

# President Tsai pledges to write new chapter for Taiwan

President Tsai Ing-wen was sworn in May 20 as the 14th Republic of China (Taiwan) president in Taipei City, vowing in her inauguration address delivered before more than 20,000 people from home and abroad outside the Presidential Office to take Taiwan's democratic development to the next level by ushering in a new era of cooperation, efficiency and pragmatism.

"We will work to maintain peace and stability in cross-strait relations," Tsai said. "Cross-strait relations have become an integral part of building regional peace and collective security. "In this process, Taiwan will be a staunch guardian of peace that actively participates and is never absent. We will make efforts to facilitate domestic reconciliation, strengthen democratic institutions, consolidate consensus and present a united position to the outside world."

According to Tsai, dialogue and communication are crucial to the success of this approach, adding that the government will work to maintain the existing crossstrait mechanisms for that purpose. "By existing political foundations, I refer to a number of key elements. The first element is the fact of the 1992 talks between the two institutions representing each side across the strait, when there was joint acknowledgement of setting aside differences to seek common ground. This is a historical fact." The two institutions are Taipei-based Straits Exchange Foundation and Beijing-headquartered Association for Relations Across the Taiwan Strait – semiofficial organizations responsible for opening and furthering cross-strait communications. "The second element is the existing ROC constitutional order. The third

element pertains to the outcomes of over 20 years of negotiations and interactions across the strait. And the fourth relates to the

**Special issue** 

President Tsai's inauguration

And soon of the offer

democratic principle and prevalent will of the people of Taiwan." Tsai said Taiwan will become a "proactive communicator of peace" and adhere to the principles of maintaining peace and sharing interests. To this end, the government proposes

setting aside disputes in the East China Sea and South China Sea so as to enable joint development, she added.

"Taiwan has been a model citizen in global civil society," Tsai said. "We have per-



reshaping Taiwan's global competitiveness are a top priority for the government. This is to be achieved through promotion of five major innovative industries.

Strengthening the social safety

Courtesy of Legislative Yuan

dynamic relationships with India and  $\frac{\delta}{\delta}$ 

Association of Southeast Asian Nations members. Southbound development is

an important plank in her New Model for

Stimulating momentum for growth and

Economic Development for Taiwan.

sisted in upholding the universal values of peace, freedom, democracy and human rights. It is with this spirit we join the alliance of shared values and concerns for global issues. We will continue to deepen our relationships with friendly democracies including the U.S., Japan and Europe to advance multifaceted cooperation on the basis of shared values."

Tsai said Taiwan will also not be absent on the prevention of global warming and climate change, a presence extending to international cooperation on emerging global issues like humanitarian aid, medical assistance, disease prevention and research, anti-terrorism and transnational crime.

According to Tsai, Taiwan is to participate in international economic and trade cooperation, as well as take part in regional trade groupings like the Trans-Pacific Partnership and Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership.

In keeping with her New Southbound Policy, Tsai said Taiwan will expand its net is also key for the government, as well as transforming Taiwan's economic structures and achieving social fairness and justice. This includes pension reform, longterm health care and deepening Taiwan's democratic institutions. "The people elected a new president and new government with one single expectation: solving problems," Tsai said, adding that she vowed to face the challenge honestly and shoulder the responsibilities. "I invite every fellow citizen to carry the future of this country." Nearly 700 dignitaries from 59 countries and territories, including all 22 ROC diplomatic allies, attended the inauguration featuring local musical and cultural presentations such as the "March of Taiwan Democracy." The event concluded with a rendition of "Ilha Formosa," a song outlawed during the 38-year period of martial law, and a flyover by the ROC air force Thunder Tigers Aerobatic Team.

The full text of Tsai's inaugural address is available at the website of the Office of the President.

# President Tsai's **Five Major Political Reforms**

### **Generational Justice**

\* Aid young people in finding employment opportunities and starting new businesses

\* Help alleviate the burdens that housing and care for family members place on young families

\* Promote pension reform, remove red tape and shore up fiscal policy for the benefit of current and future generations

#### **Government Institutions**

Improve communication with citizens regarding the motivations behind government policies just as their intended effects

\* Make information in the government's possession available to opposition parties \* Establish "one stop" service windows on pressing issues and review outmoded personnel and organizational structures

### The Legislature

\* Promote constitutional reform allowing the will of the people to be better reflected; lower the threshold for parties

\* Ensure that the system guarantees a neutral legislative speaker

\* Bolster legislative staffing agencies' research capabilities as well as their professionalism and nonpartisanship

