The 2023 TAIWAN & ASIA PROGRAM CONFERENCE at Ramapo College

NOVEMBER 4-5, 2023

"Washington-Taipei-Beijing Relations at a Crossroads: the 2024 Elections and Geostrategic Implications from the Individual, Domestic, and International Levels of Analysis"

SPONSORED BY The Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office (TECRO) in Washington D.C. and Ramapo College of New Jersey





中華民國外交部 MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS REPUBLIC OF CHINA (TAIWAN) Ramapo College of New Jersey is proud to host the 2023 Taiwan and Asia Program Conference on November 4-5, 2023. The conference is sponsored by the Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office (TECRO) in Washington, D.C. Ramapo is the first college in the New York metropolitan region to host this non-partisan academic conference. Since the program's inception in 2013, the conference has been held at various U.S. colleges and universities including Duke University, the College of William and Mary, Wake Forest University, University of Texas at Austin, University of St. Thomas Houston, and the University of South Carolina, etc.

The Conference Theme: For nearly three years in office, the Biden administration has persisted in strengthening US- Taiwan relations while assembling a coalition of like-minded global and regional allies/ partners to jointly counter the PRC's increasingly autocratic and bellicose behaviors. Though the Biden- Xi face-to-face meeting at the 2022 G-20 meeting in Bali calmed their rising tensions to some extent, the US has remained steadfast in the pursuit of a competitive approach towards China, which is identified by the Biden administration's newly released National Security Strategy (NSS) and National Defense Strategy (NDS) papers as America's most "consequential challenge" and the "only competitor with both the intent to reshape the international order and, increasingly, the economic, diplomatic, military, and technological power to do it." The PRC's spy balloon incursions into continental America in early 2023 further plunged the brittle US-Chinese relations to yet another low point. In this context, Washington's strategic, economic, high-tech and normative ties with Taipei will continue to deepen, to the chagrins of Beijing, which has also escalated its coercive campaigns and so-called gray-zone operations to intimidate and pressure Taiwan. The January and November 2024 General/Presidential Elections in Taiwan and the US, respectively, will introduce new uncertainties and variables to the increasingly intricate US-Taiwan-China strategic balance. How will the election outcomes from both Taiwan and the US potentially affect and shape their ties with the PRC, domestic politics, socioeconomic changes, as well as the broader contours of the Indo-Pacific region? The three levels of analysis—individual, domestic, and international—may provide useful lenses to approach these questions, but the conference theme is open to all methodological approaches and theoretical paradigms that also address issues pertaining to U.S., Taiwan, and China political institutions, electoral and identity politics, state-societal relations, hightech rivalry, international political economy, to name just a few.

*All panels will take place in the Trustees Pavilion, Ramapo College of New Jersey

DAY 1: SATURDAY NOVEMBER 4, 2023

Conference Checking in and Badge Pickup: 08:00 - 09:05

Introduction: 09:05 - 09:10

• **Dean Chen**, Professor of Political Science, Ramapo College of New Jersey (2023 Taiwan & Asia Program Conference Coordinator)

Welcoming Remarks: 09:10 - 09:30

- Dr. Michael Middleton, Provost of Ramapo College of New Jersey
- Ambassador James K. J. Lee, Director General of the Taipei Economic and Cultural Office (TECO) in New York

1. Policy Roundtable: 09:30 – 10:50

The State of U.S.-China-Taiwan Relations on the Eve of 2024 Elections

- Susan Elliott (Ambassador (ret.); President and CEO, National Committee on American Foreign Policy)
- Jacques deLisle (Stephen A. Cozen Professor of Law & Professor of Political Science; Director, Center for the Study of Contemporary China, University of Pennsylvania)
- David Sacks (Fellow for Asian Studies, Council on Foreign Relations)

Moderator: Andrew Nathan (Class of 1919 Professor of Political Science at Columbia University)

2. Scholars Panel: 11:00 – 12:30

Strategic, Domestic, and Ideational Factors Driving the China Policies of Washington and Taipei

- "Bipartisan Congressional Majorities: Congress Ensures Continuity in US Policy toward China and Taiwan," Robert Sutter (Professor of Practice of International Affairs, The Elliott School of International Affairs, George Washington University)
- "Exploring Impacts and Implications of US-China Relations on the US Public and Chinese and Asian Americans," **Pei-te Lien** (Professor of Political Science, University of California, Santa Barbara)
- "An Appraisal of Taiwan's Strategic Adaptation amid the US-China Hegemonic Rivalry since 2017," Wei-chin Lee (Professor of Politics and International Affairs, Wake Forest University)
- "Taiwan's Bandwagoning or Balancing Strategy toward China," **Tsai Jung-hsiang** (Professor of Political Science, National Chung Cheng University, Taiwan)

Panel Chair: Dennis Lu Chung Weng (Associate Professor of Political Science, Sam Houston State University); Discussants: Dennis Lu Chung Weng and Chien-Kai Chen (Associate Professor of International Studies, Rhodes College)

Lunch: 12:40 - 14:00

Keynote Address "The Global Democratic Recession and How to Reverse It" (Virtual)

Larry Diamond (Mosbacher Senior Fellow of Global Democracy at the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies, Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution and Professor of Political Science and Sociology, Stanford University)

