

# *STABILITY AND DEMOCRACY IN EAST ASIA*

Organized by the Taiwan Study Centre at  
the University of Ljubljana in cooperation with  
the Taiwan Foundation for Democracy

CENTER ZA TAJVANSKE ŠTUDIJE  
臺灣研究中心



TAIWAN FOUNDATION  
for DEMOCRACY  
財團法人臺灣民主基金會

Tuesday, February 28, 2017  
Ljubljana, Grand Hotel Union, The White Hall

## Outline:

As the world is pivoting to Asia in recent years, the security climate in the region has worsened. While most Asian states anticipate a certain role for China in regional order-building, they also strongly desire a continuing presence of the United States. Will the institution-building and power-balancing be sufficient for a stable and secure region or will the unresolved territorial disputes, mistrust and arms races set nations on a collision course? As the anxieties about the quality and future of democracy have intensified worldwide, encouraging liberal trends in East Asia will be a much greater challenge. This seminar, taking place on the 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary of February 28<sup>th</sup> Incident in Taiwan, will offer a unique opportunity for open discussion with high-level experts about some of the most sensitive issues besetting the region.

## Programme:

8.45-9.00: Registration

9.00-9.15: Welcoming Remarks

Session I: 9.15-10.30

Moderator: **Saša Istenič** (Taiwan Study Center, Slovenia)

Discussant: **Szu-Chien Hsu** (Taiwan Foundation for Democracy, Taiwan)

Speakers:

1. **Tun-Jen Cheng** (College of William & Mary, United States):  
*Asia's Geo-economic Dynamics under Trump*
2. **Mathieu Duchâtel** (European Council of Foreign Relations, France):  
*The Weakening of Democracy as a National Security Policy Tool*
3. **Hermann Halbeisen** (University of Cologne, Germany):  
*Taiwan: Will Deepening Democracy Lead to Greater Stability?*

10.30-10.45: Coffee Break

Session II: 10.45-12.00

Moderator: **Saša Istenič** (Taiwan Study Center, Slovenia)

Discussant: **Szu-Chien Hsu** (Taiwan Foundation for Democracy, Taiwan)

Speakers:

1. **Ketty W. Chen** (Taiwan Foundation for Democracy, Taiwan):  
*Social Movements in Taiwan and the New Trend for Concern*
2. **Kerry Brown** (Lau China Institute, King's College London, United Kingdom): *Cross Strait Policy under Xi Jinping*
3. **Stéphane Corcuff** (Taipei office of the French Research Center on Contemporary China, Taiwan): *The French Press Imagination of Taiwan, with the Example of the 2016 Presidential Election*

## Abstracts and Speakers' Bios:

### Kerry Brown

#### *Cross Strait Policy under Xi Jinping*

Since 2013, when Xi Jinping became country president, he has promoted a harder line on a number of regional foreign policy issues, even as China's global diplomacy outside of Asia has been much more collaborative and participatory. The whole narrative of the South and East China Sea, and of the Xi approach to Asia, is to tie in with visions of national rejuvenation and greatness, the delivery of the Centennial Goal for 2021, and the moment of China's restoration to its status as a great, powerful and modern country. For this narrative, the outstanding issue of Taiwan and its de facto independence stands out as a major problem. In Hong Kong, Xi and his fellow leaders have promoted a hard line attitude, letting politics rather than benign economic ideas take precedence. Towards Taiwan too, the Xi leadership has been pursuing a political track, starting to allude to creating a framework agreement of some sort that might step, even if remotely and incrementally, towards some kind of resolution of the Taiwan issue in the Chinese Communist Party elite's eyes. The question is in which ways the Trump presidency with its notion of a retrenchment from Asia by the US might accelerate China's expectations, and to what extent they are willing to use economic leverage over Taiwan to attempt to enforce their expectations.

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Kerry Brown is Professor of Chinese Politics and Director of the Lau China Institute at King's College, London. He is an Associate on the Asia Programme at Chatham House, London. From 2012 to 2015 he was Professor of Chinese Politics and Director of the China Studies Centre at the University of Sydney. From 2006 to 2012 he was Senior Fellow and then Head of the Asia Programme at Chatham House. Prior to this

he worked in the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office, where he was First Secretary in Beijing and then Head of the Indonesia, East Timor and Philippines Section. He is the author of over 10 books on contemporary China, the most recent of which are 'CEO China: The Rise of Xi Jinping', 'China and the New Maoists', and one book of poetry, 'Lost Calls'.

