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TAIWAN'S MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS:
LOCAL RACES WITH NATIONAL IMPLICATIONS

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P R O C E E D I N G S

MR. BUSH: I'm glad the interest in Taiwan remains warm in spite of the weather. I'm Richard Bush. I'm the director of the Center for East Asia Policy Studies here at Brookings, and I'm the proud holder of the CF and Cecilia Yen Koo Chair in Taiwan Studies here.

The subject of today's discussion is Taiwan's nine-in-one elections which will be held on November 29. We're at about the 10 day mark after which poll measuring voter sentiment cannot be released to the public. So this is a good time to sort of look at where we think things are going. We're going to look at three big topics. One is voter sentiment, and to do that we have Alex Tan who is with the University of Canterbury down under and came a long way to be here. My colleague, Min-Hua, who is a Visiting Fellow here at Brookings this year, but also, teaches at National Taiwan University, and our good friend Shelley Rigger who is a long-time member of the faculty at Davidson College and respected specialist on Taiwan politics here.

Before we move to our discussion I have to note with sadness the passing of a good and old friend, Master Nat Bellocchi. He died in his sleep on Sunday. He was 88 years old. He was a career member of the Foreign Service, he had been Ambassador to Batswana, but he gave all that up to be Chairman and Managing Director of the American Institute in Taiwan. He was the third. And he was my predecessor once removed. And he served in that position at a time when Taiwan's democratic transition was begun but not completed. He served from 1990 to 1995. The most memorable story about him was probably when he had to go out to Hawaii and greet President Lee Teng-hui in April 1995 when Lee Dun Way had not been granted the kind of transit that he wanted and so he stayed on the plane rather than get off. And Nat went on the plane. But that happened a long time ago. I always found him a source of wise counsel and

shrewd insight about the situation in Taiwan. So we will miss him a lot.

So now looking forward to the subject of today the first topic that we're going to look at is trends and voter sentiment, what the polls tell us before the polls close. So I'm going to have a series of questions. The first of them is, Alex, what are the polling numbers looking like for the major local races?

MR. TAN: For the major local races I think sort of the numbers are pretty much settling. Of the major races the ones that are much more really on national TV quite a lot is the Taipei and that particular number right now is still showing Ko Wen-je is up by two double digits right now. Although numbers are numbers are also showing that Sean Lien is actually closing a little bit, but not still past that single digit mark. And then the next big election that everybody is concentrating on is the Taichung one with Lin Chia-lung and Jason Hu. That particular number is a little bit crazy depending on who you look at. The major newspapers show a difference of about between six to twelve, but then there's a local Taichung one that I saw last night that is under five percent difference between the two. So I guess it depends on who you look at. And then there's the Changhua that is actually very close to call. Everything else seems to be a little bit more settled now. Chiaya is looking a little bit to the KMT side rather than the DPP side, but still, you know, not more than five or six percent though. So that will be, you know, where things are settled right now. The Tainan and the Kaohsiung one, those are quite DPP territory.

MR. BUSH: Okay. So those are clearly in the DPP column. Are there some that are clearly in the KMT column?

MR. TAN: Clearly in the KMT side right now I would say most likely the New Taipei, (inaudible) is looking definitely that way. Of course the outer island ones are looking that way as well. Taoyuan is looking KMT as well. I think the candidate has at

least double digit lead on the Taoyuan side. But the DPP is predicting that they're looking probably nine and if they can get past that that would be really great.

MR. BUSH: So are there any other surprise that may happen?

MR. TAN: Surprises? Well, the prediction is that there are these voters that might just come out at the last minute and tip the balance for Taichung or very lightly for Taipei as well. But at the same, you know, Yu Shyi-kun is also saying that there's a chance that he might actually just get over Chu Li-luan at New Taipei City, but I personally don't see how that double digit can close up so fast. Maybe the current numbers that show relatively large double digit for Ko Wen-je, and Lin Chia-lung in Taichung might go a little bit closer to, you know, probably upper end of one single digit, but I don't think it is enough to bring the lagging candidate over.

MR. BUSH: Now our friend, Doug Paal who is in the audience reminds us that when it comes to Taiwan elections what you can learn in the polls is meaningless up until the last 72 hours (laughter); that that's really when things start to happen and voters start paying attention. Do you think that's true here or is -- some of the issues that are set?

MR. TAN: You know, well, you know, I actually flew in from Kaohsiung just last night. Besides the Taipei election and Taichung election I think this year's voter sentiment, you know, it's not as exciting, you know. You don't see a lot of that excitement except for council members in Kaohsiung for example that every time I go past the campus at the National Sun Yat-sen University the different candidates are, you know, talking to each other, you know, trying to throw mud at the other person, you know. It's like every week there's a new thing on their banner, on this particular wall. But other than that voter excitement is not particularly there. There's been talk about students organizing buses to, you know, bring these young first time voters back home to vote, but

I have not seen much -- let me say that Sun Yat-sen University for example have students who are participating in that, but I have not seen a lot of that on campus anyway.

MR. BUSH: Now the conventional wisdom on local elections is that they are not about issues, that they're about scandals, they're about personalities, they're about mobilization. This time are there any issues that are infecting what are usually issueless campaigns?

MR. TAN: Well, the only issue that seems to be coming out a little bit right now is the position on the food security issue, the (inaudible), you know, that food security issue. A second issue that's coming up at least in the southern parts in Kaohsiung for example is the dengue fever issue because there's still quite a bit of outbreak of dengue fever, particularly in Kaohsiung. And the KMT candidate, Yang Chiu-hsing, is trying to use that as an issue to rile up, you know, the KMT vote or undecided vote, but I don't think it's sticking very much. But food safety issue is one of the big issues that has -- for example the KMT strategy is to try to talk a little bit about that in the Pingtung case. But still in the Pingtung race the DPP is still leading quite a bit there.

MR. BUSH: Okay. Thank you very much. We may be back to you with some more questions. But my last question to Alex is a good transition. There are issues going on at the national level. President Ma's unpopular -- his ongoing fight with Wang Jin-pyng, spy case with the Mainland Affairs Council, and other things. Do these matter for the KMT as it seeks to conduct its campaign and mobilize its voters or are they focused on other problems?

MR. HUANG: I think the main problem of this campaign actually can be under very, very low -- in terms of what we call sentiments. And they're supporting (inaudible) after Ma got reelected. It's just hovering really, really low, lower double digits.