3. Policy Roundtable: 14:05 - 15:25

Assessment of Taiwan's Role in the Indo-Pacific Region

- Kharis Templeman (Research Fellow, Manager of Project on Taiwan in the Indo-Pacific Region, Hoover Institution, Stanford University)
- **Robert S. Wang** (Senior Associate of the Asia Program, Center for Strategic and International Studies)
- **Zoe Weaver-Lee** (Program Coordinator, East West Center in Washington) and **Satu Limaye** (Vice President of East West Center, Director of Research and EWC in Washington)

Moderators: Yao-Yuan Yeh (Cullen Trust for Higher Education Endowed Chair in International Studies, University of St. Thomas, Houston) and **Dean Chen** (Professor of Political Science, Ramapo College of New Jersey)

Coffee Break

4. Scholars Panel: 15:30 - 17:00

National Security, High-Tech Rivalry, and Economic Statecraft

- "The Role of Taiwan in the Shifting Paradigm of 'De-risking' Policy toward China," **Peter Chow** (Professor of Economics and Business, City of University of New York)
- "Taiwan's Economic Policy toward China under the Tsai Administration," Chien-kai Chen (Associate Professor of International Studies, Rhodes College)
- "When Democracy Meets Chip: Explaining American Support for Intervention," Hsuan-Yu (Shane) Lin (Postdoc Research Fellow, Institute of Political Science, Academia Sinica, Taiwan), Ronan Tsemin Fu (Assistant Research Fellow at the Institute of Political Science at Academia Sinica, Taiwan), and Nien-Chung Chang-Liao (Associate Research Fellow at the Institute of Political Science at Academia Sinica, Taiwan)
- "The Role of Taiwanese Business in the Dynamism of US-Taiwan-China

Triangular Relations," **Chiang Min-Hua** (Non-Resident Fellow, Taiwan Studies Programme at the University of Nottingham)

Panel Chair: Pei-te Lien (Professor of Political Science, University of California Santa Barbara)

Discussants: Wei-chin Lee (Professor of Politics and International Affairs, Wake Forest University) and **Charles K.S. Wu** (Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of Southern Alabama)

5. Scholars Panel: 17:05 - 18:25

Coercive Diplomacy and Deterrence in the Shadow of Russia-Ukraine War

- "The Ukraine War and US Deterrence in the Taiwan Strait," **Wang Yuankang** (Professor of Political Science, Western Michigan University)
- "Will China and Taiwan Go to War? **John Hsieh** (Professor of Political Science, University of South Carolina)
- "The Ripple Effect: How the Russo-Ukrainian War Shaped Public Perception of Presidential Performance in Taiwan," Charles K.S. Wu (Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of South Alabama), Yao-Yuan Yeh (Cullen Trust for Higher Education Endowed Chair in International Studies, University of St. Thomas, Houston), Hsuan-Yu (Shane) Lin (Postdoctoral Research Fellow, Institute of Political Science, Academia Sinica, Taiwan)

Panel Chair and Discussant: Hans Stockton (Associate Vice President, Center for International Studies, University of St. Thomas)

Saturday Dinner: 19:00 - 21:00

- **Opening Remarks: Dr. Cindy Jebb**, President of Ramapo College of New Jersey; and **Lishan Chang**, Deputy Director-General, Taipei Economic and Cultural Office (TECO) in New York
- Joint Keynote Address "U.S. Taiwan Policy at an Inflection Point? Perspectives from Washington and Beijing"

Andrew Nathan (Class of 1919 Professor of Political Science at Columbia University) and **Robert Sutter** (Professor of Practice of International Affairs, The Elliott School of International Affairs, George Washington University)

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 5, 2023

Conference Checking in and Badge Pickup: 08:00 – 09:00

6. Scholars Panel: 09:00 - 10:30

Digital Politics, Public Opinions, and Security Affairs in the US and Taiwan

 "Conducting Digital International Relations with Contested International Status: The Case of Taiwan," Fang-long Shih (LSE IDEAS Digital IR Project Associate, The London School of Economics and Political Science) and Kenddrick Chan (LSE IDEAS Digital IR Project Head, The London School of Economics and Political Science)

- "Rationality versus Trust: How Do Taiwanese Approach the Prisoner's Dilemma with Their Chinese and American Counterparts?" **Tse-min Lin**, University of Texas at Austin
- "Dimensionality of American Public Support of Taiwan: A Structural Topic Model Analysis," Karl Ho (Professor of Economic, Political, and Policy Sciences, University of Texas, Dallas), and Dennis Lu Chung Weng (Associate Professor of Political Science, Sam Houston State University)
- "To Be or Not To Be: Multilateralism, Bilateralism, and Military Spending in Taiwan," Jun Xiang (Associate Professor of Economics and Global Affairs, Rutgers University, Newark), Yao-Yuan Yeh (Cullen Trust for Higher Education Endowed Chair in International Studies, University of St. Thomas, Houston), and Wei-hao Huang (Assistant Professor, Institute of Political Science, National Sun Yat-sen University, Taiwan)

Panel Chair: Wang Yuan-kang (Professor of Political Science, Western Michigan University) **Discussants: Wang Yuan-kang** and **Jacques deLisle** (Stephen A. Cozen Professor of Law & Professor of Political Science; Director, Center for the Study of Contemporary China, University of Pennsylvania)

Coffee Break

7. Scholars Panel: 10:40 – 12:10

A Fresher Look at the U.S-China-Taiwan Dynamics from the Public Policy and Civil Societal Domains

