

Taiwan is slated to hold its presidential and legislative elections next January. Recent events including the Sunflower Movement, the Taiwan local elections of 2014, and the Kuomintang presidential candidate change, indicate changes in its political landscape. A third party force rooted in Taiwan's civic movements has taken shape. This talk will help you understand Taiwan, as well as its implications and impacts on Hong Kong, as it enters the election mode.

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Re-imagine Taiwan through the Election Battle
選戰前夕，重新想像台灣

Talk
講座

Understanding Taiwan Politics through the 2016 Elections

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Misunderstanding (from the “local” mainstream media).....

1. Taiwan politics: Cross-strait relationships
2. Two-party politics: Kuomintang VS DPP
3. Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) = Taiwan's independence
4. Ethnic division: the mainlanders VS the locals
5. “Violence” in the Legislative Yuan: fighting of counselors

China factor (Wu Jieh-min)



- China has been using a “**cross-strait political-commercial alliance**”
- comprised of financial groups and pro-Beijing organizations to interfere in Taiwan’s elections, and in doing so, influencing policymaking, public discourse and political order.
 - E.g., Want Want Holdings Limited: China Times, CTI Television Inc., China TV





10台港澳传真

环球时报

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中华统一促进党总裁张安乐接受《环球时报》专访

我要在台湾基层培养红色选民

本报驻台北特派记者 孙立极

穿着淡蓝色立领白衬衫，戴一副无框眼镜，时不时露出笑容，记者面前的中华统一促进党总裁张安乐斯文儒雅。如果不是他身边常站着三四名高大随行，他看上去更像大学教授，而非台湾最大帮派“竹联帮”的“精神领袖”。

6月29日，在大陆“逃亡”17年后，人称“白狼”的张安乐回到台湾，被警方铐出机场直奔“地检署”，当晚保释。随后几天，他频繁接受媒体访问。在偏绿媒体节目中，在众“名嘴”唇枪舌剑下，他坦然秀出自己的小册子《和平统一一国两制》。他所到之处，还可以看到这样的镜头：几个年轻女孩惊喜地跑向他，他微笑着同她们合影，并赠给她们每人一本《和平统一一国两制》。

张安乐是名传奇人物，16岁混帮派，20多岁就曾替人入狱的“竹联帮”帮主陈启礼主持帮中事务，后来赴美读书。1984年，陈启礼赴美刺杀《蒋经国传》作者江南，事后，为救陈启礼，张安乐在美公布陈留下的录音带。陈免于死，张安乐却被美国以“共谋毒品交易罪”判入狱10年。1996年，他获释后回台，不久赴深圳经商，不想却在台湾被以“组织犯罪”等罪名通缉，从此滞留大陆。日前，张安乐在台北接受了本报专访。

《环球时报》：为什么选这个时间回台？
张安乐：2004年成立中华统一促进党时，我就决定回来，不然隔靴搔痒。对不起同志。那时我母亲还在。母亲曾和我通电话说，她问医生：可不可以活着看到我



张安乐在一家酒店接受了本报采访。孙立极摄

他们的下一代我培养几个大学生。张安乐：背景是两面性的。人家会因此攻击我，但我可以因此走入基层，走出

我在深圳时，老家人到深圳，先吃住在我家，给他零用钱，再慢慢帮他找事。在台北，我家是接待站，洛杉矶、深圳也是接待站。

《环球时报》：你说“不做大哥已经很久了”，但大家很难忘记你的背景。



心系中华的竹联帮精神领袖张安乐

儿子。我听了很难过。小时候我是母亲的骄傲，小学考第一，考进台湾最好的中学；后来混兄弟，又让母亲头疼；再后来美国读斯坦福大学，又成母亲的骄傲；结果被“江南案”卷进去，又在台湾被关。直到2010年5月，我母亲走了，我就准备回台湾。有一名警官联系说我安排。结果，中间发现这个案子不归他管，一直弄了很久。到今年3月，海基会通知我我可以拿人台证了。有人说是民进党“立委”段宜康帮了我，我也搞不太清楚。我以为回来一定会被关，就先做了体检，以及收拾其他，就到了现在这个时候。