But the more I would say the witness of KMT strategy is that they don't really think clear about how to fight these campaigns locally. For example if you look at the traditional leaders of dividing line with (inaudible) can he actually do not have any local -- I mean cultivated candidates and they all rely on local factions as well as Pan-Green renegades. Low strategy cannot win elections locally. There's only one exception which is Chen Yi-chen which is a very big end prices rooted in Chiayi City and she actually is quite charming and have some political experiences then under Ma administration. So there's the reason why KMT could still maintain Chiayi City, but other than that it's dismal for the KMT to maintain -- I mean to have any competitive powers down south. In the central part I think KMT did not think clear also too. For example in Changhua the reason why the race is so close is because there is a split in the Pan Green sides; Huang Wen-ling actually is the daughter of (inaudible). And so originally Pan-Blue there's also internal split because they have star counting magistrate -- I forget.

MR. BUSH: That's okay.

MR. HUANG: Yeah. But actually what KMT did not really, really work on is that how they can appeal to the -- I mean economically policy speaking to propose certain -- I mean really (inaudible) that make people want to support them. So it's both political -- it's both faces and they lose certain momentum. So they just hang onto their incumbent advantages to try to have minimum leads in the central parts.

And so if you look at the northern parts it's even worse. Look at the Taipei City. It's definitely is a 55-45, is traditionally in terms of political blocks. But KMT in our pool shows that kind of have a lot of support from light Pan-Blue sides. And their support is because Sean Lien actually start criticizing Ma after he got nominated. Sean Lien tried to make up with Ma's relationship in order to work on his campaign, but in fact that strategy even hurt's Sean Lien supporting race.

So I would say overall speaking, I mean Pan-Blue did not think clear how to win this election. And so it makes the election from Taipei now is really bad for Pan-Blue. But it may be a good thing for the Pan-Blue side, but we will come back to that later.

MR. BUSH: You may not know the answer to this question and that's fine, but it occurs to me that, you know, these problems with Pan-Blue campaign because of candidates and their own decision, because of central party headquarters and how it runs the overall the campaign, or it could be sort of local party headquarters. Do you have any insight into that?

MR. HUANG: From what I understand is the central party action control lots. So the local in terms of the candidates, they try to distance away but they cannot actually distance. For example, if you look at Chilong, originally the central party want to stand away, but the candidate comes up, there's a scandal and they are forced to nominate another one. But it just shows that the local one won't give up and there is not - this is just conflicting the local branches with the central party. So it's makes the Chilong City suppose should be an easy win, now it will be a -- is doomed to lose.

MR. BUSH: Now one could make a hypothesis that there are a couple of individuals that have a big stake in the outcome here. One is Chu Li-luan in Shin Be, and what that means for the KMT's nomination for the presidential election. The other is Tsai Ing-wen, who one might say if the DPP does better than expected that that would benefit her in terms of her positioning herself for 2016. I mean I'm not sort of making any assumptions about whether these two qualified individuals want to be president of Taiwan. It seems like it's a terrible job. (Laughter) They might have other things to do with their time. But --

MR. HUANG: Yeah. Paradoxically I think if Pan-Blue

lose badly defined which is losing Taipei City as well as Taichung City, then it might be good for Chu Li-luan. The reason is that if KMT really lost badly there will be heavy pressures for Ma Ying-jeou to start to initiate the power transition process to trying to actually put the powers -- Chu Li-luan have more room to operate. Or if KMT just lost Taipei or Taichung it would kind of make KMT think that under Ma's leadership there's still certain hopes and still under the central party's control. So if that is the case that would be really bad for Chu Li-luan. And the reason I say that is Chu Li-luan is not typical KMT candidate. He has a very good relationship with the opposition party too. In fact half of relative is (inaudible) and Chu Li-luan is although coming from academics is not really so academic he can actually manage the local interests very well. For example there are a lot of interests in Taoyuan County. Used to be very bad. There is county magistrate just assassinated like 20 years ago very badly. Chu Li-luan can actually blend those interests and kind of making opposition and encountering very well interest wise. So what I'm saying is that Chu Li-luan is not like Ma; is a politician who can actually manage to have good image, but down below he could also kind of make an interest wise politics kind of solvable. So what I'm saying is that, you know, Chu Li-luan could benefit if KMT have a very bad loss.

On the other side Tsai Ing-wen I think sees the Sunflower Movement, Tsai Ing-wen kind of sitting there and thinking that is the right time for her to actually have the chance to win, but I think there is still a lot of doubts when it comes to national elections, particularly for the president. I mean because she has not very clear view about the how close relationship should perform and she has not had very definitive opinions about how to solve the trade issues. So there are a lot of doubts I think put on Tsai Ing-wen two years later, but I think so far Tsai could have a very comfortable political wise step, she can expect that at least nine seats I mean. So he would control the

political leadership in the Pan-Green sides. But the challenges waiting for her actually is just like last time, how she can propose really convincing cross trade policies, to convince all the voters in Taiwan.

MR. BUSH: Okay. I'd like to turn to Shelley now and I first want to give you an opportunity to comment on anything you heard so far that you'd like to comment on, but then I want to turn to the Sunflower Movement.

MS. RIGGER: Okay. Yeah, I think this last point about Chu Li-luan. He is definitely an interesting character. And your comment about Taoyuan County, you know, we really do have to kind of look at -- first of all you have to look a long time back in the man's life history to get to his days as an academic although I guess he's on the sidelines a little bit, but he definitely did kind of plunge into one of the most difficult but yet promising municipalities in Taiwan and seems to have done a good job of that. And I remember meeting with him right after he started in Taoyuan as the Taoyuan (inaudible) and he told me that he could never leave Taiwan for -- or he could never have a vacation in Taiwan, that he always had to leave the country in order to have vacation because it was so dangerous to be the (inaudible). (Laughter) So I don't know if that's true or not, but someone who could survive actually, that's a good qualification to begin with.

So it does seem to me that no matter what happens the way he's kept his distance from Ma and the way he's kept his distance from party center definitely means that he's somewhat insulated from the effects of the election overall.

MR. BUSH: Onto the Sunflower Movement, the first of course of the Movement that took over the Legislative Yuan back in the spring in protest of the process and content of the Service Trade Agreement. So that was only eight months ago; is it having a resonance in these elections? In what way are the parties kind of taking account of this new phenomenon?