- "Identities May Work: The Campaign Strategies that Asian Candidates Use on Mobilizing Voters," Shu-An Tsai (Ph.D. Candidate in Political Science, State University of New York at Buffalo)
- "Political Boundary and Solidarity: Evidence from Taiwan's Social Security Reform," Wei-Ting Yen (Assistant Professor of Government, Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pennsylvania) and Ming-Jui Yeh (Assistant Professor of the Institute of Health Policy and Management, National Taiwan University)
- "Assessing Congress's Role in Taiwan Policy: The History of Congressional Support and Congressional Delegations," Jenny Li (Policy Associate, Formosan Association for Public Affairs)
- "How China Delegitimizes Dissents by Weaponizing Identity Politics in the U.S.," **Jiachen Shi** (Ph.D. Candidate in Political Science, Tulane University, New Orleans, LA)

Panel Chair: Jeremy Teigen (Professor of Political Science, Ramapo College of New Jersey) **Discussants: Jeremy Teigen** and **Karl Ho** (Professor of Economic, Political, and Policy Sciences, University of Texas, Dallas)

Lunch: 12:10 - 1:30

KEYNOTE SPEAKERS

Larry Diamond is the William L. Clayton Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution, the Mosbacher Senior Fellow in Global Democracy at the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies (FSI), and a Bass University Fellow in Undergraduate Education at Stanford University. He is also professor by courtesy of Political Science and Sociology at Stanford. He leads the Hoover Institution's programs on China's Global Sharp Power and on Taiwan in the Indo-Pacific Region, At FSI, he leads the Program on Arab Reform and Democracy, based at the Center on Democracy, Development and the Rule of Law, which he directed for more than six years. He also co-leads with (Eileen Donahoe) the Global Digital Policy Incubator, based at FSI's Cyber Policy Center. He is the founding coeditor of the Journal of Democracy and also serves as senior consultant at the International Forum for Democratic Studies of the National Endowment for Democracy. His research focuses on democratic trends and conditions around the world and on policies and reforms to defend and advance democracy. His latest edited book (with Orville Schell), China's Influence and American Interests (Hoover Press, 2019), urges a posture of constructive vigilance toward China's global projection of "sharp power," which it sees as a rising threat to democratic norms and institutions. He offers a massive open online course (MOOC) on Comparative Democratic Development through the edX platform and is now writing a textbook to accompany it. Diamond's book, Ill Winds: Saving Democracy from Russian Rage, Chinese Ambition, and American Complacency, analyzes the challenges confronting liberal democracy in the United States and around the world at this potential "hinge in history," and offers an agenda for strengthening and defending democracy at home and abroad. His other books include: In Search of Democracy (2016), The Spirit of Democracy (2008), Developing Democracy: Toward Consolidation (1999), Promoting Democracy in the 1990s (1995), and Class, Ethnicity, and Democracy in Nigeria (1989). He has also edited or coedited more than forty books on democratic development around the world, most recently, Dynamics of Democracy in Taiwan: The Ma Ying-jeou Years. During 2002–03, Diamond served as a consultant to the US Agency for International Development (USAID) and was a contributing author of its report. Foreign Aid in the National Interest. He has also advised and lectured to universities and think tanks around the world, and to the World Bank, the United Nations, the State Department, and other governmental and nongovernmental agencies dealing with governance and development.

Andrew J. Nathan is Class of 1919 Professor of Political Science at Columbia University. He studies the politics and foreign policy of China, political participation and political culture in Asia, and the international human rights regime. Nathan's books include *Chinese Democracy* (1985), *The Tiananmen Papers* (2001), *China's Search for Security* (2012), *Will China Democratize?* (2013), *China's Influence and the Center-Periphery Tug of War in Hong Kong, Taiwan and Indo-Pacific* (2021). He has served at Columbia as director of the Weatherhead East Asian Institute and as chair of the Political Science Department. He is chair of the Morningside Institutional Review Board (IRB). Off campus, he is a member of the board of Human Rights in China and a former board member of the National Endowment for Democracy and of Freedom House. He is the regular Asia and Pacific book reviewer for *Foreign Affairs*.

Robert Sutter (Ph.D., Harvard University) is Professor of Practice of International Affairs at the Elliott School of George Washington University since 2011. Before that, he taught full-time at Georgetown University for ten years; and he had regular part time teaching experience for thirty years with positions at George

Washington, Georgetown, Johns Hopkins SAIS, the University of Virginia and the University of Maryland. Sutter's publications include 22 books (four with multiple editions). His most recent books are *Chinese Foreign Relations: Power and Policy of an Emerging Global Force* Fifth Edition (Rowman & Littlefield, 2021) and *US-China Relations: Perilous Past, Uncertain Present* Fourth Edition (Rowman & Littlefield, 2022). His forthcoming book is *Congress and China Policy: Past Episodic, Recent Enduring Influence* (Lexington Books 2024). Sutter's government career (1968-2001) saw service as senior specialist and director of the Foreign Affairs and National Defense Division of the Congressional Research Service, the National Intelligence Officer for East Asia and the Pacific at the US Government's National Intelligence and Research and professional staff member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

