or their relatives or friends have experience of being offer money in exchange of their votes. The price of each vote range from 500 NTD to 2000 NTD. According to the statistics of the survey, by the end of the December, by the end of the September of years, then more than 600 election bribery cases has been accepted. This bribery cases continue to undermine the fairness of the elections and the people believe of democracy and I think this is also impact the people, the people's willing to vote. So that's why we think the voting rate might be low, as our respect. And I think this is why that, I think people also, we have a candidate of Miaoli not voting. A lot of people think we have no chance to win or we have no chance to be seen in these elections, but some boarding right now maybe have more than 10 or 15 rating. Supporting ratio, of supporting. Because I think a lot of people still want to Taiwan or Miaoli can move forward in the democracy, in democracy and hope our election could be clean, not controlled by the local, local, by local policies, this kind of resources hoarding by especially specific people. The next page. For the point of view of NPP, I want to be saying frankly--

- Apologies, I just wanna remind you to wrap up quickly, given time constraints. Apologies.

- Thank you. No problem, just one page. I think a lot of people think for NPP will bubble bursting crisis. But you know, that we establish from the pasts of so many years, every time we face into the election, a lot of people think we will disappear, but the result is that we hand over it, once by once. And always I believe the people will know how to vote. How to vote to the proper candidate will be our solutions. I always believe that there are peoples who are willing to

support the spirits of racial justice and the protection the weak in Taiwanese elections. That's why I think NPP will still exist and getting better. So we think, the people who win the election in this year will be better than previous years for NPP. And Taiwan is the NPP voice and also need the NPP to continue to voice our people. And I think that's what my point of view of this year election. Thank you.

- All right, thank you Congresswoman Wang, for the excellent presentation. Again, lots of food, for thought. So I wish to first give the floor to Steven Goldstein, to maybe help us lead the attack and maybe ask the first question. And of course I have a few questions that I have prepared, for the panelists. So after Steve and I lead the attack, we have also asked the panelists to try to post questions, to one another. We know that Taiwanese politics, it's very competitive and oftentimes very cutthroat. So it could be quite fun to try to replicate that, you know, on a Harvard panel. But of course, we would of course save some time, for QA, you know for the audience. Okay Steve, if you want to take the lead in, posting a question to either older panelists or one of the panelists. Sorry Steve, you're still muted.

- Yes, I think my question relates to the relative strength of the various parties in Taiwan, when one of the most dramatic changes in the last five years has been a dramatic lessening of the number of people who claim to be supporting the Guomindang. And some people have argued that there's a realignment going on in Taiwan politics where the Guomindang is in fact in danger of being reduced to a third party in Taiwan rather than a second party. I wonder how the panelists, particularly our representative of the Guomindang, Alfred Lin, but also Leonard Chao, the representative of the People's Party, which is seen as beginning to threaten Guomindang's position as the second major party in Taiwan. Is this a trend or is this just something that's occurred in the last few years? Alfred, defend your party.

- Of course. I would say yes, we saw some similar situation or I would say a, a fantasy in the polling numbers. The KMT would be a third party. But actually if we see the every different polling from different media and different party from over the last two years, we will see the KMT still have a solid support in northern and central Taiwan. Our candidate, especially in the city council, we have more than six to 700 city councilor while in time, our friend TPP right now is struggling in a starting label. I see news, I saw real news, I think that's last year or earlier this year, the chairman Ko Wen-je of TPP, when media ask him whether you is gonna be in the second party right now according to the poll number, and he say, "I don't believe." He said "I don't buy it." Their own chairman refused to understand they're already in the position, our second place, our Taiwanese society, which is truth, which is fact because, of course we see TPP enjoying a lot of supporting rate, especially in young people. Well many of my friend they are supporting TPP, TPP have a good image. For