MS. RIGGER: Right. I think, you know, one of the ways that -- it's tempting to look at these elections as a kind of midterm election in Taiwan, a referendum on Ma's performance. And I understand the temptation to do that, but I think Alex's commentary reveals that it's really not so much a referendum on national policy issues, this is in fact a local election and that these kind of organizational factors and challenges that Ma has had in managing his own party and the electoral strategy and so on, in that sense it has national coloration, but it's not going to be, you know, I'm going to go out and vote for the DPP to show my resentment of Ma Ying-jeou because Ma Ying-jeou is not on the ballot. And in fact no one -- very few people who are even close to Ma Ying-jeou are on the ballot. The people on the ballot are local politicians who are well known to their constituents.

So in a sense I think if there's been a referendum or if there is to be a referendum on Ma's Presidency it was the Sunflower Movement and the social reception of the Sunflower Movement. When I talk to friends from Taiwan, especially people who either participate in or were very enthusiastic about the Sunflower Movement, they put a lot of emphasis on the failures of this movement. You know, we didn't get everything we wanted or, you know, the police beat people up at the Executive UN, and so on. But I think another way to look at the Sunflower Movement is as astonishing display of restraint and not sort of self restraint, but politically restrained restraint on the part of the regime. You know, it's hard to imagine many other countries in which the legislative chamber would be given over to demonstrators for a month and that the resolution would involve really minimal repercussions for the demonstrators, but very significant repercussions for the leadership. So I think what we saw was this kind of very physical embodied display of dissatisfaction with politics as usual through the Sunflower Movement. The unwillingness of many senior political and media figures and organizations to sort of full-

throatedly go after the students, the ambivalence of the response, the broad, popular support demonstrated through these big protests on the weekends in support of the students. I think that sent the message, something has got to change. But this particular election is not really a good opportunity to make those changes because none of the people running has much to say about how we handle cross trade relations, what we do about how the Legislative UN operates. And, you know, so the national issues are kind of detached from this local election. So I think the referendum may have happened already back in the spring, so I would be reluctant to over-interpret the results of this local election for kind of national politics.

MR. BUSH: I know you believe that the Sunflower Movement represents a new force in Taiwan politics and, you know, the local elections aside how do you think the two main political parties are accommodating or sort of addressing this new force?

MS. RIGGER: Yeah. I think it's really hard for either political party, especially in local elections, to address this sort of new political energy which is almost a-partisan or anti partisan -- I guess it's really anti partisan. The DPP would love to be able to find a way to get ahead of or to appear to be the party for the Sunflower Movement and in many their ideology and their kind of orientation is more congenial to the preferences of these activists, but as a political institution the activists are terribly skeptical, deeply skeptical of both political parties. And so that really makes it hard for the DPP. So individual candidates in individually -- mostly county or city council races; so sort of the second or third level down from the ones that we've been talking about so far may represent the sunflower movement more, but for the national party apparatus to find a way to absorb or express the energy of the social movements -- and it's not just the Sunflowers, I mean this has been building for years. We had the anti media monopolization movement was a huge movement critical of both parties, but particularly

critical of kind of Blue forces in the economy and politics. But there are also really weird bipartisan kinds of social movements like the one about conscription and the abuse of military conscripts, there were Blue leaning and Green leaning people involved in that movement. So what you see I think is this kind of welling up of frustration with both parties that is very hard I think for either party to kind of get a noose on and ride.

MR. BUSH: I want to give Alex and Min-Hua a chance to comment on the Sunflower Movement and does it have anything to do with these elections or?

MR. TAN: You know, I concur with what Shelley has actually mentioned, the fact that the Sunflower Movement is really -- looks very a-partisan. It's more like an attack on how the process of decision making has been going on, particularly with the services and trade. At the local election I think what the Sunflower has contributed to this particular election I think is awakening the young people in trying to say hey, we need to participate, we need to vote because we can make a difference. And that's one reason why much of the organization of the youth vote and trying to -- the first time voters, is really based on a lot of it that's from some of the activists that participated in the Sunflower Movement. So several universities are organizing donations to rent buses so that kids can, you know, go back home to vote. So that's how I see how the Sunflower Movement has affected. More in the voter mobilization of the youth vote rather than the issue that it brings, because local politics itself, the discussion that, you know, the feeling that I get in Taiwan just this last month is more a lot of the local issues that are involved, you know, are more important than what is happening in the service and trade and, you know, that kind of stuff. But certainly on the youth mobilization side I think it's making a little bit of headway. And certainly in the talk shows in Taiwan they've been talking a little bit about that because I was watching this talk show and they were talking about how much it will cost for a student to go home and, you now, the bus ride or the train ride if

you're not in your hometown. So how do they lower that cost, you know, for the voters, for the young voters, and say they're donating this, they can rent buses and, you know, kind of like that. So it's more of the mobilization side of the young vote.

MR. BUSH: Min-Hua?

MR. HUANG: I also concur both of these. KMT has already hurt badly in the Sunflower Movement. It's reflected in the poll numbers. The younger generation stepped up. The supporting (inaudible) is really trailing behind it, Pan-Green a lot. But I want also to know to share a point which is that why the region is so I mean tight race. I think Ma never though peace not actually has -- although they won three fourths of the parliament seats and he got reelected, but actually he got to be cohabite with Wang Jin-pyng because Wang Jim-pyng create his own institution legislative-wise that there is a caucus negotiation procedures, and that kind of has a very powerful veto arose there in the legislative process. So Ma every time want to put any legislative deal for work he need to negotiate with Wang to a certain extent. But Ma really don't think that it's necessary. From first day he become the President he think he got unified support from the collective as well as the legislative, but in fact he is not. And that would be a very important variable for the next election in 2016.

MR. BUSH: Well, back to Shelly for a couple of more questions. Do you think these local elections have any impact on Ma's ability to govern or is that already fixed?

MS. RIGGER: I think that's mostly already fixed. And I think Min-Hua's point is really, really interesting. The word you used, "cohabitation", right. Some of us in this room have had a long-standing conversation about whether Taiwan's constitution is a presidential, semi-presidential, or parliamentary with a president hanging off the side of it constitution. And so on the one hand I think it would be really interesting if what has

happened is Wang Jin-pyng has created sort of durable power in the LY to challenge the presidency, not only with these two individuals but going forward. I'm also thinking about the Japanese comparison where Koizumi seemed to manage -- you know, both Ma and Koizumi were simultaneously kind of taking on new economic challenges and policy challenges and also coping with the effects of a new electoral system. And the electoral system that they went from and to is the same in both cases. And what we saw with Koizumi is that initially a lot of things that looked very institutional in nature seemed to be happening. So the "Westminsterization of the Japanese diet" is how Margarita Esteves-Abe has described it. But then after Koizumi kind of went back to the old way, and I wonder if the next president and LY speaker will continue to cohabit or whether one or the other will fail to sort of pick up the role that's left behind. But I think that's actually a really interesting development that we need to pay more attention to.