### **Transitional Justice**

\* Offer an official apology from the government for the oppression suffered by indigenous peoples

\* Restore historical truth about past administrations' use of violence and coercion \* Work to guarantee that no political party can benefit from inappropriately acquired assets

#### An End to Partisanship

\* Put a stop to social antagonism and the malicious fighting between political parties \* Bring together those who support progressive ideas to create a reform alliance

\* Foster internal solidarity so that the world will observe a united Taiwan

# New Path for Parliament

#### After achieving its first-ever majority, the Democratic Progressive Party seeks to enhance the efficiency and transparency of the Legislature.

by Oscar Chung Taiwan Review

The Jan. 16 national elections trans-Taiwan's political landscape. formed Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) Chairperson Tsai Ing-wen emerged victorious in the presidential race, while her party earned its first parliamentary majority. The DPP secured 68 of the 113 seats in the 9th Legislative Yuan, far outstripping its main rival, the Kuomintang (KMT), which saw its total fall from 64 to 35.

-000

On Feb. I, the nation's new Legislature met to elect its speaker. The DPP candidate, and thus shoo-in for the post, was Su Jia-chyuan. Su garnered 74 votes after attracting support from six non-DPP parliamentarians, easily defeating his opponent for the position, KMT lawmaker Lai Shyh-bao . The DPP's Tsai Chi-chang won a separate election for deputy speaker.

Although the DPP was the single largest party in the 5th and 6th Legislatures between 2002 and 2008, it has never before possessed a true majority. In those prior parliamentary terms, the pan-blue coalition, then comprised of the KMT, People

First Party and New Party, had superior numbers to the pangreen coalition, consisting of the DPP and smaller parties such as the Taiwan Solidarity Union. With President Tsai being sworn in on May 20, the DPP for the first time has a ruling majority.

The party made reform of the Legislature a key aspect of its campaign platform, stating that the body should be more representative and that the speak-

er should be neutral. After being sworn in, Su announced that he and his deputy would immediately relinquish all their posts in the DPP to ensure impartiality. The new speaker also used the occasion to express his determination to enhance the transparency and professionalism of the lawmaking body.

"In order to end the vicious struggle be-

tween political parties in the Legislature, we must start by ensuring the impartiality of the speaker," Su said. "To meet the people's expectations, a parliament must adopt an open attitude and win the public's trust."

#### **Greater Openness**

Veteran KMT lawmaker Lai said the Legislature is already quite transparent, pointing out that legislative and committee meetings have been streamed online since February 2009. The body has eight standing committees, each focusing on a specific area. "It's the process of cross-par-

ty negotiations that's been hidden from public view," Lai said.

Chang Hung-lin, executive director of the Taipei-based nonprofit Citizen Congress Watch (CCW), said that Taiwan's parliament possesses a relatively high level of transparency in comparison with those of many other nations. But he also stated that the system of closeddoor cross-party negotiations made it possible for lawmakers to cut deals that did not best serve the public interest.

Huang Chung-hsin

The Act Governing the Exercise of Rights of the Legislative Yuan, promulgated in January 1999, stipulates that cross-party caucus meetings must be videotaped and audiotaped and that the recordings must be made available to the public. However, according to Chang, prior to the current legislative session, the parliament had only ever released written documents





outlining the results of the meetings. In response to Su's call for greater transparency, complete recordings have been made public since the beginning of the current legislative session.

Cross-party negotiations are common worldwide. In Taiwan, they have been a formal part of the parliamentary process since the Act Governing the Exercise of Rights of the Legislative Yuan took effect at the start of the 4th Legislature in February 1999. "As these meetings constitute an official aspect of legislative procedure, their contents must be released to the public," Chang said.

The CCW executive director believes that opening up these talks to scrutiny will result in better legislation. "People expect lawmakers to do a lot of research so there is sufficient and significant debate on important issues and strong laws are created, but traditionally in Taiwan many legislators preferred to spend their time doing other things, such as attending weddings and funerals in their electoral districts, because they knew they could reach deals in cross-party talks, which lacked appropriate oversight," he said. Speaker Su met with CCW representatives in mid-February and expressed support for another move to boost parliamentary transparency, enabling interested parties and members of the public to sit in on legislative committee meetings. At present, this is prohibited by Article 61 of the Rules of Procedure of the Legislature Yuan.