example, their mayor candidate in Hsinchu, Dr. An Gao, I personally work with her for a while during Terry He's run for presidential election. Yes, they have one or two single very talented, a new politician and not really traditional. So they have a good image in younger generation. But if we are looking at it, the whole picture, the ground picture, especially in city label, for county label, for the city council label, I would say KMT, he might be still the first party if you, if you are looking at the local election. KMT still the first party in the first place doing the county label and the city council label. So this our base to ready from opposition party to a ruling party and prepare for the next year presidential election. So we are reform reforming right now. A more and more younger generation choose to join KMT. As I just say, we have near 200 people around age 30 running for city counselor this year. You could take a number compared to other third party or other small party have more focus on special party area. For example: Shidai Liliang. Actually, I personally admire many policy line of Shidai Liliang. I really hope we can have a policy co-operation in some different area actually. So I would say for the past five years, especially younger generation, I don't dare count myself as younger generation. Actually I already 32, because the 20, the age around 20, this generation is totally different culture from me for two generation, because every three to five years, the whole political picture, the whole society collective memory and public image has changed, Then right now, the more younger and younger generation, they're actually not really that anti-china emotion. They already get used to watch the TV show and entertainment apps from mainland in China. So actually, political view flows change very fast than we ever imagine. So at the least right now, KMT still have a lot of advantage and we are confident we'll have a victory this November. Thank you.

- Maybe ambassador Chao. If you don't mind taking the question, 'cause we all know that the TPP, KMT are oftentimes competing for the same blocks of voters.

- Well, not at all. I'll be happy to respond to the question of both you and Steve. Well let me, let me get myself better understood. You know, the KMT well, which has been the longstanding party for nearly I think over a hundred years. You know, if you look at the, the recent history of the, of the Republic of China. So I think with still respect, okay, my late father, he's a lifelong KMT member and I actually honor speaking, I've joined, since my senior high school days, I've joined the KMT party in Taichung. So, and I, as you can imagine that I've been working at the foreign service in the government, under the KMT administration for a long time. So I know quite well the KMT, the background and I also, I'm aware of the KMT's strengths, which deserve to be respected. However, well, I would like to also, I'm not surprised by the, the modesty of the Chairman Ko Wen-je, for his saying that I don't, personally, I don't believe that a hundred percent that we have comfortably outperform, the KMT to become

the second powerful, party in Taiwan. I still, we have a long way to go. I just mentioned that, humbly that, and this honestly, that the certain recent occasional polling results indicated that, and to my surprise as well, the TPP has outperformed the KMT. That's a fact. In the looking down the road, I don't, I follow the Chairman Ko's statement that I don't think that we can lay back, sit back, say okay, we're going to be a number two party. No, still, we have a lot to do. In many things that need to be getting on with. But unfortunately, I think with, with due respect, I feel personally sorry to see over the past few years that the many friends of mine, even some of the former ranking officials of the KMT demonstration, that they told me privately, that they are disappointed in the leadership of the current KMT. Although they have a KMT in their memory, they have KMT okay, on their minds in their heart. But still, they are, they have so many reasons to lose their, you know, traditional confidence in the KMT, which I am personally, I'm sorry to see that happen. So again, that is the beauty of Taiwan's democracy nowadays. All the parties can run the race on the equal footing, and because yes, I agree with, you know what Mr. Lin mentioned earlier that the sum of the election results, that still KMT, has outnumbered. Of course we have, the TPP, only three years old. It's a baby and KMT over 100, he's a senior citizen, okay? So it's no comparison between the two but the polling results, okay. For the election result, yes, KMT, as you know, has taken, getting the upper hand, but okay. Honest, sincerely is big in that the polling result for the people's perception, people's perception, not the numbers of the elected officials, but people's perception, general perception that the KMT, has a room for improvement in many respects. I shouldn't go any further, but I still have, I still, harbor my traditional, respect for the GOP of Taiwan, a grand old party of Taiwan, which is KMT. And I wish, but it's a fair game. It's a fair game. Let's run a decent, let's run a decent race, okay? To make the Taiwan democracy, more promising and more, admirable to the rest of the world. So, okay, with best regards to all the parties can say, even the DPP, and Shidai Liliang, I have my personal and professional, best luck and best wishes. Thank you all.

- By the way, it's already late, but we did run a little bit late due to some technical issues. If the panelists don't mind, can we maybe please have about 10 to 15 minutes more? Thank you so much. I know it's late in Taipei and Steve, do you have any follow up questions, before I head the attack?

- No, George, why don't you take over?

- All right, so my question is actually beyond, about what's going to happen, beyond the nine one, the local elections, because we all know that the 2024 presidential election is coming up. So I have a set of questions, for all four panelists. So first let's take on Alfred, because I think his party's, what's gonna happen potentially in the future might be the most, could be potentially very, very interesting.