And then on the issue of youth mobilization -- and this is also to the difficulty of really getting some kind of partisan political advantage out of the Sunflower Movement, so you put all those kids on buses and you take them home to vote and what do they see? They see a ballot that has a DPP and a KMT in most cases, county or city leader, and then they have all these names which are county council members and they have to pick one. We're back in SNTV elections below the level of the executive positions. So the parties are still doing (inaudible), you know, they're still trying to figure out how can we make sure that Alex gets 30 percent (laughter), and Min-Hua gets 30 percent, and Richard gets 30 percent, as opposed to he gets, you know, 60 percent and then the other 2 get 20 percent, and I'm the second candidate elected. And I just know what these young voters are going to do with that ballot. It might be that they say I'm just going to vote for all the ones who are not whatever I'm maddest at. And probably that's KMT. But will they vote for Independents because they figure Independents are less

polluted by partisanship, you know? Will they look at it and will they well these are all my parents' old cronies; I'm not voting for -- so that's I think the dilemma for the electorate facing this is, you know, they have a big message they want to send and they have this really small kind of communications device to send it through.

So I think in a way what Min-Hua has just been talking about is the answer to that question about Ma, you know, that his ability to govern independently has already been taken away by Wang Jin-pyng, but then also by the realization that any further action toward significant changes in cross trade relations will provoke a huge reaction that will make it impossible to push through. So Ma has got to be thinking there's nothing more I can really do because the last thing -- you know, it doesn't help anybody for me to try to make progress and then have this whole thing blow up again.

MR. BUSH: On the issues of the constitution and cohabitation I would note there's another actor here and that's the Premier (laughter).

MS. RIGGER: Oh, yeah.

MR. BUSH: And there's a French term for that too, but I'm not going to go there.

MS. RIGGER: Yeah, that's actually technically supposed to be used in the Wang Jin-pyng chair. (Laughter)

MR. BUSH: Okay. I want to get to questions in one second, but I want to ask each of you about leading indicators. We usually use the term in thinking about the economy and where the economy is going, and which indicator is the best for telling you where the economy is going to be in six months. So this election, in terms of 2016 and the presidential election what's the best leading indicator? Is it the number of city outcomes, is it the total vote for each party, or is it perhaps turnout, especially for KMT? So I'll start here and go down this way. If we look for one number what should we look

for?

MS. RIGGER: Yes, that's a tough question. And I would have said like this time yesterday, look at Taichung City because Taichung city was shaping up to look like a more KMT-DPP showdown, but then I read Frozen Garlic, the blog that Nathan Batto at Academia Sinica Institute for Political Science runs, and he said that was how he was seeing it until he went down there and listened to the discourse in the town and now he says that vote seems to be really more about (speaking in foreign language) -- that's Jason Hu's performance after 13 years running this City and now the combined City; that again it's local issues. So, you know, my bellwether kind of blew on me. So I think perhaps though overall turnout and certainly how Sean Lien does in Taipei -- I mean that's sort of the testing ground for a kind of Ma centric KMT and top down policy or political strategizing that if that's a disaster for the KMT then that's a really bad sign. If they're able to pull out even a decent loss then that's less catastrophic.

MR. BUSH: Min-Hua?

MR. HUANG: Yeah. It's a tough question for me. Remember four years ago, 2010, the same county city magistrate elections actually in terms of popular votes Green I mean won over the Blue side and eventually in 2012 Ma got reelected. And so in 2010 at the county, the local election a lot of people have feeling then Ma probably losing reelection. So I don't know. I just feel the Taichung as well as Taipei City mayor actually is a key indicator for us to look at because those two places supposed to be the Blue more than Green, but somehow the Blue candidate can persuade simply to mobilize the voters to vote for them. Even there are some turned into supporting Independents or Green candidates. In that situation my change is depending on which candidates will be around for the 2016 presidential races. They may matter -- a lot of differences. But if KMT lose badly they can and need to consider how come they lose those two cities

which they have 55 versus 45 advantage. So, I mean they've got really serious think about it.

I mean let me just have a word about the Premier. Jiang Yi-huah actually is my long time colleague in National Taiwan University. He used to -- he used to become -- from professor become the Premier. So it's a -- I mean just take a waiver to the power centers. (Laughter) But all of the power actually coming from Ma. And I think a lot of local politicians just don't -- I mean don't think there are persuasive enough for Jiang to have the grasp of that big seats in the power centers. I mean so in Taiwan system because the vote accountants was taken out and (inaudible) then there is -- the Premier actually legally just the Chief of Staff for the President functionally speaking. So I think Ma really needs to think about if KMT lose the election what the presidential candidates that KMT should have in order to turn this advantage, this political situation -- I mean around. Otherwise, I mean KMT will -- I mean is not looking good in terms of 2016.

MR. BUSH: Alex?

MR. TAN: I would concur with both. I think the Taipei election for me would be how close the vote ends up with because that is normally quite a Blue territory. But Taichung to me is still very, very important. An indicator to me of the central Taiwan is that Chia-lung has been campaigning quite a bit in the central to south area. Taichung to me is more like this is where the Blue and the Green kind of mixes and how Teal is it going to be (laughter) or how Sky Blue is it going to be. My feeling is that if Lin Chia-lung gets that spread I have a feeling that 2016 that will give us quite a lot about what's happening. Because in the 2012 election they were -- KMT was concerned about the Taichung situation as well because it's always that area where in the Blue and the Green kind of just mixes. And I feel that if Lin Chia-lung is able to turn it around and it's really

quite bad for KMT, my feel is. I think KMT will see their support, while DPP will be just north of Zhuoshui River, you know, which is quite a bit of a step for the DPP to break into that territory. That's my feeling anyway. But the two elections, Taipei, how close and how large in the Taichung area.

MR. BUSH: Well, I'm not sure because I think Taipei is really about the Lien family and its role in Taiwan politics, and as you say Taichung is about (inaudible).

Okay. We have a lot of smart people in the audience and so I want to turn the discussion over to them. So I would ask you once I recognize you to wait for the mid and then identify yourself and let us know to whom your question is addressed among the people on the panel.

So we have a question right here.

MR. LAI: Good morning, Richard. Alex Lai with United Daily News of Taiwan.

MR. BUSH: Hold the mic a little bit closer.

MR. LAI: Okay. Yeah, Alex Lai with --

MR. BUSH: Is the mic on?