Members on both sides of the aisle generally support allowing the public to attend committee meetings, though Lai said it is important to first establish clear rules. "No one opposes parliamentary transparency, but at the same time it is important to first adopt supporting measures," he said. "What if people in attendance try to disrupt meetings or even threaten to use violence against committee members?"

There are two parliamentary sessions every year, each lasting about four months. The inaugural session of the 9th Legislative Yuan started on Feb. 19. Su has indicated he is hopeful that the procedural rules can be revised and relevant security measures implemented in time to enable members of the public to attend committee meetings when the next session starts in September.

**Future Plans and Legislative Agenda** 

Legislative leaders are considering a number of large-scale changes to the operations of the nation's parliament. Members of the body have already agreed to allow proceedings to be televised, with trial broadcasts having commenced on April 8. "We're definitely going to start broadcasting legislative meetings and affairs on TV, but we first have to address related statutory and budgetary issues," Speaker Su noted during his February meeting with CCW representatives.

Another idea that has been raised in recent months is relocating the Legislative Yuan, currently situated in downtown Taipei, to a city in central or southern Taiwan such as Taichung. Su and his deputy have expressed support for moving the parliament to Taichung, stating that it would help promote regional development.

There have also been calls to grant lawmakers greater investigative powers. At present, they can call members of government agencies to answer questions and provide data. However, some legislators and commentators want to see these powers extended to cover private individuals and organizations.

The CCW's Chang is broadly supportive of expanding the ability of lawmakers to conduct probes, stating that "The Legislature should be fully informed before lic attention in recent years, such as food safety, long-term care services and disaster

it makes a decision." While there has been opposisome tion to such a move owing to concerns about privacy, Chang believes that once the body becomes more transparent, the public will feel more comfortable about



granting lawmakers greater investigative powers.

Parliamentary reform is far from the only topic on the agenda of the new Legislature. The DPP and KMT have each prioritized more than 30 pieces of legislation for deliberation in the current session. Of these, many are intended to address matters that have received considerable pubmitigation. The latter issue has been much debated in the aftermath of a Feb. 6 earthquake that caused 117 deaths in Tainan City, southern Taiwan.

The DPP's caucus has

also prioritized bills concerning political party assets and the supervision of crossstrait agreements. "Since the DPP has won both the presidency and a solid majority in the Legislative Yuan, it should be able to achieve its major goals," Chang said. "It's a huge opportunity, but ruling majority status also comes with considerable pressure and great responsibility."

# The Deciding Vote

#### A new generation of voters, activists and representatives is changing Taiwan's political landscape.

by Pat Gao Taiwan Review

The outcome of this year's presidential election was largely shaped by the votes of young Taiwanese. The supporters of Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) Chairperson Tsai Ing-wen, who emerged the victor on Jan. 16 with 56 percent of the vote, were much younger on average than those who sided with her Kuomintang (KMT) and People First Party rivals. Several pre-election polls showed around 60 percent of people under 40 years old favoring

Tsai, with even greater support coming from those under 30.

The growing political participation of the younger generation has also given rise to what has been dubbed the third force – political parties not directly affiliated with the traditional pan-blue and pan-green camps led by the KMT and DPP, respectively. The most notable of these groups is the New Power Party (NPP), which was formed in early 2015 and is now the third-largest

......

party in the 113-seat Legislative Yuan. In the race for the Legislature, which took place alongside the presi-

dential election, the nascent party won three district including seats. one in central Tai-Taichung wan's City, and two atlarge seats. For at-large positions, voters cast their ballots for political parties, which determine who will



fill the seats. The results in Taichung were of particular significance, as NPP candidate Hung Tzu-yung, born in 1982, defeated the KMT's Yang Chiung-ying, who was seeking her sixth consecutive term in the Legislature.

### Tragedy to Transformation

The journey of the NPP's Hung from ordinary office worker to high-profile politician came about as the result of a tragic event and the outrage that followed. In early July 2013, Hung Tzu-yung's younger brother Hung Chung-chiu (1989-2013) died in military custody just two days before he was due to complete his compulsory national service. Hung passed away while serving a detention sentence and suspicions were raised about the circumstances of his death and whether the military was hiding evidence of wrongdoing. As a result, thousands of protesters gathered at Ministry of National Defense headquarters in Taipei on July 20 to call for a thorough investigation and punishment for any military personnel who contributed to his death. Two weeks later, in what would become known as the White Shirt Movement, so named for the clothing worn by activists, more than 100,000 people marched on Ketagalan Boulevard in Taipei on the eve of the

young soldier's funeral. The protests led to petitions and then investigations, which ended with several military personnel receiving prison sentences and an amendment to the Code of Court Martial Prodictating cedure Chin Hung-hao that civilian courts

prosecute members of the military during peacetime.