So as I mentioned, a lot of people would argue that we would see a blue wave, or at the very least the KMT would do very well in the coming local elections. So how might that affect the field, of the KMT presidential, primary specifically, there is often a rumor that Eric Chu and Ho You-yi Chu Li-wen and Ho You-yi, they don't always see eye to eye, to each other. So if the KMT does very well this time, doesn't mean that Ho You-yi necessarily, would have to, support Eric Chu's bid for the presidency. Furthermore, if the KMT does very well, does it mean, and this circles back, to the TPP, if the KMT did very well, and let's say if TPP ended up only taking Hsinchu, which is one possible scenario, is there ending possible collaboration between Ko Wen-je, Mayor Ko, and the KMT would like Mayor Ko, right now, I think according to most polls still has around 20% support, right? So how would that play out? Would the KMT ever be able to work with the TPP, in the presidential election and moving on to the Pan Green camp? So Alfred Lin posed a question that I think is quite perfect for Congressman Ho. So Alfred's question is, so basically what would happen to President Tsai, after the local election? So again, this goes back to Congressman Ho's point on a possible hurricane. So will there be a hurricane, and if there will be a hurricane, what's going to be the shape of that hurricane, to pose the question metaphorically, and of course also for, for Shidai Liliang, the new power party. So what's the new power party's position or current thoughts on the 2024 presidential election? So, Congresswoman Wang, gave us a very nice presentation on some of the key issues facing Taiwan today. And frankly, a lot of those issues, one might argue, is associated with the shortcomings of the current ruling party. So, in this context, so we know that Shidai Liliang historically, a bit closer compared to the other political parties, but how was studied on played again, given that clearly Shidai Liliang has some misgivings when it comes to the DPP. Okay, so this is a whole set of four questions, for all four panelists, regarding the presidential election, and if I wish to abuse my power, as the dictatorial moderator, and maybe put Alfred, on the spot first, because this goes back directly to Steve's question in terms of realignment and the balance of power between political parties. So if possible, Alfred, Leonard, Mark, and Claire Alfred, you have the floor. You have to unmute Alfred.

- Oh, sorry, I didn't notice. Actually, I really want to yell hi to my friend Mark Ho. Because I haven't been able to hear his wonderful voice for a while. But, let's answer the question directly. I would say many people predict after 2022 election if KMT do well, maybe we will quickly come into the next race to decide who gonna run, who gonna run presidential election next year. But I will say for now, inside a party, inside KMT, actually we have really strong counselors from top down, or from bottom up actually. Everyone understand if we didn't win this time, I mean the local election, we don't have any chance to talk, to discuss about the presidential election. So actually for now, we see them as apparently two different event,

because we don't want to connect presidential election too much to the result of local election to disturb our tempo for the, our political strategy. As our chairman actually said, don't talk about 2024 right now, if who dare to talk to discuss about that, that's a really ugly word. I don't want to say that in English, but chairman made a very clear attitude, including himself. We won't talk about presidential election now before the local election, but I will answer you a little bit about actually inside the party right now, we have a consensus next year, just like Alexander the Great, when he's gonna pass away, his general asking who will be king after you leave, Alexander the Great? And he say to the strongest, so I think the next year we have a consensus that who got the most highest polling rate, who is in the best position to win, median, old or young, especially younger generation, median voter. And that this person, whether he or she will have a chance to represent KMT, and also I want to remind or use this chance, we always focus on who, to take presidency or who will run the election. But I want to emphasize one thing here. Whoever, especially from, whether it's from pan blue side, pan green side, DPP, or even TPP, have their own potential presidential candidate, I want to remind the next year, Taiwan, the whole country will facing several situation from outside war, the international situation, regional stability is very turbulent. These people, those person, those people who want to run for presidency should ask for themselves, whether they have ability to maintain the regional stability and have enough liberty to get inside support to reunited the whole Taiwan, not a blue Taiwan, not green Taiwan, but the whole Taiwan to united together to facing the external threat. So everyone who think about presidency should ask for themselves this question first. Yeah, that's my answer. Thank you.