MR. LAI: Yeah.

MR. BUSH: Okay. I'm sorry.

MR. LAI: Alex Lai with United Daily News of Taiwan. I have two questions for you and Shelley. The first one is according the poll is why they believe that Ko Wen-je would win the -- you know, he is the Independent candidate for the race of Taipei mayor -- what do you think if Ko Wen-je wins, he have win and do you think their party -- I mean the -- you know, have the room to play in Taiwan's political landscape.

MR. BUSH: So that was for Shelly and?

SPEAKER: And you. And the second question is DPP maybe win the

nine-in-one election. What do you think the message would be delivered, you know, to China and United States and how would United States and China respond to this kind of development? Thank you.

MS. RIGGER: As far as Ko Wen-je goes it's -- there is a desire and a demand for a new kind of political option, but I am not sure that he will have the sort of leadership potential to mobilize and create that certainly as political party. And in a way he's a -- I don't know, maybe my colleagues will disagree but it seems to me that it's a missed opportunity for the DPP to have that seat potentially occupied by someone who is in fact a kind of central figure in the DPP. Now why can't the DPP find someone to run for the most important flagship mayor that -- you know, that was Chen Shui-bian's stepping stone to the presidency. How did this happen that the DPP doesn't have a candidate of its own? And so one possibility is -- and I think this is what the DPP is kind of trying to do and it's implicitly what we've done on the panel, is to absorb him into the DPP and count his votes as DPP votes. I think Richard's right, they are mostly anti Lien family votes and there are other people who have won important elections for the same reason I think. So but that leaves the second possibility which is that he could become the leader of this new political force. I just don't get any sense thought of him as a person or a politician as having the potential to create a new national party. On the other hand it puts pressure on the DPP to maybe make more efforts to become what it is that -- you know, the space that's opened up politically someone needs to go in and fill it. And it maybe in some ways helpful for the DPP to have that pressure. You know, such an important office. They've kind of lost the momentum there.

And as for China and the U.S. Richard can answer.

MR. BUSH: On your first question I think that over time the power of the two party system is great enough that it will prevail. Now the two parties do have the

question of how they are going to address the challenge of this third force, and I think it is a third force. Do you co-opt it or do you just hope it goes away as young people get older? I don't know, but, you know, we have problems with third party movements in our own society, but, you know, after a while they go away. I think it wouldn't be good for Taiwan if you had a situation where you had three presidential candidates all running at the same time, one as an Independent and then one gets elected with less than 50 percent of the vote. I don't think that's something that Taiwan needs right now.

As for China and the United States it's highly hypothetical. I think China will continue doing what it has already begun doing and that is to lay some boundaries or lines as to what it regards as acceptable concerning perhaps ruling parties in Taiwan but certainly policies of whoever gets elected. And I think some of what Xi Jinping has been up to in the last few months is in that area. Our default response is to enhance communication with the party that seems to be rising. That's what we did after the 1997 election when the DPP did very well. And one might say that the United States was more ready for Chen Shui-bian than anybody else.

Do either of you want to comment on the sort of two party, three party force?

MR. TAN: Just a quick one on the party system. I don't think -- mainly because there's a mechanical effect that's happening here of the electoral system itself, such as the electoral system forces in one way and if you're familiar, you know, the Taiwan electoral system it advantages the two large parties a lot. So it's quite difficult for a third party -- there's actually lots of third parties in Taiwan, but to become a major challenge to a large party. So there's a mechanical effect. Then on the other -- in the political science literature we talk about the importance of political cleavages and the fact that in this sense in Taiwan so far the main cut is still the unification and independence

idea. So it's still falls largely on the -- it's more easily translated into a two party. So whether a third cleavage, a new cleavage comes in, we'll see, you know, how it happens, you know, how the Sunflower Movement, you know, develops over time. Are there political entrepreneurs within Taiwan that can take advantage of that to create this force? And I don't know if Ko Wen-je is actually ready to do that yet, just yet anyway. So third party still a little bit not there I don't think.

MR. HUANG: I want to add observations about the Independents, I mean Ko Wen-je (inaudible). I think Ko Wen-je's problem don't realize what's waiting ahead for him if he win the election because Taipei City has the greatest physical powers in all Taiwan local government and even competing with the central government. And there are a lot of seats, a lot of resources, a lot of political appointee that waiting for him to fill it. So I don't know. There are a lot of people surrounding Ko Wen-je. I would say -- I mean slightly greater number in the Pan-Green side, but there are also some Pan-Blue sides. I wouldn't use other label to label those guys, but they are not institutionally and politically well supported at this moment. So once Ko Wen-je won the elections I think sooner or later he got to have political alliances either in certain factions inside Pan-Green or certain faction inside of Pan-Blue. He could maintain Independent to kind of maneuver a little bit to maintaining his own independence, but I think there are a lot of great challenges for him, not mention to become a third party.

MR. BUSH: Anybody towards the back have a question? The woman right there. I don't want to give preference to people in the front just because they're in the front. Yes?

MS. HUANG.: Hi, I'm Tracy Huang at CMI International. Two really quick questions. The first one is for Alex. You all discussed in depth sort of the Sunflower Unit and how that's been affecting the local elections. One thing that has been

less covered by the media and I'd be really interested in your input is that there's a lot of grass root candidates that have come out this year for the district Lichong elections. How much do you think if those are elected based on their platform, how much change do you think that really will have on the "local local" elections?

And the second question to all of you is a lot of people talked about how mobilizing the youth to go back to vote is a big thing. In past elections they talked about absentee voting and I understand there's obviously a lot of concern about how that system could be done, but if that system is put into place and there's such a big overseas population of Taiwanese as well as people studying in other cities that never registered to vote locally, what do you think that would make in terms of a change for Taiwan's electoral politics?

Thank you.

MR. BUSH: Some big questions. Do you want to?

MR. HUANG: On the Lichong, wow, that's a -- so far I don't think -- in the Lichong particularly it's quite dominated by traditional Blue politicians really. In fact in those type of elections it's very, very local. And a lot of this has to deal with really mundane things too, but the Li Chong also holds a lot of power. For example, just simple things like somebody wants to study in this particular school and have to, you know, cheat the rule. You know, I mean just the approval and getting all of those signed; so quite a bit of influence in the local area. It can affect the mayor's ability to actually be effective at the local area, but it's still -- you know, my impression of it has always been still quite held by the Blue; they are more Blue than Green as far as that particular group is concerned. So, you know, I've not been particularly following that election, but my impression has always been that it's really quite old style politics there.