Throughout the protests and investigations, Hung Tzu-yung's calm, steadfast attitude while confronting military authorities captured the hearts of the public and she became a driving force behind the White Shirt Movement. The demonstrations changed how young people perceived their ability to enact change. Now, "taking part in public affairs has become commonplace for the nation's youth," said Huang Hou-ming, an associate professor in the Department of Sociology at National Chengchi University in Taipei. With their concerns about economic, environmental and social issues, he noted, young people are developing views and perspectives different from those of older generations.

#### Moved to Action

The high-level support among younger voters for the DPP had already helped the party achieve a resounding victory in the 2014 nationwide local government elections. In the wake of the polls, the DPP held the top offices in 13 out of the nation's 22 special municipalities, counties and county-level cities.

A Constant Langer

Smaller parties were also given a boost by an infusion of young blood into local politics. Twenty-seven-year-old Xavier Wang, for example, is now a councilman in northern Taiwan's Taoyuan City. He represents the Green Party Taiwan, which was established in 1996 and cemented an alliance for this year's legislative election with the newly formed Social Democratic Party. Also in 2014, Councilwoman Hsueh

Cheng-yi, 26, formerly of the Trees Party but most recently running as an independent, earned a seat in the northeastern county of Yilan.

Before the NPP was set up, many

of its current supporters participated in various social movements that were blossoming around the nation.

The activists gathered to protest government policies in areas ranging from labor rights and nuclear power to agricultural land acquisition and regulations on public assembly. These protests were the first step in the formation of the NPP, noted Chen Ting-hao of the party's policy and news department. The NPP established a partnership with the DPP during the elections, Chen said, "but a ruling party always adopts a more moderate stance. ... We'll be more outspoken and insistent, especially on policies concerning our national identity and social justice." Taiwan's relationship with mainland China was an issue at the heart of the social movements that would lead to the formation of new parties and the reshaping of the nation's political environment. "The China factor," Huang noted, was the catalyst for the student-led protests that took place from March 18 to April 10, 2014.

Over the course of 24 days, thousands of people, many of them university students, gathered around and occupied the Legis-



lative Yuan to protest against a proposed crossstrait services trade pact. Activists expressed concern that the agreement could lead economic to and political interference from mainland China.

Courtesy of New Power Party

Among those protesting was Lim Tshiong-tso, better known as Freddy Lim, the lead singer of heavy metal band Chthonic. The 40-year-old rock singer went on to help found the NPP and now represents the party in the Legislative Yuan.

The protest campaign that began on March 18, named the Sunflower Movement after the flowers carried by demonstrators, resulted in a postponement of the review of the services trade pact until a supervisory law for crossstrait negotiations can be passed.

The supervisory legislation is now one of the top-priority items of the new Legislature, which began its first session in February. "Young people may be too idealistic, too unrealistic," Huang Hou-ming said, "but they are the engines of progress."

## **Building Sustainable Harmony**

Joshua Jih Pan's passion for environmentally friendly architecture steers the high-tech sector toward sustainable design.

> by Oscar Chung, Taiwan Review Photos courtesy of J.J. Pan and Partners

On a late fall afternoon last year on Fremont Boulevard in Alameda County, California, traditional Chinese lion dancers staged a lively performance as part of celebrations to mark the opening of the headquarters of Delta Americas, a subsidiary of Delta Electronics Inc. The building represents a milestone for both the Taiwanese tech giant and the man responsible for the architectural design, Joshua Jih Pan. "It's the greenest Delta building ever. Its geo-

thermal heating, and ventilation air-conditioning reduces system energy consumption by 60 percompared cent traditional with systems and, together with other features such as its solar system, allows the build-

ing to meet a target of net-zero greenhouse gas emissions," says Guo Shan-shan, chief brand officer of the Delta Electronics Foundation, an organization that aims to foster sustainable development at home and abroad.

The cutting-edge headquarters is a product of the J.J. Pan and Partners architecture firm. Including the new Delta facility, the company has designed two buildings that have achieved Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design (LEED) Platinum



Chin Hung-hao

......

certification, the highest level of accreditation offered by the nonprofit U.S. Green Building Council.