- Okay, so sorry again, I'm going to abuse my power as a dictator. Oh, sorry. The moderator, a dictatorial moderator and say that, sometimes when you, for instance, when you send, let's say, a love letter to a romantic, a possible romantic interest. If the romantic interest did not respond to the love letter, there's no message, but it is also a message, right? So in that sense, so just something, to push everyone you know, a little bit and maybe to have the audience consider this a possibility. The fact that, chairman Chu said that it's not the time, to talk about the presidency. Doesn't that actually mean a lot? I think it's actually a very strong signal, although it's no signal, right? So just something to push everyone, possibly to think about. But now let's give the floor to ambassador Chao.

- Well, okay, George, I have to say that it's a highly, it is a super, can I say the question is, a hypothetical question. And so far with regard to the election of the 2024, lot of things remain unclear. I think so far. Let's look at both parties, the DPP and the KMT, even their presidential candidate, remain unknown, okay? So far the only things remains clear is about the potential candidate is with our humble party, the TPP. So far, I think they, it goes without saying that Chairman Ko is going to be our candidate for the presidential

election in 2024. So for this hypothetical question, it's very, very, the ball is not in our court. The ball is not in our court, it's in the course of the other two parties. So, well, let's wait and see what will happen, what will happen, to both KMT and DPP. I think these, from the TPPs perspective, certainly a hundred percent, we are going to, we're going to strive for our final victory in the year 2024 for our presidential election. But we remain, keep the strategy or any other, some of the unknown factors. And I think, I personally believe that the election for Taiwan, any kind of elections, remain a kind of, it's a methodical, okay, it's a mysterious, okay. It's a philosophy, becoming the philosophy for Taiwanese people, because a lot of, elements remain uncertain. And for some, some of examples in the past, like in the, we have known the superstar of the KMT, Han Ko-yu who used to be a presidential candidate, his popularity reach is so high, and suddenly, he jumped to the bottom, which is the one example. And the other one is the, on the DPP side. In the year of 2019, President Tsai, she was so unpopular. Some indicated that she might not be able to be reelected, okay? In the year of 2020. But it turned out, she got reelected, with very high number of votes. So I think a lot of things, we had to keep in mind that, for the year 2024, the presidential election, we have a over a year to go from now. So I think let's see what will happen, but for TPP for TPP sake would definitely, we'll try our best. We will, keep all the options in mind and we'll get on with it. And we're going, we have confidence that we're going win the victory in these results. Thank you for your blessings.

- Ah, sorry, ambassador Chao, I have to push you a little bit on this point. I resisted, we academics, we can also be quite vicious, just like politicians, but we are more socially awkward, but okay, on that note, so I think what you said about how the is, of course Mayor Ko, will be the leader, but there seems to be this whole passive strategy of waiting for other parties to approach Minzhongdang. So I just wanna pose a possible scenario. So if we look at the polling numbers now, right? And of course, the polling numbers could be inaccurate, as Congressman Ho mentioned in his presentation. So we can't just take as given, and even in the US you know, midterm election, the ultimate result was not the same, as the polling results we were seeing before the mid-term election. Okay, but that being said, what if the Minzhongdang TPP only took Hsinchu, or there's even a possibility Minzhongdang might even, might lose Hsinchu very, very narrowly, given what's going on right now. So let's consider scenario where Minzhongdang lost Hsinchu, and lost Taipei and took some city council seats around the country, but let's say less than 10 seats, in that kind of situation, would mayor Ko be open to, for instance, maybe run as the vice president for instance? I am just saying hypothetically, and of course, academics like to entertain, entertain the possibilities of, we like hypothesis, right? That's what we do. So let's say in that, under that scenario, under the scenario scenario that I just mentioned, what mayor Ko be willing to, for instance, potentially serve as the vice president, on the ticket with Eric Chu

or Hou You-yi? I mean, that surely must be a scenario that Minzhongdang must consider, right?