### Ketty W. Chen

#### *Social Movements in Taiwan and the New Trend for Concern*

The Sunflower Movement of 2014 brought the world's attention back to Taiwan. The Sunflower Movement, as it was, was an accumulation of social discontent on several fronts and the culmination of a series of social movements that were gathering momentum and strength years before. The social movements in Taiwan have become a powerful actor within Taiwan's democracy and political arena. From pension reform, worker's rights, the protest over dwindling numbers of Chinese tourists, to marriage equality, social movements in Taiwan has shown no sign of deceleration. However, there is an emergence of a worrying trend since the inauguration of President Tsai Ing-wen last May. That is, the instances of increasing violence during protests in Taiwan, and in many cases, the strong indication of the involvement of organized crimes and pro-Unification organizations. As protests and activism is essential for a healthy democracy, the recent development suggest that the vigorous spirit of activism in Taiwan may have been hijacked by groups and individuals for the purpose of undermining and discrediting Taiwan's democracy to its own citizens and allies abroad. This talk aims to open discussion and to further examine such trend in the context of regional security and cross-strait relations.

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Dr. Ketty W. Chen is the Vice President of the Taiwan Foundation for Democracy. She served as Deputy Director of the International Affairs Department of the Democratic Progressive Party during the 9-in-1 local

election and the Presidential election from 2014 to 2016. Prior to assuming her posts in Taiwan, Dr. Chen was visiting assistant professor of political science at Austin College and associated faculty at Collin College's Department of Behavior and Social Science. Dr. Chen received her doctoral degree in political science from the University of Oklahoma, specializing in comparative politics, international relations and political philosophy. Dr. Chen also holds two Master's degrees in political science and international relations from the University of Oklahoma and dual Bachelor of Arts degrees in political science and psychology from the Southern Methodist University in Dallas, Texas. Dr. Chen has been referenced in a number of publications and media outlets, including the Wall Street Journal, the Associated Press, Al Jazeera, LA Times, New York Times, Financial Times, Voice of America, BBC-World, Libération and Le Monde. Her chapters on Taiwan's social movement in three edited books are scheduled to be published next year. Dr. Chen is currently authoring a book on the political resilience of the Kuomintang.

#### **Tun-Jen Cheng**

##### ***Asia's Geo-economic Dynamics under Trump***

It is widely understood that US withdrawal from the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) has created a godsend opening for China to shape Asia's geo-economic contours. Whether China is able to exploit this window of opportunity depends on the feasibility of a reduced form of the TPP, the prospect of the China-Japan-Korea economic integration, and the timely conclusion of Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) negotiation. China's stewardship will be put to test under time pressure as the new US administration will be assiduously forging a wheel-and-spokes trade partnership.

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Professor T. J. Cheng is Class of 1935 Chair Professor in Government Department of the College of William and Mary. He received Ph.D.

from University of California, Berkeley. He has previously taught at University of California, San Diego, and has been a visiting scholar at University of Tsukuba, Japan and a visiting associate professor at University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. His primary interests are in comparative political economy and East Asian development. He has published numerous refereed journal articles, book chapters, co-authored and co-edited books on economic and political dynamics in East Asia. His forthcoming volumes include Routledge Handbook of East Asian Democratization, and Asymmetric Dyads: a six-country study of public opinion and foreign policy. Professor Cheng was Editor-in-Chief of the American Asian Review, currently edits Taiwan Journal of Democracy, and is on editorial board of a number of journals including Asian Survey.

#### **Stéphane Corcuff**

##### ***The French Press Imagination of Taiwan, with the Example of the 2016 Presidential Election***

The 2016 elections campaign has been followed by a few French media, mainly the most important media outlet, which sent reporters to Taiwan in the last days. Compared to recent years, it seems that the image of Taiwan is changing, and that press reports are less motivated by the wonders of a democratic experiment in the Chinese cultural sphere than the acute identity drift that has led to the feeling of a nation distinct from China. Reports tend in general to be favourable, and more rare are those who still use expressions like "the other China" or "the rebellious island", to designate Taiwan. This possibly paradigmatic change is nevertheless diminished with still obvious considerations that what is noticeable about Taiwan's experience is that it promotes human rights and democracy, and that should China become democratic, the "problem" of the "division in the Taiwan strait" if not of "China" might disappear, indicating a fundamental difficulty to see Taiwan from the island with its own subjectivity and a tendency to go on looking at Taiwan with Chinese eyes. This is especially clear

when referring to the pro-independence parties, which are considered as "radicals" without any further question, or the unquestioned use of the problematic word "independence".

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Dr. Corcuff is an associate professor of political science at Lyon University (Institute of Political Studies), researcher at the French Center for the Study of Contemporary China and director of its Taipei office. Specialized on identity politics and the geopolitics of Taiwan, his interests include also Taiwan-China relations over 400 years, interpreting this relation in terms of a "geopolitical liminality", a concept that encompasses geopolitics, history, ethnicity politics and national identity issues dimensions of the question. He is the author of the two books 風和日暖。臺灣外省人與國家認同的轉變 (*Light wind, warm sun. Taiwan's Mainlanders and the national identity transition*, 2004) and 中華鄰國。臺灣閩境性 (*Neighbour of China. The liminality of Taiwan*, 2011), as well as numerous articles in French and English.