《环球时报》：在大陆生活这17年，最大的收获是什么？
张安乐：一是让我母亲颐养天年，她在深圳过了她一生中最安定的几年。二是把我山西老家的亲戚带出来了。他们以前住窑洞，现在在开书店、开洗衣店的，

一段很长的路要走，后面的关键还需要大陆支持。我们是开路的。我在绿色电台敢讲我是中国人。台湾够窝囊，不敢承认自己是中国人。趁我在，先把风气带起来。

《环球时报》：接下来有什么规划？

张安乐：我原以为会被关上一阵子，没想到能这么快出来。只能说，我要做政治义工，而不是政治人物。我不会去担任任何公职。我相信只要我们能发展出红色选民，就会有很多红色人物站出来。台湾政治很现实，当他发现选民是绿的，他比你还好；选民是红的，他比你还好。现在是恶性循环，吹绿风，选民往绿色走，政治人物就绿；政治人物绿，绿风更大，选民就更绿。我们希望自己在基层培养出红色选民。2016年是重点，我66岁了，还有3年，希望2016年时，中华统一促进党能在选举中，“总统”候选人联署过门槛，表示有五六十万支持者；政党票再过门槛，表示红色就有希望了。▲

年至50年，大陆变成中产阶级社会，那时会有一个适合中产阶级的政治制度，不见得是美国式的政治民主，一定是中国式的。那时就是中华民族万世太平的来临。唯一一枚不定时炸弹就是“台独”。“台独”不可怕，可怕的是引起中美战争。

《环球时报》：你最近十几年都在大陆，怎么在台湾保持影响力？

张安乐：我在台湾一共住了30年。40年前，我住在台北，南部兄弟到台北都住我家，很多人不认识，慢慢就熟悉了。我的个性让我结交了很多朋友，也是这种个性，牵扯进很多案子。我在美国时，家在洛杉矶，台湾人去美国第一站，就住我家；离开美国回台湾，也是住我家。

Political landscape of Taiwan



November 2014
Electoral Landscape

DPP 13 Seats
KMT 6 Seats
Independent 3 Seats

Mayoral and local elections



Independent←-----→Unification



台 聯





社會民主黨
Social Democratic Party



時代力量
New Power Party



推出同志參選人唯二政黨
宣布整合



綠黨
Green Party



社會民主黨
Social Democratic Party



DPP: its status?

- Party Constitution
 1. **Independent** Taiwan's **sovereignty**
 2. **NOT a part** of the People's Republic of China and Mainland China
 3. Far from the reality: KMT's assertion's of "the only legitimate government in China"
 4. **Changing the status quo**: must be decided by the people of Taiwan by **referendum**
 5. '**One-China principle**' and '**1 country 2 systems**' are **inapplicable**
 6. should engage in the international family: resumes **international relations**
 7. **Dialogue with China** in a full swing: mutual understanding and commercial cooperation, setting up a peaceful framework to maintain peace & stability

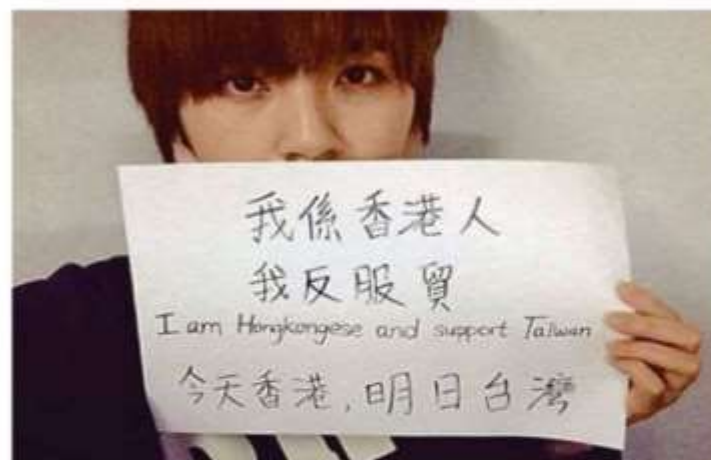
Sunflower Movement (2014)





Sunflower Student Movement in Taiwan 2014





Democracy at 4 am



Morning without YOU is a dwindled dawn.