- Okay. That's only, it is a very, not only an entertaining question, but also could be a very, could be a politically controversial question. I don't know the answer, but even if I do, okay, George, honest speaking, even if I do, I won't tell you at this moment, okay? But, you know, but still, okay, in addition to the mayor's election, okay, Hsinchu and the Taipei, I think that's the two, the two cities, you know, that our contenders, you know, Gao Wang and Huang Shanshan, although not a TPP member, but she's recommended by Mayor Ko, and we all know very well. And so we look forward to the result. But in addition to the mayors election, we're also working on the very hard, particularly chairman Ko himself, as you have viewed the photos, I show you. He has joined, he has helped all the candidate for the city council members and county magistrate, even some of the township, like a liaison, okay. On the campaign trail. So Chairman Ko has been extremely busy on, he's on the run in the past few weeks and past few months, it's gotta be busy until the last moment on the 26th of November. And then, so let's keep the, the options in mind. And I don't think that the, I think the mayor Ko himself, he's a very, very confident, self confident. He's a very kind of assertive, he knows what he's doing, he knows what he's doing. And I think he knows, what his characteristic features are. And you know, as you know, like, you know, I mentioned earlier that is a true, you know, reality, that you know more and more, the young generations, people in Taiwan, they're supporting Mayor Ko, not necessarily the TPP party per se, but his personal, his personal integrity, his personal charisma, they have been very, very convincing. Okay, very convincing. I think that the chairman Ko, he had two strengths, okay? As I heard from all the people, surrounding me. And they say that Ko, he had two strengths, which is, not existing in both parties, okay? The KMT and DPP with no offense. First, he has honesty, he's a honest gentleman, he's very honest. He speaks what he has in mind, without any rosy words and any manipulating in words. And secondly, he hates corruption. He hates corruption. He's very, very, very, you know, decent. And so I think for this election so far, and we have seen so many candidates, throwing, you know what different hats of it. Like, you are corrupted and you are clean, and I'm not, I'm not corrupt. I'm clean, or some anti-china, some pro-China, different kinds of, the hats. Throwing at each other. But the Ko, you know, he's very, he's following his own paths. He doesn't join some of the fancy words. And so he was very, I can tell that from my personal observation for the past year and a half, I think he's deserves, he has a personal integrity. I think that's his best strength, his personal integrity, personal integrity. And I think that will, that's what attracts most supporters to him or to the TPP, as well. So we have confidence in him. And also with, in the TPP, of course, all the things know, but let's say what will happen, of course, honest speaking, I want to, beat around bush that the result of the, of the local elections in less than two weeks.

Well, you know, we have some impact on our conversation. I think as we, as impact on the other parties, conversation of course for the year 2024. I think that's a reality. So let's wait and see what we happen then.

- All right, thank you very much. So now we have Congressman Ho, if you don't mind, you know, also answering a question, on the presidential election.

- Mm, well, I think that Mayor Ko Wenje, he wanted to run for the presidential election in four years ago. And then it was like a super lousy soap drama. So I think everybody can go back to see the history. And then, I'm so sorry, I think Minzhongdang this time in Hsinchu, I don't think there's a hope for it. Gao Hong-an she's getting in, getting herself into corruption issues. She was abusing assistance. So everything you said, the value you have, I think somehow it's kind of contradicted to whatever it's on the table. So anyways, back to the DPP, I think DPP itself, because we have factions and the factions will actually monitor on each other. We don't always have consensus on everything, but because we have factions, and then we can do reflections, and then I myself, sometimes I will point it out what's going on and then what's wrong, and then try to fix the policy or fix how people, how the work or the public works should be implemented. And then I also understand you guys are so aware of what, what the results is gonna be. And then assuming, assuming the election for DPP is good, I think nothing gonna happen. But assuming the elections went bad, based on tradition, our chairperson, regardless who she is or who he is, they will be stepping down from the chair. But this time for DPP, I do also have to emphasize again, right now it's the year 2022, and then by the time Xi Jinping finishes third term, it's gonna be 2027. And then in between those five years, what we gonna do, I think it's, we have a consensus, bipartisan consensus between Minzhongdang, Shidai Liliang, KMT, I think making Taiwan stronger in terms of militarily, and then also we have better ties with our allies. That's something we wanted to do too. I think Alfred putting a lots of efforts into it, I do see your achievement. And then, but regardless the result of the election coming, the local elections, I think DPP always will take a chance to do reflections. And then also, as I mentioned earlier, in the very beginning, I think Chen Shih-chung did a great job as a chief of the CDC, but lots of misreadings, a lots of perceptions we probably can do better. And then also including the PR, the image of Chen Shih-chung, which we didn't handle it that well, we can do better. So we have 10 more days and we gonna try our best. That's all I gonna share. Thank you. Thank you, George.