**Mathieu Duchâtel**

### ***The Weakening of Democracy as a National Security Policy Tool***

The defense of liberal democracies has been a central element of the US global strategy since World War II, one that survived the end of the Cold War. But there are already many signs that the foreign policy of the Trump administration is putting less emphasis on values and is moving instead to a much more transactional approach of partnerships with friends and allies. This trend is of particular importance for Taiwan. Given the structural constraints on Taiwan's international space, the defense of democracy has been a central element of the island's survival strategy in the post-Cold War era. Whether Asian democracies will reconsider the strategic value of democracy to cement their partnership with the United States and adapt to the Trump administration will have a considerable impact on the regional security architecture.

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Dr. Mathieu Duchâtel is Senior Policy Fellow and Deputy Director of the Asia and China Programme at the European Council of Foreign Relations. Based in the Paris office of ECFR, he works on Asian security, with a focus on China's foreign and security policy and Europe-China relations. Before joining ECFR in November 2015, he was Senior Researcher and the Representative in Beijing of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (2011-2015), Research Fellow with Asia Centre in Paris (2007-2011) and Associate Researcher based in Taipei with Asia Centre (2004-2007). He holds a PhD in political science from the Institute of Political Studies (Sciences Po, Paris). He has spent a total of nine years in Shanghai (Fudan University), Taipei (National Chengchi University) and Beijing and has been visiting scholar at the School of International Studies of Peking University in 2011/2012 and the Japan Institute of International Affairs in 2015. His latest co-authored book, *China's Strong Arm, Protecting Citizens and Assets Abroad* was published in the Adelphi collection by IISS and Routledge in 2015.

**Hermann Halbeisen**

### ***Taiwan: Will Deepening Democracy Lead to Greater Stability?***

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Hermann Halbeisen teaches Chinese and Western political thought at the chair of 'Political Theory and History of Ideas', Research Institute for Political Science and European Affairs, Faculty of Management, Economics and Social Sciences, University of Cologne. He is chairman of the board of trustees of the 'Stiftung Asienhaus' (German Asia Foundation) in Cologne. His research focuses on political thought in modern China, political development in China and Taiwan, and the theory of democracy. He has published on political development in modern China, politics on Taiwan, political thought in China and East Asian Security.



### **Szu-Chien Hsu**

Dr. Szu-Chien Hsu has taken the position of the President of the Taiwan Foundation for Democracy (TFD) since June 17 of 2016. He has a view to make TFD a more dynamic and engaging organization in supporting and deepening democracy both within Taiwan and around the region. Besides his position in TFD, Dr. Szu-chien Hsu is an Associate Research Fellow of Institute of Political Science at Academia Sinica in Taipei. He also serves as the Director of the Center for Contemporary China at the National Tsinghua University in Hsinchu, Taiwan. Dr. Hsu's research in recent years focuses on Chinese politics and cross-strait relations. One of his recent publications is an edited Chinese book, "The Big Chess Board for Xi Jinping: the Limits of the Transformation of a Post-totalitarianism." He also has published book chapters such as "A Tale of Two Party States: Comparing Authoritarianism across the Taiwan Strait," in Guoguang Wu and Helen Landsdowne, eds. (forthcoming), and "Whither the Local Autonomy under the 'China Model'? The Political Economy of China's 2008 Stimulus" (co-authored with Hans Tung), in TK Leng and Yushan Wu, eds. (2014). Parallel to his academic works, Dr. Hsu has also been actively involved in many civil society organizations and activities. He has been the representative for the Taipei focal point in participating the Northeast Asian Steering Committee of the Global Partnership for Prevention of Armed Conflict (GPPAC). He has served as board member for the Peacetime Foundation of Taiwan and Taiwan Democracy Watch.

### **Saša Istenič**

Saša Istenič is Assistant Professor at the Department of Asian Studies at the University of Ljubljana. She is also a founder and a director of the Taiwan Study Center in Slovenia, a member of the Associate Editorial Board of the International Journal of Taiwan Studies (IJTS) and a former executive board member of the European Association of Taiwan Studies (EATS). Dr. Istenič received her PhD in China and Asia-Pacific Studies from National Sun Yat-sen University (Taiwan), her MA

in Chinese Studies from Leeds University (UK) and her BA degree from the University of Ljubljana (Slovenia) with a double major in Chinese and Japanese studies. Her research interests include cross-Taiwan Strait relations, EU-China and EU-Taiwan relations, East Asian security and diplomacy.