



Defending Democracy: A Conversation with Taiwan Legislative Yuan President You Si-kun

TRANSCRIPT

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- You Si-kun, *President, Taiwan Legislative Yuan*
- Nury Turkel, *Senior Fellow*
- Josh Rogin, *Columnist, Washington Post*

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A video of the event is available: <https://www.hudson.org/events/defending-democracy-conversation-taiwan-legislative-yuan-president-you-si-kun>

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Nury Turkel:

Good afternoon. I am Nury Turkel, Senior Fellow here at the Hudson Institute. I'm delighted to welcome you to today's important conversation.

Taiwan is a vibrant, prosperous democracy, but it faces looming authoritarian threats from China. Today we are honored to be hosting the President of the Taiwanese Legislative UN, Mr. You Si-kun. Last August I had the privilege of addressing the regional Religious Freedom Forum, which was co-hosted by the Taiwanese government. I delivered a speech on the Uyghur genocide and the lessons that can be learned, such as China's intent to reeducate the Taiwanese people.

One of the main takeaways from the forum was that Taiwan is committed to asserting itself as an equal player amongst democratic nations. Taiwan's commitment to human rights and religious freedom is an example of its value in advancing global peace and prosperity. I was delighted to meet President You in Taipei and to welcome him in Washington earlier this year. We had a working lunch meeting on the sideline of the International Religious Freedom Summit. These types of engagements demonstrate that beyond geo-strategic interest, Taiwan as a contributing and responsible member of the community of democracies.

Recently, the US government has affirmed Taiwan's important role by pressing for its inclusion as an observer in the World Health Organization. Taiwan's pandemic response, which was characterized by government transparency, responsible policies, and the personal obligation taken by its citizens, offered an informative example for the rest of the world.

As a digital democracy, Taiwan successfully contained the pandemic by utilizing tools for testing and contact tracing. In contrast, China used digital tools to suppress information and controls its citizens. As a result, Taiwan avoided the widespread death and economic disruption that has been seen in other parts of the world.

I'd like to close with the powerful quote from President Tsai Ing-wen, just yesterday at the Copenhagen Democracy Summit. She stated, "As history and collective experience continue to remind us, complacency, turning a blind eye, emboldens authoritarians. Taiwan has stood on the frontline of this authoritarian challenge for the past decades. However, our commitment to democracy has never been stronger."

Today's event will be in two parts. First, as President You will deliver some remarks and then we will have a panel discussion moderated by Josh Rogan of the Washington Post. President You is a long serving member of the Taiwanese Parliament and he was the founder of the Democratic Progressive Party, DPP. His decades long political career and valuable perspectives can teach us about the importance of public service and leadership. President You, podium is yours.

President You Si-kun:

Chairman Turkel, Mr. Rogan, Mr. Atwood, former NDI president Chairwoman Marianza, ladies and gentlemen, distinguished guests, good afternoon.

The Hudson Institute is dedicated to promoting a secure, free and prosperous world and works towards this end by providing unparalleled research and analysis. It's been the cradle of

countless wise forward-looking policy recommendations. For these efforts I express my admiration. It's a great honor for me to stand before you as President of Taiwan's Legislative UN to share some thoughts even as Taiwan has recently been called by the Economist, the most dangerous place on earth.

I will first introduce these fellow members of Taiwan's legislature. First is Democratic Progressive Party member Chang Ting-fei. And next, the Taiwan People's Party Whip, Chiu Chen-yuan. And New Power Party whip, Chiu Hsiang-chih, who is a human rights lawyer and studying in Germany. The three major political parties they represent together, claim more than half of the public support in Taiwan.

Today, political parties in Taiwan are conducting primaries for our upcoming presidential and legislative elections. So how is that we have come to the United States together now? Well, we believe that only by standing here can we properly reflect you the respect and gratitude the people of Taiwan have for the United States. We thank the United States for passing the National Defense Authorization Act 2023, which authorizes grant assistance to Taiwan of up to \$10 billion US dollars over five years and loans of up to \$2 billion US dollars during fiscal years 2023 through 2027. And I also want to thank US President Joe Biden for the possibility of using presidential drawdown authority to provide \$500 million US dollars worth of military aid to Taiwan.

The pivotal US role in Taiwan's democratization. I'm a pro-democracy veteran and I was born in 1948, the year before the 2-28 incident in which Chiang Kai-shek have troops massacre people in Taiwan, I endured the 38 years of martial law under the Chiang regime, and took a great risk in starting a political career in the time of wide terror, I've been a politician for more than 40 years. And I understand that Taiwan's remarkable democratic achievements are thanks to the efforts of the 23 million people of Taiwan. But I also know that the US assistance played an essential role.