PANEL SPEAKERS

Chien-Kai Chen is an associate professor of international studies and the chair of the International Studies Department at Rhodes College (Memphis, Tennessee). He received his PhD degree in political science from Boston University. Focusing on the region of East Asia, his academic interests bridge international relations and comparative politics. He has been teaching and conducting research on China-Taiwan-US relations, Taiwan's democratization, Chinese government and politics, China's foreign policy, comparative political economy of East Asia, etc. He is the author of *Political Economy of China-Taiwan Relations: Origins and Development* (Lexington Books, 2018), and his articles have appeared in such peer-reviewed journals as *Asian Survey, Journal of Contemporary China, South Asia Research, Strategic Review for Southern Africa, East Asia: An International Quarterly, American Journal of Chinese Studies, and International Journal of China Studies.*

Dean P. Chen is a professor of Political Science at Ramapo College of New Jersey. He holds his Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of California at Santa Barbara. He is the author of *U.S.-China-Taiwan in the Age of Trump and Biden: Towards a Nationalist Strategy* (New York: Routledge, 2022), *U.S.-China Rivalry and Taiwan's Mainland Policy: Security, Nationalism, and the 1992 Consensus* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), and *U.S.-Taiwan Strait Policy: The Origins of Strategic Ambiguity* (Lynne Rienner, 2012). His articles have appeared in Asian Survey, Asian security, Asian Politics & Policy, Pacific Focus, International Relations of the Asia-Pacific, and American Journal of Chinese Studies. Commentaries have appeared in *The National Interest, Global Taiwan Brief, Taiwan Insight,* and *China-US Focus.* In 2014-16, Chen was coordinator of the Conference Group on Taiwan Studies of the American Political Science Association. He was a MOFA Taiwan Fellow in 2014 and a Fulbright U.S. Scholar in 2017-18. Currently, Chen serves on the board of directors of the American Association for Chinese Studies.

Min-Hua Chiang is a non-resident fellow at the Taiwan Studies Programme at the University of Nottingham. Previously, she was a research fellow and economist at The Heritage Foundation in Washington, D.C. and a senior research fellow at the East Asian Institute, National University of Singapore. She held research positions at the Institute of International Relations, National Chengchi University, Taiwan External Trade Development Council and the Commerce Development Research Institute in Taipei. She received both her Diplôme d□études approfondies (DEA) and Ph.D in economics from Université Pierre Mendès-France, now part of Université Grenoble Alpes (avec la mention: Très honorable avec félicitations du

jury) and her Master in International Business Economics degree from Katholieke Universiteit Leuven in Belgium.

Peter Chow is professor of economics at the City College and the Graduate Center, City University of New York. He was a visiting professor at the Nagoya National University, National Taiwan University and the Academia Sinica. He served a research associate at the National Bureau of Economic Research and a contractual consultant at the World Bank. He specialized in trade and development, with a special interest in comparative developments in latecomers of industrialization in Asia-Pacific region. His recent research focused on the economic transformation and integration in the Asia Pacific countries, technological transfers, modernization in the late industrialized countries and globalization. He published more than 70 articles in referee journals, chapters of book and other edited volumes. He wrote and edited more than 10 books in trade and development, China's modernization, trade and development in Asia Pacific, economic integration and political economy of economic integration across the Taiwan Strait. One of his books which he co-authored; Trade the Engine of Growth in East Asia published by Oxford University Press won the best book of the year from American Publishing Association. He served as the Executive Director for the American Association for Chinese Studies from 1998 to 2021, the economics editor of the American Journal for Chinese Studies, and a referee for several professional and academic journals in the world. He earned his Ph.D. and M.S. in Economics at Southern Illinois University and holds a B.A. from National Taiwan University.

Jacques deLisle is the Stephen A. Cozen Professor of Law, Professor of Political Science, and Director of the Center for the Study of Contemporary China at the University of Pennsylvania, and Chair of the Asia Program at the Foreign Policy Research Institute. His writings, on China's engagement with the international order, Taiwan's international status and cross-Strait relations, law and legal institutions in the PRC, Hong Kong's trajectory under Chinese rule, and US-China relations have appeared in Journal of Contemporary China, Asia Policy, China Review, Orbis, Administrative Law Review and other academic and policy journals and edited volumes. He is the co-editor of, and contributor to, The Party Leads All: The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in China's Politics, Governance, Society, Economy, and External Relations (2022), After Engagement: Dilemmas in U.S.-China Security Relations (2021), Taiwan in the Era of Tsai Ing-wen (2021), To Get Rich is Glorious: Challenges Facing China's Economic Reform and Opening at Forty (2019): China's Global Engagement: Cooperation. Competition, and Influence in the 21st Century (2017); The Internet, Social Media, and a Changing China (2016); Political Changes in Taiwan under Ma Ying-jeou (2014), and China's Challenges (2014).

Susan M. Elliott, Ambassador (retired), is President & CEO of the National Committee on American Foreign Policy, a position she assumed in August 2018. During her 27-year diplomatic career, Ambassador Elliott held a variety of leadership positions at the U.S. Department of State. Ambassador Elliott served as the Civilian Deputy and Foreign Policy Advisor to the Commander of the United States European Command and was the U.S. Ambassador to Tajikistan from 2012 to 2015. Prior to her Ambassadorial appointment, she served as the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, Bureau of South and Central Asian Affairs, U.S. Department of State. Ambassador Elliott also worked in Russia, Greece, Peru and Northern Ireland as well as a variety of Washington-based assignments. Ambassador Elliott served on the faculties of Ball State University in Muncie, Indiana and the University of Virginia in Charlottesville, Virginia before joining the U.S. Department of State.