MS. RIGGER: And I think the fact that -- I've heard the same thing, that

some of the Sunflower activists decided that the way to follow through on their ideals is to enter politics at this most basic level. And I think that that is another illustration of their idealism. And it's easy for us to look at that and call it naïve, but I think it's also admirable that rather than saying I'm going to, you know, become famous and try to run for legislature as a famous celebrity from Sunflower Movement to -- you know, their vision is that the community must be recreated from the bottom up in a new way with new values and taking care of the environment, taking care of people in need. It is a really admirable vision. And I think that their willingness to take on those really boring, thankless, you know, department chair kind of jobs is a sign of their sincerity. Whether it will be effective as a kind of tool of political activism I don't know. But you have to respect their willingness to do it I think.

MR. BUSH: Anyone want to take on the question of absentee voting?

MR. HUANG: I have some colleagues working on different scenario absentee. Some only through e-voting on line or there are certain machines that you can use. And I don't know how different scenario now is playing in the central election committee now. They all have a planning stage. But one thing of this is that we now all focus on Sunflower Movement we forget another generation which is about my generation. My generation about coming out into the society, (inaudible) nice and my classmates in terms of salary entry levels about 50 percent more than now the entry level salary in Taiwan. And but in that mid ages their job all kind of move to China. So what I'm saying is that for example in my class there are 55 of us, there are 15 to 20, constantly -- I mean living in China or traveling in China. I mean my generation have another view about economic, about our political views, and they kind of not agreeing with the younger generations. And if absenteeism voting actually opened up for oversea -- I mean there are a lot of scenario, oversea probably is the last one. But if that opening

it would probably change the election result a lot because now we all listen to the Sunflower Movement because the publicity, but we have not listened to low silence generations. I mean my classmate is busy running in China to running the business or their career. I mean it's really amazing because when I listen to my students what they say I almost come up spontaneously with some answer but I hesitate saying it because it's too crude and I would (laughter) -- no, I just keep silence.

MS. RIGGER: Your people are even hard to find in a survey. I mean sometimes you look at the survey, the age breakdown, and there's like significantly fewer respondents at certain age categories. And you have to ask yourself is this because you can't survey them because they're in China (laughter), and if you can't survey them because they're in China that doesn't mean that they're not participating in Taiwan politics, they're just omitted from the survey. I don't know if you guys who do a lot of survey research find that, but it looked that way to me when I read some of these polls. And I don't see how it could not be so because you're right, the demographic that's in China is pretty specific.

MR. HUANG: Yes, yes.

MR. BUSH: I think -- I'll just throw this out -- I think that if you combine as you have to do for Taiwan, the issue of absentee voting and the issue of dual citizenship, it casts a different light on it.

Did you have a question, John? And then I'll go to Mike.

SPEAKER: I have question for you, Richard. You have been talking about U.S. interest in Taiwan elections and you have always stressed that U.S. will not take sides, right, correctly so. I was wondering during these elections is there any U.S. interest that people like you are looking at? If there is, what is it?

Thank you.

MR. BUSH: Well, I think, you know, first of all it's always good for us to understand Taiwan politics as well as we can including the local politics. You know, how much you can interpret about the future based on these results is an open question and I think all of us have been a little bit guarded in over interpreting that. I think that perhaps the most important thing for the United States about these elections is something we haven't talked about really and that is what does it say about the maturation and the consolidation of Taiwan's democratic system because, you know, that needs to take place at all levels of the political system.

Anybody else want to?

Mike, and then I'll go right here or I'll go back. Right behind you.

MR. FONTE: Thanks, Richard. Mike Fonte, I'm the Director of the DPP's mission here in Washington. DPP of course is going to march onto victory after victory. There's no doubt about that, right? (Laughter) But I really do have a question. Clearly the national implications that we want to talk about more about perhaps of these elections. Of I understand it right President Ma has instituted that he will remain chair because he is also the president during this period, but there will be this immense fight it seems to be between Wang Jin-pyng and the more localization people perhaps and President Ma going forward. You've got LY nominations particularly for the proportional votes, you've got Eric Chu, probably the best -- he would be a very difficult candidate to fight I think from a DPP perspective. But would he get the nomination if Ma has this ongoing struggle? So a lot of implications I see. And clearly -- you mentioned that the leaders weren't willing to push the Sunflower Movement, it seems to me Wang Jin-pyng placed a very sly fox role there, right. He was able to protect them from the police and keep them going. But anyhow that fight will continue it seems to me. So what's the implications as we go forward? What do you see are the implications?

MS. RIGGER: Yeah, I think it's a really tough time for the KMT. And I think that a lot of the -- you know, if people want to talk about international implications, implications for the PRC, implications for the U.S., it's the looking toward 2016. And if history is any guide the more important losses that KMT suffers in two weeks' time, the more chaos will be unleashed within the KMT and the more pressure there will be for Ma to step aside, let other people make the decisions. And I don't think that he and the people around him are prepared to step aside. I don't think any president can really imagine truly -- because if you step back from politics you have to step back from policy too. So I think you're right, or the implication that you're making there is correct, that the real excitement starts the day after the election. And it's certainly happening in both parties but it will be particularly exciting in the KMT. And the 2016 election, especially the presidential election, but also the legislative election is being keenly observed from mainland China. And they are intensely worried I would submit about the possibility of the DPP returning to power. They do not have a real good idea of how they can handle that. So, yes, I think the real fun starts on, you know, December 1st.

MR. BUSH: Okay. I'm going to go to the person in the back. You had your hand up. Did you have your hand up? Yes, you. Nanna, right behind you.

MR. CHO: Hi, my name is Uda Cho. I'm a second year master's student here in the Elliot School at GW. A lot of interesting questions have been raised that I want to ask a rather easy question that's open to all the panelists. It is rather a secondary issue in this election, but it has been raised a lot of times, and until yesterday there is another news about this, it's about the battle on the web, internet. The web army issue. Like they're criticizing both campaigns, especially in Taipei City because it's the most -- the competition there is really interesting right now. So it's criticizing both campaigns saying that both sides are utilizing all these web armies to, you know, create

some bad issues and topics and criticizing each other. I would like to know like all the panelists your ideas about the web army thing and how would the internet like separate -- like Professor Huang just mentioned about the different generations have different minds towards the political environment in Taiwan. And I would like to -- and there's also something on the internet that's happening right now, it's like people supporting the Pan-Blue alliance are like some sort of like the generations like Professor Huang had mentioned, like they enter society like in the late 1990s and people are supporting the Pan-Green on the internet, it's more like a younger generation. So there's a separation on the internet, especially on the generation. And I would like to know like the panelists' ideas and opinions on like how would the web army thing like affect the election this time. Thank you.