In 1986, a group of people who decided they were no longer afraid of the heavy hand of martial law, founded my party, the Democratic Progressive Party at the Grand Hotel in Taipei. The US paid a great deal of attention to this event, thanks to which, political persecution did not follow. Rather, this event birthed the Taiwan's first Democratic opposition party and was followed by the end of martial law. I was an organizer involved in the founding of the Democratic Progressive Party, and I presided over the meeting at which the party was founded. In such capacities, I stand before you a grateful man. Without American help at that time, Taiwan would not be the full-fledged democracy of today.

In addition to American help, relations between the US and Taiwan have sometimes been hot again, cold again, over the past half century, but the US has never been absent. For decades, the US has helped to safeguard peace across the Taiwan Strait. It has also supported close bilateral economic, technological, and cultural exchanges. And in recent years, the US has worked with many democratic allies to maintain the peaceful and stable Indo-Pacific region. As part of this, it has strengthened the security cooperation with Japan and the Republic of Korea and has firmly opposed unilateral changes to the peaceful status quo across the Taiwan Strait.

In confronting intimidation by the Chinese Communist Party, democratic Taiwan has been fortunate to have a solid friend in the United States. As president of Taiwan's Legislative UN, and on behalf of both the legislature and our people, I want to express my heartfelt appreciation to our distinguished guests, and to your wonderful country.

As we celebrate Taiwan's democracy, which has been claimed as a role model, and yet in the past decade, the global democratic landscape has withered. We have witnessed the protests over Hong Kong's anti-extradition bill, crackdowns on democracy in Afghanistan and Myanmar, and Russian aggression against the Ukraine. These are indeed a frustrating times. According to Freedom in the World 2022, released by the Freedom House, 60 countries have backsliding on democracy. There is an assault on the global democratic community and it is connected to the difficulty democracy has had in taking roots in the Chinese speaking world. It has come to pass because the international democratic community has focused solely on economic gain. It has forgotten to act as the Prophet Micah chastened, to do justly and to love mercy. It has not shown concern for those suffering under the CCP and authoritarian regimes worldwide.

Today I stand here to remind the world, Taiwan is not the CCP's ultimate goal or final destination. The CCP wants to see the east rise and the west decline. It wants to be hegemon over Europe, the Americas, and the entire world. Taiwan is but a stepping stone. After Xi Jinping took office, he discarded Deng Xiaopeng's notion of hiding capabilities and biding time, and Hu Jintao's ideal of China's peaceful right. Xi proclaimed the China dream, and stated the broad Pacific Ocean is vast enough to embrace both China and the United States. He has promoted the Belt and Road Initiative, violated the promise to President Obama not to militarize the islands in the South China Sea, began practicing wolf warrior diplomacy and upended Hong Kong's one country, two systems status quo. When Xi met with Russian President Vladimir Putin on March 23, the two men reached the consensus to promote changes that have not been seen in a century. His intention to upend the international-

... His intention to upend the international order could not be clear.

Why is it the CCP that poses a global threat? Why not India? Both countries have a population of over 1.4 billion, but they are as different as night and day. Although India has disputes with its neighbors, it's never regarded as a threat to world peace. The root cause is a nature of the CCP regime, which is both communist and authoritarian. It believes in traditional confusion ideas such as there cannot be two suns in the sky nor two kings on earth, and all land under heaven belongs to the king and all people are subject to him. The whole world therefore is subject to one ruler. Accordingly, we can say that protecting Taiwan equates to defending both Europe and the United States. To ensure Taiwan's security is to ensure the global public interest. If we do not take China's threats seriously, a dark future awaits all of mankind.

At this critical juncture, I beseech our American friends to continue to do justly and to love mercy, safeguard the civilization and universal values by paying attention to plight to of the 1.4 billion people of China. Who will stand for civilization, if not the United States? Who will fight for justice if not the United States? The United States is the strongest, the freest, the wealthiest country in history. The United States has always stood for democracy, for fairness and for justice. We are grateful to President Biden for saying that US forces will defend Taiwan if in fact there was an unprecedented attack.

Recently, Japanese prime minister, Fumio Kishida, and the Korean president, Yoon Suk Yeol, both stand that the Taiwan issue is a global issue. They vowed to continue to strengthen the security partnership linking their nations with the United States and declared the opposition to a change in the cross-Strait status quo by force. Philippine president, Ferdinand Marcos Jr., said that granting US access to Philippine military basis was a defensive measure that would be useful if China were to attack Taiwan. The Crescent of Defense formed by Korea, Japan,

Taiwan, and the Philippines will, with American support, be a key stabilizer of peace and security in the Indo-Pacific region.