Karl Ho, Ph.D. is Professor of Instruction and Director of Graduate Studies of Political Science in the School of Economic, Political and Policy Sciences at the University of Texas at Dallas. His research and teaching areas cover elections, public policy and political economy with a regional focus on East Asia and data science methods including survey data collection and analytics, big data collection and production, text mining and machine learning models. He is the co-Principal Investigator of the Hong Kong Election Study project, collecting election survey data since 2015. He is the author or co-author of articles in journals such as Asian Affairs, Asian Politics & Policy, Asian Survey, Electoral Studies, Human Rights Quarterly, Journal of African and Asian Studies, Journal of Electoral Studies, Journal of Information Technology and Politics and Social Science Quarterly. His recent works were published in the books The Taiwan Voter (University of Michigan Press) and Taiwan's Political Re-Alignment and Diplomatic Challenges (Lynne Riener). He is co-editor of the 2021 book Taiwan: Environmental, Political and Social Issues (Nova Science).

John Fuh-sheng Hsieh is currently Professor of Political Science at the University of South Carolina. His teaching and research interests include rational choice theory, constitutional choice, electoral systems, electoral behavior, political parties, democratization, and foreign policy. His works appeared in many journals and as chapters of a number of books. He is the author of *Party-list Proportional Representation* [in Chinese] and *Positive Political Theory* [in Chinese] and editor or co-editor of *Confucian Culture and Democracy, How Asia Votes*, and *Democratic Governance in Taiwan*.

Wei-chin Lee, Professor of Politics and International Affairs, Wake Forest University, Winston-Salem, North Carolina. Wei-chin Lee has published several books, including the edited volume, *Protests, Pandemic, and Security Predicaments - Hong Kong, Taiwan, China, and the US in the 2020s* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2023). His articles have appeared in scholarly journals, such as *Asian Security, Asian Survey, Journal of Asian and African Studies, Journal of Chinese Political Science, Journal of Contemporary China, Journal of Comparative Communism, Journal of Northeast Asian Studies, The Nonproliferation Review,* and *Ocean Development and International Law.* His teaching and research interests are China and Taiwan, East Asia, international security, and international institutions. He is currently serving as the editor of *American Journal of Chinese Studies.*

Jenny Li is a policy associate at the Formosan Association for Public Affairs (FAPA). Her interests lie in human rights, U.S. policy in Asia, and Indo-Pacific security. She previously held positions at the DPP Mission in the U.S. and the Project 2049 Institute. Jenny received her M.A. in international affairs from Columbia University, specializing in security policy and East Asia. She is an activist and writer in her free time.

Pei-te Lien is a professor of Political Science affiliated with Asian American Studies, Feminist Studies, and Black Studies at the University of California, Santa Barbara. Her primary research interest is the political participation and representation of Asian and other nonwhite Americans. Most of her recent work examines the intersection of race, ethnicity, gender, and nativity in political behavior, both of the elites and the mass. In addition to numerous journal articles and book chapters, Lien has (co)authored and co-edited eight books. She is a co-principal investigator of the Gender and Multicultural Leadership (GMCL) project http://www.gmcl.org and a co-author of *Contested Transformation: Race, Gender, and Political Leadership in 21st Century America* (Cambridge UP, 2016), which won the 2017 Distinguished Career Book Award from the American Political science Association (APSA) Section on Race, Ethnicity, and Politics. The dataset is available online as ICPSR Study No. 36826. The Politics of Asian Americans: Diversity and Community (Routledge, 2004), coauthored with M. Margaret Conway and Janelle Wong, is based on her National Science Foundationsponsored Pilot National Asian American Political Survey (SES-9973435). The dataset is available online as ICPSR Study No. 3832. Lien is the 2023 recipient of the Don T. Nakanishi Award for Distinguished Scholarship and Service in Asian Pacific American Politics, the Western Political Science Association. The award was made in part to the publication of her latest book Contending the Last Frontier: Race, Gender, Ethnicity, and Political Representation of Asian Americans (Oxford UP, 2022), coauthored with her former student Nicole Filler.

Hsuan-Yu (Shane) Lin is an Assistant Research Fellow at the Institute of Political Science at Academia Sinica (IPSAS) and a Nonresident Fellow at the Fairbank Center for Chinese Studies at Harvard University. His research focuses on the impact of social media on international security, particularly the escalation of crises, and on the dynamics of elite and public opinion in U.S.-Taiwan-China relations. His research has received support from the Fairbank Center, the Democratic Statecraft Lab at the University of Virginia, and the Fulbright Foundation. He previously served as a Postdoctoral Research Fellow at IPSAS and as a Predoctoral Research Fellow at the Harvard Fairbank Center. He earned his Ph.D. from the Department of Politics at the University of Virginia in 2022, and holds an M.A. and B.A. from the Department of Political Science at National Taiwan University.

Tse-min Lin is Associate Professor of Government and Associate Director of the Center for Taiwan Studies at the University of Texas at Austin. A Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of Minnesota, Dr. Lin has taught or visited at the University of Minnesota, State University of New York at Stony Brook, Duke University, Michigan State University, Academia Sinica, National Taiwan University, the University of Nottingham, and National Tsing Hua University. He has also taught methods workshops for various institutions including Academia Sinica and the Inter-University Consortium of Political and Social Research (ICPSR). His teaching and research interests cover methodology, formal theory, and American and comparative political behavior. He has published in American Journal of Political Science, American Political Science Review, Democratization, International Political Science Review, Issues & Studies, Journal of Asian and African Studies, Journal of Contemporary China, Journal of Democracy, Journal of Information Technology & Politics, Journal of Politics, Mass Communication Research, Political Analysis, Political Research Quarterly, Public Choice, Review of Social Sciences, Social Science History, Taiwan Democracy Quarterly, Taiwan Journal of Democracy, World Politics, as well as in edited volumes. His current research projects include "Rationality and Trust in Cross-Strait Relations: A Representative Sample Survey Experiment" and "Public Sentiments under Fighter Jet Incursions and Covid-19 Outbreaks: Taiwan in 2021-2022."