MR. BUSH: Any thoughts?

MR. TAN: I'll do a very quick stab; just a quick stab. I think this particular digital divide in one way that you mentioned, I think the question is often times what we always ask is how does web participation or participation in blog actually translate to votes? So that's the big question. You see a lot of people who are madly typing and blogging every time, you know, but the question is do they actually go out and vote. So I'm not quite sure the translation of that. And we also know that often times the first time voters and younger voters tend to not vote, you know, as high in proportion. So that's a question. It's a lot of excitement happening on the web, but does that translate to vote? I'm still not sold.

MR. BUSH: Min-Hua?

MR. HUANG: Yeah. I think what you raise is a generation of justice question. But I would see it as the challenge for different generations because in different generations -- for example, my generation almost everyone met the mid age

crisis because their job was just cancelled and moved to China and they got to move whole families. But in reply to your question I think the web age started from my generation. About now under 50 they all good at using internet, but it's just a matter of whether they have time and energy to engage in the web politics or not. And my research basically is about the web usage and political participation. I find the more often you use web probably will lower your liable to vote (laughter) all these things being equal. So I'm not sure. This is just very general patterns that I see. But there's another aspect that KMT used to hire the PR company to do the web advertising things and DPP much -- I mean good at mobilizing activists to do that instead of paying for PR company to do that. So there's the differences, yeah.

MR. BUSH: Any comments? The lady right here had a question. Yeah, up here. The mic -- okay.

MS. RAN ZHENG: I'm Stella Ran Zheng from Stimson Center, the Taiwan program there. I want to go deeper for the absentee voting system. As you mentioned and that question mentioned before, it is a problem to motivate young voters to go back to vote. It also as Profession Huang mentioned before, it is also really difficult to have those Taiwan businessmen in the mainland right now to go back to vote. Actually it is kind of like a political strategy from the DPP or the campaign group to criticize the Lien campaign strategy is to go to Shanghai and offer them the tickets, you know, fly tickets to go back to Taiwan to vote. And that is a problem for the current voting system because you cannot just voting by mail, or registering to vote. But my question is about like what is the politics behind the regulations and current mechanism of the voting system? I'm not sure is that similar to here in the U.S. that actually the State Department, they are in charge of all those regulations like how you can vote and what time you can vote and where you can vote. And the State Department means that it is more likely to

be charged by the Republican Party right now, what is the scenario where the situation in Taiwan is in charge in DPP or the KMT?

MR. HUANG: Okay. So far what I understood is -- because I have some colleagues working that, personally I'm not involved -- but what I understood is that mostly it's technical issues. Do you really trust the machine, do you really trust the system how absentee ballot is developed? Do people accept the kind of results from absentee that they can swing the elections? Mostly it's a focus on technical detail in the Central Election Committee. They having planning committee to discuss about that. In fact the Chair of the Central Election Committee Lui Iso is a long time very famous political scientist at Chengchi University. Some people kind of label him light Green. So far I don't see that much politics involved, but it's a different matter when you refer to the Sean Lien side to mobilize the Taiwan business people from Shanghai back to. I mean we have some political science studies about the Taiwan business votes. It's about 7 to 3 out of 10; 70 percent probably will vote for the Blue and 30 for the Green. The margin is not that much considering the numbers of people who can actually afford the costs of the opportunities, costs that they put their business aside and come back to Taiwan. So I would say that influence so far in political science is minimum unless the election is really close to call, otherwise that part of advantage Pan-Blue trying to have I don't think will capitalize. They got to narrow down the gap, but so far it's still double digit, right. So I don't think that will affect much.

MR. BUSH: Concerning U.S. practice, the Caucasians on this panel believe (laughter) that this is a state level responsibility; that each state sets the rules for everything having to do with elections including absentee ballots. There may be a small federal role, but it really is a state level responsibility.

Garrett?

MR. VAN DER WEES: Garrett van der Wees, Editor of Taiwan

Communique. I have a question for Professor Tan on the Taipei elections. I saw an analysis by Hassun Munti, I think he's from Australia, next to New Zealand, but he says that the reason why Ko Wen-je is ahead in Taipei are basically twofold, that among the mainlanders in Taipei and they are the majority, this time about 30 percent would vote for him in opinion polls. He bases this on (inaudible) instead of 10 percent going for the Green under normal circumstances. And the other reason is in the age group of 40 also goes in this case more for Green than for Blue. Would you agree with such an analysis?

MR. TAN: I think that's quite a good analysis actually. I've also been speaking to colleagues who are also serving this particular election. I think what Ko Wen-je I one way represents, and that's one reason why it's quite difficult for the traditional Blue, in one way is because you have one that is traditional political family, and you have one that essentially represents the working. You know, father, parents, our school teachers, and then he, you know -- the traditional Taiwan story of mobility, right. And in one way it captures a lot of the working class Blue, you know. It captures that idea of the working class Blue, (speaking in foreign language) they call it, you know. And it attracts that particular vote. So right now if you listen to what Lien Chan has been saying and even how (inaudible) it's almost like, you know, his underwear is actually Green, you know. (Laughter) That he actually calls it Green and stuff. But that's actually simplifying the whole story, right. I mean because nothing sticks, but if you want to attract that working class Blue you scare them by saying this is actually Green; you know, eh actually Independents guy. But what Ko Wen-je has been quite clear on what he's trying to say and he keeps on saying I'm working here as a surgeon, as a doctor. I see life and death situation. I know when people don't have that money to have that type of healthcare and I'm in the front line of taking care of people in Taipei. And then the more

recent one in Lien Chan saying that he actually is a political family and his grandfather is, you know, working for the Japanese government and so he is not actually this -- you know, again it's trying to slowly chip on that idea that he's not working class, but in one way I think that's the -- within the Kuomintang Coalition you are actually seeing this working class, blue collar -- blue, you know -- getting attracted to this guy's story. And I would say that that would be something that I agree with that particular. I think it's class politics kind of within the Kuomintang that's splitting this vote.

MR. BUSH: Very interesting.