This ad has been purchased with donations from 1,875 Taiwanese citizens.

At 4 am on March 19th, 2014, 480 students occupied the Legislative Yuan in Taiwan to protest the so-called Trade Agreement with China. The Agreement includes national security implications and poses major risks to Taiwan's economy. Over 50,000 citizens have joined the protest in peaceful sit-ins, galvanized by strong opposition to the government's secret negotiations and handling of the Agreement. The Agreement was rushed through the Legislature without an assembly that even an originally envisaged an all-party agreement. The "sell-back law projects" reflect the government's lack of transparency and responsiveness to the people's concerns. The occupation of the Legislative Yuan has become a people's movement to win power back to the people. Protesters, musicians, teachers, doctors and tens of thousands of people from all walks of life have joined the protests to support.

After the President and ruling party failed to respond, the students expanded their protest at 4 am on March 20th. The authorities used police to remove the peaceful protesters with batons, tear gas, and water cannons, turning them into detainees. Police brutality resulted in multiple injuries to the protesters, who only had their bodies to shield themselves. The media too were removed from the scene.

Our single Agreement has plunged Taiwan's democracy back into the darkest hour of the night. All protesters and supporters of Taiwan's democracy are united in their resolve not to rest and not to give up. We will safeguard the backbone of Taiwan's democracy — that the government must be transparent and responsive to the people's concerns.

Taiwan needs your attention and support. Today, we ask you to join us, and hundreds of thousands of supporters from over 50 cities, in support of basic democratic values.



We invite you to www.hsm.tw. See the event firsthand through citizens' eyes. Support us by leaving a message for us with a photo of you and a screenshot. You may appear to be a dark star, but we believe that as more people witness to the truth, the sunrise of democracy will not be far away.