David Sacks is a fellow for Asia studies at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), where his work focuses on U.S.-Taiwan relations, cross-Strait relations, U.S.-China relations, Chinese foreign policy, and the political thought of Hans Morgenthau. Mr. Sacks directed the recent CFR-sponsored independent Task Force, U.S.-Taiwan Relations in a New Era: Responding to a More Assertive China, which was chaired by Admiral Michael Mullen and Susan Gordon. Prior to joining

CFR, Mr. Sacks worked on political military affairs at the American Institute in Taiwan (AIT), which handles the full breadth of the United States' relationship with Taiwan in the absence of diplomatic ties. Mr. Sacks was also a Princeton in Asia fellow in Hangzhou, China. He received his M.A. in International Relations and International Economics, with honors, from the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS). At SAIS, he was the recipient of the A. Doak Barnett Award, given annually to the most distinguished China Studies graduate. Mr. Sacks received his B.A. in Political Science, *Magna Cum Laude*, from Carleton College.

Jiachen Shi is a Ph.D. candidate in Political Science at Tulane University. He received his M.A. in International Relations from the University of Liverpool. His research interests include U.S.-China relations, Comparative politics between the U.S. and China, Political economy, and Political psychology. His articles have been featured in *The Diplomat* and *The National Interest*.

Fang-Long Shih is currently an Associate of Digital International Relations project at LSE IDEAS. She holds a Ph.D. from the University of London, jointly supervised by LSE Anthropology and the SOAS Study of Religions. Dr. Shih has since 2003 joined the LSE and worked as Research Fellow of Taiwan Research Programme in Asia Research Centre (2003-2016), in 'Research and Expertise' (2016-2018), and in Anthropology Department (2018-2022). Since 2009, Dr. Shih has served as Co-Director (with Professor Stephan Feuchtwang) of the LSE Taiwan Research Programme. She also serves on the Board of Advisors of Global Taiwan Institute, a Taiwan-focused think tank at Washington DC (2016 onwards), and the Board of Directors for the American Association for Chinese Studies (2015 onwards).

Hans Stockton is the Associate Vice President for International Relations & Engagement and Professor of international studies at the University of St. Thomas in Houston, Texas. Dr. Stockton manages the university's international partnerships, consortia relationships, and works across all of UST's schools to increase international student enrollment, global scholarly and student exchange, and advancement activities. He previously served as director of UST's Center for International Studies from 2010 – 2020. During that time, Dr. Stockton founded the Taiwan & East Asia Studies Program and launched the first Mandarin Center funded by Taiwan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the United States - the Mandarin Center of the Universities of St. Thomas and Wenzao Ursuline University. His areas of academic specialization are democratization, elections, and security in contemporary Asia Pacific. He has published articles in journals of political science, economics, public administration, and Asian Studies; authored multiple chapters in edited volumes on military affairs in the Asia Pacific and Taiwan's political development: and authored or edited three books on development and democratization in East Asia. His most recent book, Taiwan: The Development of a Mini-Dragon (2019), is co-edited with Yao-Yuan Yeh. Professor Stockton is the principal investigator for multiple grant awards from the US Department of Education, Japan Foundation, US Japan Council, and ministries of Foreign Affairs and Education in Taiwan. Dr. Stockton has served as president of the American Association of Chinese Studies (2015, 2016), coordinator of the Conference Group on Taiwan Studies (2012 – 2014), and served multiple terms as president of the Southwest Conference on Asian Studies. He currently serves on the board of directors of the American Association of Chinese Studies and the Houston-Taipei Society. He serves on the editorial board of the Korea Journal.

Jeremy M. Teigen (Ph.D. University of Texas, B.A. University of Wisconsin) is professor of Political Science at Ramapo College of New Jersey. Dr. Teigen

started teaching at Ramapo College in 2005. He is a former Fulbright Scholar and the director of the public policy program at Ramapo and teaches courses on American government and electoral phenomena. His research specializes in elections, political participation, the politics of military service, and political geography. He has published a 2018 book, *Why Veterans Run: Military Service in American Presidential Elections, 1789–2016* as well as several scholarly articles. This research has been featured in media coverage of American elections, in sources such as *The New York Times*, NPR, *US News and World Report*, fivethirtyeight.com, *The New Yorker*, *The Weekly Standard*, and others.