- We're tight in terms of time, so I have to let Congressman Ho off the hook for now. So Claire. If you don't, you know, I would, we would also love to get your perspective on the new power parties perspective on, it's future relationship with the DPP and the 2024 presidential election.

- To be honest, the development of the new power party has been limited by the inference of the overall environment in the past few years. And nine one election is indeed the key to the survival of the new power party. It is unavoidable that if the NPP cannot get the same seats in 2018 or even make a breakthrough, then in the 2024 election, we may face even more severe challenges. But I must also point out that from now on to 2024, still have some time to go. I believe that through hard work and persistence in the parliaments, the voters will see NPPs practice of the spirit of fairness and justice, and will continue to support us in applying key roles in the next parliament election. In addition, in additionally that the NPP also have the right to nominate the president in 2024, I do have some discuss, we do have some discussion within the party, but not make decision yet, because the scale of the presidential election is quite large for NPP. So I know a lot of people think due to the similar policy of our values of the democracy or national defense, a lot of people think we are very close to DPP. But I want to emphasize that NPP is an independent party. So when we are looking for, looking back to the supporting rates, which about the people who is younger, maybe we say less than 40-years-old, NPP is always the first one or second, the ranking first or ranking second by those peoples. It means the people knows NPP has the very important values for Taiwan's futures. So for the back to the election in 2024 about the president, right now, we didn't have make decision yet, but if we want to, if we will support for NPP or other parties, it depends on what kind of policies they want to point out, they want to voice out for our futures. Also, what kind of people, who will be the candidates for, for example, as I mentioned before, the candidate for Miaoli mayor this year is not really good. So we have no chance and we have not possibility to cooperate with the TPP. If they nominate a good person and then they have a clear policies no matter from NPP or KMT, or TPP, we can consider about how to voice out, how to support each other or how to cooperate. So I think for NPP, the most point of view, the most point of value will be what kind of value they focus on and what is the point of the way they treat Taiwan's future. So that depends on which party, which parties they are. So that is our, that's my point of view. So I think NPP is really thinking about how Taiwan can move forward and what we go or what direction we will go to, not just consider about party position, policy, yes. That's all.

- Okay, thank you so much Congresswoman Wang. So I want to take a question, from, you know, QA and I saw that, you know, Alfred has already answered it, partially answered the question, but I want to actually expand the question a bit and also push Alfred to maybe say a little bit more. So the question is from Jia-Hong Cai, Cai Jia-Hong, who is a professor at NCCU, formerly a director of the NCCU and Electoral studies center. And currently he's a visiting scholar at Harvard. And Jia-hong you know, of course will be one of our panelists for our next session, to analyze the Taiwanese elections. Okay, so

Jia-Hong's question, if I may pose it for him and also tweak it for him for slightly, he has a question about what does KMT mean by . So of course that could be an issue of translation, right? But I think there's a deeper issue behind that. So just to expand the question a little bit, I think almost everyone here mentioned that one almost weird thing about, the current, about this election is that there are very little discussions of actual policy issues. So Congressman Ho mentioned, talked about, how is very important, but you know, it's not discussed, it's not really being discussed, sorry, not presidential election, but it's not really been discussed in the Taipei mayor election. And you know, so Alfred mentioned that, inflation is an issue, right? But again, that didn't become one of the major issues. And of course, you know, the DPP has to deal with a number of incidents that are generating controversies surrounding its candidates. Most particularly and recently, Annie Gao in Hsinchu. And of course, Shidai Liliang also mentioned these, in Congresswoman Wang's presentation, they mentioned that there are a lot of issues regarding the health of Taiwan's democracy that we should take note of. Okay, so sorry to be a bit long winded, but I guess the more general question is, so let's say for each of the panelists, right? Let's say if you can focus on just one very important, policy issue for Taiwan in the next two years, what would that policy be, let's say if you want to talk about, , right? So what concretely, for instance, in the context of KMT, would the KMT you know, want to help the Taiwanese people have a better life? So for instance, is it going to be a new energy policy? You know, right. Which is essential, for at least one essential policies for Taiwan's future, right? And, if we wanna pose the same question to Minzhongdang, and Shili what will that policy, what will that issue be, right? Okay, so I took the liberty of expanding one of Jia Hong's question and you know, I hope that we can use this question as the concluding, question for our panel today. Who would like, maybe this time, who would like to take the question first? Alfred, or?