Contact Information: Sun Chang | 090 5753 1198 | www.hsm.tw



Let's do it
Sponsored by 1,875 Taiwanese citizens

Democracy at 4 pm



Ethnic Taiwanese & Taiwan identity

1. 2 ethnic groups

- Native Taiwanese: Minnan and Hokka
- Chinese Mainlanders

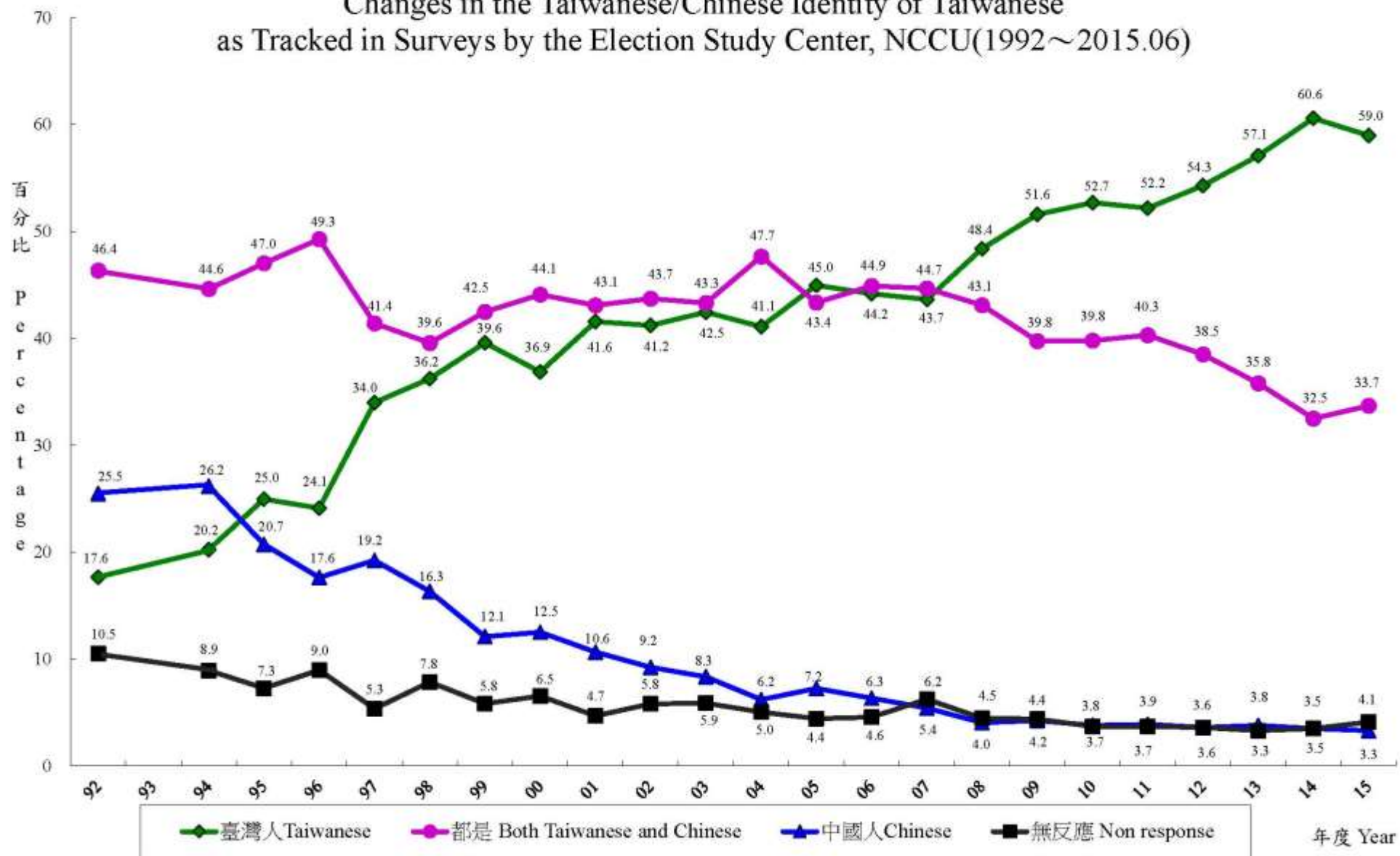
2. Identity crisis & reconstruction

- Unification is hopeless under the KMT
- Diplomatic isolation since the 1970s: Asian orphan (since 1894 due to the First Sino-Japanese War)
- “China” being a discourse is so confusing
 - Chiang Kai-shek’s authoritarian rule, as well as KMT as an alien party coming from the Mainland China
 - Mainland China: PRC, which separates geographically from Taiwan with political, institutional, economic and cultural differences
 - The Republic of China (ROC)’s government VS People’s Republic of China \neq KMT VS CCP \neq Central government VS local government/province
- Localization: the second and coming generations of the ethnic Chinese in Taiwan
- Democratization: Taiwan’s independence, separation from China are no longer taboos
- Rise of new Taiwanese identity: Differences & disconnection between Taiwan & China: two sovereign states, two governments with equal footing

Identity as the political manipulation – Identity = localization = Independence = Instability?



臺灣民眾臺灣人／中國人認同趨勢分佈 (1992~2015.06)
 Changes in the Taiwanese/Chinese Identity of Taiwanese
 as Tracked in Surveys by the Election Study Center, NCCU(1992~2015.06)





Violence as a discourse / performance?

- Negative
 - Disorder and chaos
 - Disregarding the due process
 - Discrediting democracy: sign of instability
 - Undermining International image
- Reflective
 - Do we examine the source of violence: unaccountable and unresponsive process in deliberation?
 - As an assertive way to stop the passing of the unpopular bills?
 - While the conservatives hate, those politically and socially discontented find violence to be impactful in questioning and changing the unpopular policy
 - Violence is limited and focused without negatively affecting democracy: perform violence in front of the camera!
 - In what position when you are talking about X is violent?

Conclusion:

1. China factor > cross-strait relationship = political and economic dependence → integration → Hongkongized Taiwan
2. Two-party politics is overgeneralized
 - The third force
 - Youth politics
3. Political status:
 - De facto state: own territory, own government, sovereignty, ...
 - “China”: maintain the legitimacy (KMT)?
 - Independence is as a means to resist the China factor?
4. Ethnic division & 5. violence in the Legislative Yuan:
 - Historical context + Political reconstruction and reproduction by media and politicians

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