Kharis Templeman is a Research Fellow at the Hoover Institution and part of the Project on Taiwan in the Indo-Pacific Region, as well as a lecturer at the Center for East Asian Studies at Stanford University. A political scientist by training, he writes and speaks frequently about cross-Strait relations and Taiwan politics and policy issues. Dr. Templeman has edited three book volumes: Taiwan's Democracy Challenged: The Chen Shui-bian Years and Dynamics of Democracy *in Taiwan: The Ma Ying-jeou Years* (both with Larry Diamond and Yun-han Chu), and Electoral Malpractice in Asia: Bending the Rules (with Netina Tan). His other research has been published in Comparative Political Studies, Ethnopolitics, Journal of Democracy, International Journal of Taiwan Studies, and Taiwan Journal of Democracy, along with several book chapters. He has also written articles on Taiwan policy issues for the Brookings Institution, Atlantic Council, Foreign Affairs, Taiwan Insight, War on the Rocks, and The Diplomat. Dr. Templeman is a member of the U.S.-Taiwan Next Generation Working Group and a country coordinator for the Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem) project. From 2016-18 he led the American Political Science Association's Conference Group on Taiwan Studies (CGOTS). He holds a B.A. (2003) from the University of Rochester and a Ph.D. (2012) in political science from the University of Michigan.

Jung-hsiang, Tsai (Joseph) is Professor at National Chung Cheng University, Political Science Department, Taiwan. He earned his Ph.D. in Political Science from Boston University in 2005. His research interests include triangular relations between U.S., China and Taiwan, comparative semi-presidential studies, and qualitative political methods. His works have been published in Crime, Law, and Social Change, Democratization, and French Politics.

Shu-An Tsai is currently pursuing her Ph.D. in the Department of Political Science at the University at Buffalo. Her research interests encompass the examination of voting behaviors, political communication, and the involvement of Asian Americans in politics. Additionally, she focuses on exploring how public opinions impact Taiwan-U.S. relations. She employs survey experiments to elucidate the causal factors behind political participation and employs text analysis to reveal prevailing public sentiments. Furthermore, Shu-An is deeply committed to fostering engagement among international students at UB. She has held leadership roles in international student connecting groups and served as the president of the UB Group for International Graduate Students. Her academic contributions can be found in publications such as *Taiwan Democracy Quarterly*, *New Media & Society*, and other scholarly outlets.

Robert S. Wang is a senior associate with the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) and an adjunct professor at the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service (SFS). He was a career foreign service officer in the U.S. Department of State from 1984-2016. Bob last served as the U.S. senior official for the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) from 2013-2015 and as the deputy chief of mission at the U.S. Embassy in Beijing from 2011-2013. He was a senior adviser at Covington & Burling LLP from 2016-18 and a visiting fellow with the Freeman Chair in China Studies at CSIS from 2009-2010. Previous to this, Dr. Wang was deputy director of the American Institute in Taiwan from 2006-2009. He has served abroad in Tokyo (1985–1987), Hong Kong (1987–1990), Shanghai (1994–1997), Singapore (1997–2000), and Beijing (2001–2005). He also served as Cambodia desk officer at the U.S. Department of State in Washington, D.C. (1991–1993). Dr. Wang attended the Industrial College of the Armed Forces at the National Defense University (2000–2001) and was the State Department's Diplomat in Residence at the University of California, Los Angeles (2005–2006). He earned his Ph.D. in political science at the University of Iowa in 1976. Prior to joining the Foreign Service, he was an assistant professor of international relations at Whittier College in California (1977–1984).

Yuan-kang Wang is a Professor in the Department of Political Science at Western Michigan University. He holds a Ph.D. in political science from the University of Chicago, and was an International Security Fellow at Harvard University's Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs (2001-2002) and a Visiting Fellow at the Brookings Institution's Center for Northeast Asian Policy Studies (2005-2006). Dr. Wang specializes in international relations, historical China, Taiwan security, and U.S.-China relations. His research examines the nexus between international relations theory and historical China. He is author of Harmony and War: Confucian Culture and Chinese Power Politics (Columbia University Press, 2011), which debunks the myth of Confucian pacifism in Chinese grand strategy, use of force, and war aims. He has published numerous journal articles and book chapters on peripheral nationalism in China, nationalist mobilization during Taiwan's democratization, U.S. extended deterrence in the Taiwan Strait, Taiwan public opinion on cross-Strait security, a realist explanation of the Sinocentric tribute system, the myth of Chinese exceptionalism, the historical legacy of Chinese security policy, rethinking US security commitment to Taiwan, international order and change, the durability of a unipolar system in East Asian history, and China's economic statecraft in the Taiwan Strait.

Dennis Lu-Chung Weng is an Associate Professor of Political Science at Sam Houston State University. He earned his Ph.D. from the University of Texas at Dallas (2014). Before his current position, Dr. Weng taught at Wesleyan University, SUNY-Cortland, and the University of Texas at Dallas. Currently, he serves as an international research fellow for Democracy Studies at Stellenbosch University in South Africa and the Center of Southeast Asia Studies at the National Chengchi University in Taiwan. Dr. Weng's research interests in Political Science are in comparative politics, international relations, and political methodology. Specifically, his research focuses on the links between domestic political behavior, international politics, and security issues with a regional focus on the US and Asia-Pacific. Dr. Weng has published various scholarly articles in edited volumes and peer-reviewed journals. Dr. Weng is frequently interviewed by US and Asian News Media. His op-eds have appeared on many news platforms. In addition to his academic work, Dr. Weng does regular political commentary on American and Asian politics. He comments in print, radio, and television for American and international audiences. Weng offers analysis and commentary on international politics, particularly on US-China-Taiwan relations. He also comments on elections and political behavior in the US and Asian countries.