- Okay, let me summarize again. I think in Taipei, do you guys are familiar with ? It's called rural cheif, right? it's smaller than city counselors. And then I do that calculation in Taipei, we have 456 boroughs, and then there is only 35 of them. It's nominated, it's DPPs . So we all know that time to time beyond other than Taipei KMT has deeper grassroots, the community networks compared to DPP. Which back trace, back to the history, KMT owns more resources and then, you know, time to time the voting behaviors will, will link it to how your family or their social status. And I think there, there's a huge study about it. Anyhow, I wanna say we, we wanna do good in this, in the local election, but time to time, we have our disadvantages in terms of the networks, or how we get the grassroots into deeper or in more systematically. And second, all I think previously Biden was really worried about this midterm election. I think the pandemic, the economic will, will have a huge impact on people's life. And then I think this midterm election, I myself, I'm not that optimistic for

DPP. And then back to the, the question George has, I think the most important thing for Taiwan, I mean locally, locally at least for Taipei, is urban revitalization. Our housing price is super high. And then the supply and demand time to time, it doesn't fit at all. So that's the problem we need to address. And then, as I mentioned, it's gonna be the biggest revitalization, urban revitalization in Taiwan, in Taipei, but in the past eight years, I'm pretty sorry. Like Ko Wen-je didn't really make progress on that, I think. And then, you know, for a city, a capital city to have its real functions and then to cope with so-called supply chain in the future and then providing better education, better urban functions. I think that's important for me. Thank you very much. Thank you, George.

- So who will be next? Maybe the ambassador, or congresswoman Wang. Either way.

- I can go first. I think in our NPPs website, we already have a lot of policies, but I want to especially emphasize on 3 points. The first one will be energy issues because we know almost every year in the summertime we will facing to the energy shortage issue. And also the energy issue will impact on the economic impact on the industry's development. So I think this one is very important because I think the Taiwan green, green energy policy is quite not so concrete because we always try to lower down our target year by year. So this is very, very important issue. We need to face phase two. So this is the first point, I think we need to especially pay attention to. And the second one is similar to the march, that will be the residential issues, because we know Taiwan residential price, no matter renting or buying, are very high in Taiwan compared, compared to the country single, over the world. And this is also impact to the transportation and impact to the waiting to have, to have the kids and impact to how we choose our job. And also impact how the quantity, quantity and equality of our lives. So this is one is also very focused by, by NPP and this is the very, very important value in for us, no matter from, no matter from the election of the 2024 or in the past few years. NPP is always talking about we need to move forward and we need to vary, we need to do a lot and we propose our solutions of the residential issues. But unfortunately, even DPP has a right to, make the strategy or make, make the policy or make the roles to review the bills. But they didn't do that, or just do it a little bit. So I think this is very, very important values and we want to focus on. And the third one will be the birth rate. The birth rate in Taiwan is super low. And then that is not only because of the economic issues, but also I think a lot point we need to move forward. For example, the infrastructure is not really friendly, not really child friendly people. It's very difficult to take children out no matter walking on street or taking the public transportation, or try to find some place to have some exercise. It's very difficult for Taiwan parents when they raising, when they're raising the children. Not only this one, but also Taiwan peoples didn't know how to be a parents. They have very, very, nervous about

to being a parents because Taiwan didn't have the policy for the parents' education. This is this kind of issue. Everyone know it's very severe and very important. But until now, I didn't see any candidates in Taiwan really face out and really raise out their solution for this. But this is my personal experience, I have some personal experience and I know how we can, we can make it to make people who we, who willing to have a child, they brought to have some people we willing to have, but they don't, they don't let fright, but some people they didn't willing to. I think we need to concern about those two, those kind of, all those kind of groups, people to face out to face our birth rate. So I think this three point of view, energy and the residential issues and birth rate will be the main point in the Taiwan's futures.

- Right. Thank you so much. Ambassador Chao?