"Being friendly to the environment should be a basic requirement for every architect, given the limited resources that the Earth has to offer," says Pan, who founded his firm in the early 1980s. His dedication to environmentally friendly design is one of the key reasons why the 74-year-old was selected in December 2015 to receive



National Library of Public Information in Taichung

a National Award for Arts, Taiwan's most prestigious accolade for artisachievement. tic He will formally pick up the prize later this year. "Pan stands out by showing concern for humanity and looking at architecture through a

lens of pragmatism. His works are meant to improve the well-being of the masses, of average people," says Chang Chi-yi, vice chairman of the Xue Xue Foundation, a private nonprofit organization in Taipei that aims to improve Taiwan's cultural and creative strength through educational initiatives, meetings and exhibitions.

Pan earned a bachelor's degree from Rice University in 1966 and a master's degree in architecture and urban design at Columbia University in 1967. He says that, in con-



trast to his prior experiences in tertiary education, in the United States. he was asked to take various courses in the humanities, from psychology to sociology. While working for a firm in the United States. devoted to creating affordable housing, the young architect found a sense of fulfillment in designing projects targeting average people. These experiences, both at university and in the professional world, were major influences on his career as an architect.

After living in the U.S. for over a decade, Pan returned to Taiwan in 1976, and in 1981 founded his own firm. It was around this time that companies started to set up shop in the newly constructed Hsinchu Science Park, the first industrial park of its kind in the nation. The rapid expansion of the site gave Pan opportunities to develop his own nascent business, with his first job at the park being to design the gate at its main entrance.

"Pan has developed a closer relationship with members of Taiwan's information and communications technology [ICT] industry, the backbone of the nation's economy, than any other architect in the country," says Chang, one of the judges who reviewed candidates for the architecture category of the National Award for Arts last year. "An architect needs to have considerable experience and expertise in order to design ICT facilities." A wafer fabrication facility, commonly called a fab, for example, has to be vibration resistant and extremely clean to help ensure flawless products.

In addition to his reputation for quality, Pan is known as a champion of sustainable construction, and his commitment to excellence means companies that utilize his services are more inclined to accept the increased costs of his environmentally friendly designs. "Oftentimes, clients aren't proactive in this respect. But with tactful guidance from an architect, most of them are willing to opt for buildings with green features, which can make them proud of their properties and improve the morale of their employees," Pan says. "After all, the addition of green features accounts for only a small portion of the investment that clients put into their businesses."

Delta Americas' headquarters is a shin-



Ring of Celestial Bliss

ing example of Pan's vision for sustainable design. Aside from the green aspects of the building – copious vegetation, rainwater harvesting systems and abundant natural light – the architect and his team also placed a strong emphasis on creating focusing on sustainability and barrier-free access does not rule out the possibility of aesthetically pleasing architecture. Though Pan is known more for the function than the form of his designs, he has received praise for their beauty. One nota-

a structure at harmony with its surroundings. "This idea importis espeant, cially in Taiwhere wan space is quite scarce," he notes. The concept is also a prominent feature of the Taipei



Truth Lutheran Church, one of several places of worship designed by Pan, himself a devout Christian. A small plaza between the street and the church's entryway allows parishioners to interact with one another outside, and provides a safe, relaxing place where passing pedestrians can sit.

The architect, who in 1994 became the first Taiwanese to be named a Fellow of the American Institute of Architects, notes that creating comfortable factory-office buildings is in line with his concept of designing for the masses.

"People work in these complexes day and night, so relaxing design features are especially important," he explains. A design ble example in this regard, Chang says, is the National Library of Public Information in Taichung City.

The facility opened in 2012 and has since become a regional landmark. "The build-

Delta building

ing's long curves evoke the trends of the digital era – the flow of information, the flow of people, the flow of cultures," he explains.

Another of Pan's designs that met with critical acclaim was the Ring of Celestial Bliss, a temporary piece of public art commissioned by Delta for the 2013 Taiwan Lantern Festival in Hsinchu City.

In addition to its aesthetically pleasing design, the structure was completely recyclable. In 2015 it won both the Jury Award and Popular Choice Award in the Pop-Ups and Temporary category at the Architizer A+ Awards, an annual U.S.-based event meant to promote outstanding architecture and products around the world.

Should you have any question, please contact us at taiwaninfo.hungary@gmail.com TAIPEI REPRESENTATIVE OFFICE, HUNGARY 1088 Budapest, Rákóczi Rd. 1-3./II. tro.hu, roc-taiwan.org