Charles K.S. Wu (Ph.D., Purdue University) is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Political Science and Criminal Justice at the University of South Alabama. His primary research interests fall into the intersections among

International Relations, Comparative Politics and American Politics. His main research agenda focuses on the factors that influence public opinion on military operations overseas. Dr Wu's academic and policy work have been published in International Interactions, Political Studies Review, International Political Science Review, Social Politics, Scientific Data, International Relations of the Asia-Pacific, The National Interest, The Diplomat, and The Washington Post. His latest coauthored book is Presidentialism, Violence, and the Prospect of Democracy (Lexington Book, 2021).

Yao-Yuan Yeh is Professor and Fayez Sarofim – Cullen Trust for Higher Education Endowed Chair in International Studies, Department Chair of International Studies & Modern Languages, Department Chair of Political Science, Director of the Master of Diplomacy & Strategic Affairs Program, Director of the Taiwan & East Asia Studies Program, and Director of the Mandarin Center of the Universities of St. Thomas and Wenzao Ursuline at the University of St. Thomas. He received his Ph.D. in Political Science from Texas A&M University and a B.A. in Political Science from National Taiwan University. His research focuses on public opinion, foreign policy, international security, US-China-Taiwan relations, East Asian politics, terrorism and political violence, and quantitative methods.

Zoe Weaver-Lee graduated from Stetson University in 2019 with a Bachelor's Degree in Global Development and minors in Political Science and Asian Studies. During her time at Stetson, she spent two semesters in South Korea and Taiwan, after which she was awarded the Maris Prize for Undergraduate Research for her study regarding Taiwanese democratic development. Following her graduation, Zoe received the Huayu Enrichment Scholarship to study Mandarin in Taipei and later returned to the United States to serve as a program associate for Global Taiwan Institute. Zoe has recently taken on a position as a Programs Coordinator at the East-West Center in Washington. She is one of the few researchers in the United States focused on Taiwan's foreign assistance policy, has participated in renowned programs such as the Taiwan-US Policy Program, and presented her research at the North American Taiwan Studies Association conference. She will also be co-authoring a book chapter on Taiwan's aid programs under President Tsai Ing-wen to be published in 2025.

Jun Xiang is an Associate Professor in the Department of Economics and core faculty in the Division of Global Affairs at Rutgers, State University of New Jersey, Newark, NJ. He holds a Ph.D. in political science from University of Rochester and a Ph.D. in economics from Binghamton University. His areas of research interest include International Relations, Political Economy, and Chinese Foreign Policy. His research has appeared in both economics and political science journals. He has published in political science journals such as *International Interactions, International Organization, International Relations of the Asia-Pacific, Journal of Chinese Political Science, Journal of Conflict Resolution,* and *Journal of Politics.*

Wei-Ting Yen is an Assistant Professor in the Government Department at Franklin and Marshall College. Yen studies political economy issues and welfare state development in Asia. Her current research looks at the political impacts of economic insecurity on welfare state development. Dr. Yen also has several projects examining the politics of the COVID-19 pandemic from a comparative perspective. Yen's works have appeared in *Governance*, *Public Opinion Quarterly*, *Journal of East Asian Studies*, *Social Science Quarterly*, etc. She holds her Ph.D. in Political Science from The Ohio State University.

STUDENT AND MEDIA ASSISTANTS

Agrim Gupta is a senior at Ramapo College studying Engineering Physics. At Ramapo, he is the station manager for the college's FM radio station, tutors students in elementary physics, and conducts original research under his professor. After graduating he plans on attending graduate school and earn his Ph.D. in Biophysics. He is the lead media assistant for the 2023 Taiwan and Asia Program Conference at Ramapo.

Bibhu Bhatta is an international student from Nepal and is majoring in Computer Science. At Ramapo, Bibhu has been active in several organizations and activities, including the Student Government Association, Palestroni Integrated Neuroscience Lab, and the Center for Student Involvement. He has been appointed as the Secretary of Academic Affairs in the SGA and represents the student body at the Comprehensive Academic Plan Taskforce. He also serves as a Resident Assistant and helps breathe new life into laptops at Laptop Upcycle as well as helps clubs with their finances at Student Account Revenue Management. In addition, he is actively involved in the neuroscience lab where he is learning research methodologies to develop studies and explore the intersection of computer and cognitive sciences.

Kiely Paris-Rodriguez is a senior double majoring in Political Science and Social Science with a concentration in Space Psychology. She is also an Honors student at Ramapo. Her academic interests include International Space Politics, Antarctic Relations, and Intersectionality. In her tenure at Ramapo, Kiely has worked as a Research Assistant for both the Psychology and Political Science Departments, managed the Summer Conference Program, volunteered as a student mentor to first year students, and presented original research at conferences.

James Pascal is a highly committed and motivated second year student at Ramapo College of New Jersey. He is a double major in Political Science and International Studies with a possible minor in Anthropology. He is involved on campus and is the Secretary of Governmental Affairs for the Ramapo College of New Jersey Student Government Association. He has had a fondness for reading and learning from a young age and always dedicates time to develop a better understanding of the world around him. He is very passionate about US-China-Taiwan relations and can't wait to see what panelists have to say.

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RAMAPO COLLEGE CAMPUS MAP

The conference is held in the Trustees Pavilion.



NOTES

The 2023 TAIWAN & ASIA PROGRAM CONFERENCE at Ramapo College

"Washington-Taipei-Beijing Relations at a Crossroads: the 2024 Elections and Geostrategic Implications from the Individual, Domestic, and International Levels of Analysis"