- Okay, yes. I'll be quick that the, okay, either word that, this election is rather local elections, local elections. So it should be, it should get in, should be involved in some local, the administration related, issues now instead of some of the, the high end, some of the, like, like you know, mainland policy or pro China, anti China. So I think I wrap up, allow me to wrap up, you know, all the other, you know, fellow panelists, have say that this, this time around the TPP, Taiwan people's party. We do have a political agenda. We do have a political agenda for this year's local elections. I think five points, number one, okay, social security. Okay, I don't want to spend extra time, you know the alliterating, what it is, social security and secondly, economic prosperity, economic prosperity, and thirdly, environmental sustainability. And the fourth point, housing justice. I think someone mentioned about the residential, right? Residential price is soaring, I think the housing justice. And finally the fiscal discipline. Fiscal discipline. I think that is purely that reflection of the you know, the mayor Kos, personal philosophy, ideology of the anti-corruption. He hates corruption, but corruption has been so widespread, in the, the government, any circles, any levels, for the past few decades during the KMT or DPP administration. Now in conclusion that given this basis, this words, okay, this backgrounds, I think Taiwan people's party has nominated one, okay? Mayoral candidate in Hsinchu, because there's a reflection of their strengths in Hsinchu city, that the technology, technology town. We nominate the, you know, Gao Hulai, right? Who has been the perfect, well qualified candidate because she has been working some of the technology related institutions and she has a very strong academic background. But unfortunately she became, because she is so popular, she becomes vulnerable to some of the certain parties, you know, the groundless acquisition, that's one thing. And secondly, the other major candidate, the Taipei city mayors, we nominated it. Okay, not nominated, we recommend it. Okay, Huang Shanshan, she's another well qualified candidate to reflect the beauty, the special strengths of Taipei City, which is the capital city of also the political economic

center of Republic of China. And the Huang Shanshan has been not only the deputy mayor for the past few years, and prior to that she was also in the serving in the city council of Taipei City. And even before she has been lawyer providing some of the, you know, voluntary legal service to more than the 100 thousands of people in the past. So she has a strong background and with a hundred percent perfect reflection of the strengths and the beauty of the city she's running, I think that that applies to Hsinchu City as well. So I think these two candidates, that is a perfect, you know, they're not politicians, they're technocrats. They're experts. Okay? They're professionals. I think that is a reflection, the strength and also the beliefs and the values of the Taiwan people's party. That's, I think we, I think we deserve our more support. Thank you very much.

- All right, Alfred, last but not least.

- Okay, thanks all of you. Actually, I couldn't agree more with all of you, including the very important issue right now, including the salary, housing price, and related to the birth rate. After this out my generation, actually most several issue, but we cannot solve the problem in, in a single phase, in a very short time. We need to be united to gather forward. I will spend , what's that mean? It means in local Taiwanese, that mean fighting for people's good life, for their daily life or their livelihood. That's mean we focus on economic and social security issue, economic issue inflection, salary, housing, price. Similar that because this year is local election, we focus on domestic issue. But according to George, ask what's most important issue in the next two year, for that I would say "Si Vis Pacem Para Bellum". This Latin means if you want peace, prepare for war. I don't need to repeat the Taiwan situation internationally right now. Everyone know. I think that will be the major focus in the next year, especially presidential election. We will focus on cross strait relations and national security. For me personally, I am a reserve military officer of ROC Army. That's mean if any military conflict or even war outbreak in Taiwan Strait, I will go to the battlefield in the front line. So not just me personally. Collectively, I worry about the situation for my colleague, for my generation, for the whole Taiwan. So I really hope I want to use this place and timing to remind if we have chance, if we have TPP, new power party and DPP here together, if we have chance together next year, after election, please do the National Defense Forum together. Yeah, thanks. That's all I want to say.

- All right, Steve, before I wrap up, any last comments or thoughts that you might want to share with everyone here? Oh, sorry, Steve. Let's see. Unmute please.

- I have no final thoughts. I just wanna thank you for moderating tonight, this morning and also for, for organizing what was a very interesting panel. Thank you very much, George. We appreciate it.

- Thank you. It's a pleasure. So yes, I, so we should definitely end by now. You know, it's already 11:09 PM in Taipei. Thank you so much for staying over. I know how busy everyone you know is, but yes, we really appreciate your candid answers and you know, and to put you on the seat here, to grill you a little bit. And we definitely hope to have further opportunities in the future to learn from you guys. Thank you so much. Have a good night and have a good day for people back in the US. Good night.

- Good day.

- Bye bye.

- [George] Thank You.

- Bye.

- [Congresswoman Wang] Bye-bye.