MS. RIGGER: And that is really important because class politics is also - - it's not exactly class. It's sort of the post-class class politics of the 21st century; it's what the Sunflowers were talking about, you know. They're talking about, you know, fine your generation can all go to China and make money, but what about us. Who's thinking about how we're supposed to live? What is our future? This is a crisis that is occurring in every advanced industrial democracy, but it is occurring with particular intensity in Taiwan because everything occurs with particular intensity in Taiwan. But that also suggests that what I said earlier about the DPP and Ko Wen-je is probably wrong because actually it may be that Ko Wen-je can attract some Blue voters that would not have been available to a DPP candidate, but nonetheless separate the KMT from that office for at least four years and maybe longer. And so the DPP then can kind of grow into that. So it may actually be good for the DPP not to have their own candidate. I don't know, maybe Mike can tell us whether that was strategic on their part to let Ko Wen-je take in that spot. But, you know, I think it's important to sort of correct that because I think my analysis was not as good as yours.

MR. TAN: Let me add on just a little bit to just clarify. Because mostly what we see in Taiwan is that particular cleavage is always unification and

independence. And in the unification and independence cleavage this line -- the voter base is relatively more fixed. But once you put a new cross cutting issue in, and this time around Ko Wen-je is not saying I'm Green or I'm Blue, he's saying I represent the working class people who actually went through school, you know, we're a Xiaokang family, you know. We're a middle class family, you know, parents are school teachers. I went through the ranks and made -- where I am right is through how I worked hard. And beyond the traditional mobility story it's a new cleavage; it splits actually much of those KMT lines. I mean it's not easy Blue-Green even for DPP I think, you know.

MS. RIGGER: And how can we know whether this cross cutting cleavage is powerful or not when it is never offered--

MR. TAN: Exactly. Exactly. It's never been.

MS. RIGGER: -- as a way of deciding how to vote?

MR. TAN: It's never been in Taiwan politics and this is quite new. So it's interesting in that sense.

MR. BUSH: Let's see. Dennis?

MR. HALPIN: I'm Dennis Halpin from SAIS. I had a question, the panel seems to have the view of Tip O'Neill, all politics is local, except Professor Rigger did mention Beijing watching the situation closely. I was wondering about Hong Kong. I mean in the election we just had in the U.S. it seemed the elections were going to be local until the video of Mr. Foley being beheaded and then ISIL and Ebola. And I've seen in one column in the Japan Times has written about exit polls showing Asian Americans swung to the Republicans because of national security issues and maybe also women voters with children. So my question about Hong Kong, I mean these events have been taking place this fall. Xi Jinping made that statement a few months ago about one country, two systems being a model for Taiwan.

So I have questions for the panel. First, does that have any influence on voters in these elections? And second, my question is about Beijing. Do the Taiwan elections or concern about Taiwan public opinion affect the way that Beijing is handling its issue with Hong Kong and the control central or occupied central movement there?

MR. BUSH: maybe I'll take the first shot. I was in Taiwan a few weeks ago and actually your Hong Kong question was one that I wanted to post to people. And I talked to very few people frankly, but they were people who, you know, look at how Taiwan is looking at Hong Kong and their impression which is a bit of a surprise to me was there's actually not much attention being paid. That Taiwan people always knew that Hong Kong was Hong Kong and Taiwan was Taiwan and any effort to impose the same sort of formula on both isn't appropriate. When the protest movement was at its height, or when the situation was the most tense there was media attention, but that seems to have died off.

On your second question I would say that the relationship is the other way. That Beijing is probably worried about how events in Hong Kong might over time reconfirm and strengthen Taiwan people's aversion to one country, two systems. And, you know, they've had to take the approach they did -- or they believed they had to take the approach they did on Hong Kong because it was the pressing issue. But it means that Taiwan is just further and further away on the horizon.

Anybody else?

MR. TAN: Just a quick on the attention. I've been in Taiwan since mid-October, really when you turn on the news most of the news is about food safety. You know, it's almost -- to me I've been going to Taiwan every October to January and it seems to be that the problems never solves itself, and every time I'm eating in a restaurant and you see the news I say, oh my gosh, am I, you know, eating something

that, you know, not supposed to be eating. But every week or every day it's a new thing that they've found. So the attention has moved here and very few news on the occupied central unless you switch it to CNN. But at TVBS the Sun Li and all these local news, very few devoted to that.

MR. BUSH: Okay. One last question. Tina.

MS. CHONG: Yeah, hi. Tina Chong with The Voice of America. My question is, you know, coming to the last stretch of the voting day do you see -- how do you see money play in this campaign? Money I mean, you know, war chest. We all know that KMT has a big war chest. Is it having any effect yet? Do you see any influence on either camp?

MR. HUANG: If you mention the direct right of vote buying practice, I mean there are some local levels they're doing it, but it's getting tougher and tougher because they've got to know whom to buy, when to buy, how to buy, and hoping they (inaudible) and they still got money. So what I understood from the recent research is that vote buying practice at a very high level has already kind of stopped. And the county level, well there are some counties still existed but only marginal. But at the very local level, like ward or village level it could exist because it's much easier to ask (inaudible) for the candidates, they know who, when, and how to buy it. But if you mention, if you -- a lot of the money can flow into the media that kind of effect have already been neutralized because Taiwan's media has already very stabilized that the Pan-Green -- pro Green and pro Blue sides. And I don't see if you're throwing more money can change this kind of basic situations. So I don't think if we have shocking event before the election it will be related to money, suppose should be related to other events. But after two (inaudible) 319 and Sean Lien's (inaudible) I don't think they are -- I cannot think of other more surprising event would happen before the elections.

MR. BUSH: Certainly hope so.

MR. HUANG: I hope so too.

MR. BUSH: Anybody else? I mean it does raise an interesting question because Taiwan is basically one media market, particularly for television. And so how do you use media in a local election without wasting a lot of money sending out a message that's broadcast all over?

MS. RIGGER: And the truth of the matter is to your point, Dennis, about all politics is local, this election really is just a local election. I mean none of these people have any power. Some of them have ambition to be national politicians but it's not like a legislative election. I mean these are like, you know, the big thing that Jason Hu is in trouble for in Taichung, you know, the reason why this second most closely watched election of this panel might not go his way is because they got -- and every Washington, D.C. resident can fully understand and why this is such a bad thing, they got buses instead of a train. (Laughter) So, you know, that really is local politics at its most real. He couldn't get them a train; he got them a bus instead. Out with the old, in with the new. (Laughter)

MR. BUSH: Okay. Thank to each of you, Alex, Min-Hua, Shelley, for a great discussion. Thank you for all your terrific questions. We stayed tuned for November 29 and I'm sure there will be another round of interpretation, over interpretation (laughter) when that happens. So thank you very much. (Applause)

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