Today I want to thank you, but I also want to ask for your continued support of Taiwan, which stands on the front lines facing an authoritarian power. I hope the US will back Taiwan's joining the United Nations, World Health Organization, International Civil Aviation Organization and International Monetary Fund, which it can do under the Taiwan Allies International Protection and Enhancement Initiative Act of 2020. I also hope that the double taxation of our businesses will end with the passage of the Taiwan Tax Agreement Act of 2023. Taiwan is eager to sign with the United States a bilateral trade agreement. This would further economic cooperation and enhance our ability to resist an authoritarian regime and together, maintain international peace and stability. As President Kennedy said, "United there is little we cannot do. Divided there is little we can do."

I also want to take today's opportunity to thank the United States once again and also to thank all of you for your longstanding support to Taiwan. You made tremendous contributions to make what Taiwan is today, so I want to thank you.

And today I also want to take this special occasion to express my heartfelt appreciation to a very special American friend who I met 37 years ago when I was 38 years an old. And today marks the second meeting of me and this friend and actually, during this period of time, I think of him day and night and today, this year, I'm 75 years and I'm very grateful to finally that I can see him again.

He is Mr. J. Brian Atwood, former NDI president.

Because one month before TPP was found on September 28th, 1986, Taiwan's Chiang Kai-shek regime still launched a three day riot police drills on the streets of Taipei City.

The drills concluded on August the 14th. And on August 15th, Tangwai members organized a gathering at Taipei's Junction Elementary School. And actually, the atmosphere was quite tense at that time. And thanks to Mr. Atwood's speech, which encouraged a lot to the people of Taiwan. And so because of his support and his appearance and his speech, I can say that gathering was the last harassed gathering that Tangwai members have experienced. Because of the presence of Mr. Atwood, all the riot police officers disappeared. The reason I share this story is because Taiwan wants to thank the US administration, the US Congress, the US Society and American friends for their long-term support to Taiwan so that Taiwan can have its democratic politics. So I want to thank the United States once again and also to Mr. Atwood for your friendship and support.

So in conclusion, I wish Taiwan and United States national prosperity, and all distinguished guests good health and every success. Thank you.

Nury Turkel:

Thank you, Mr. President, for your insightful and educational remarks. Now, I'm pleased to introduce our moderator, Josh Rogin. As many of you know, Josh is a columnist for The Washington Post and political contributor for CNN. He's also the author of bestseller book, Chaos Under Heaven: Trump, Xi, and the Battle for the 21st Century, which was published in

2021. Josh is also an expert in Asian affairs and his insights will be invaluable for today's discussion. With that, I pass the floor over to Josh.

Josh Rogin:

Thank you, Nuri. Thank you everybody for coming today. I'm going to start a conversation here on stage and then hopefully we'll have some time to get to your questions. President, You, thank you so much for coming to Washington. Thank you to the whole delegation. It's crucial, in my opinion, for the US and Taiwan to have an open and robust and public conversation about these important issues that affect both of our countries.

Unfortunately, your speech answered most of my questions already, but let me try to come up with something anyway. I thought it was very interesting that you said Taiwan was a stepping stone, and that protecting Taiwan equals protecting the United States and Europe as well. Here in Washington, this is a matter of intense debate. Does the United States have an interest in coming to the aid of Taiwan in the case of an invasion? Why should Americans dedicate our blood and treasure to defending Taiwan and are you confident that if the attack happens, the American military will show up?

You're good.

President You Si-kun:

Thank you for your wonderful question. I have two points to respond to your question. Taiwan has a strong self-defense will and from Taiwan's history, we can see that we have strong DNA in resisting external aggression or threat. Therefore, we have strong self-defense will. However, this is not enough. That's why we also needed the aid or support, assistance from the United States, Japan, European countries, et cetera.

I think I will spend more time in elaborating on Taiwan's strong self-defense will because I think this is also a very interesting topic to many foreign press or media.

Shimonoseki Treaty was assigned on April 17th, 1895 and the Qing dynasty ceded Taiwan to Japan. And on May 29th, the Japanese troops took over Taiwan.

The Japanese troops face unprecedented Taiwan needs resistance when they landed the island of Taiwan. And when the Japanese troops came down to Taiwan City and finally conquered the city, the Commander telegraphed back to Japan and told the Japanese prime minister that Japanese troops have conquered the island of Taiwan. And that was November 18th. So it took five months and 20 days for the Japanese troops to conquer the people of Taiwan.

So it took Japanese troops, to conquer Taiwan, five months and 20 days. And some people may say that Taiwan was still conquered by the Japanese troops. However, when we look at the Russian aggression against Ukraine, on the third day it was reported that the United States over President Zelenskyy try to find a way to flee abroad. But President Zelenskyy responded by saying that, "What Ukraine needed was more weapons munitions, not a way for me to flee." So compared with this case, it took Japan, to conquer Taiwan, five months and 20 days.

Some people might ask the question, or wonder, it took Taiwanese to resist the Japanese taking over four or five months and 20 days. And in Ukraine's case it's been 15 months. However,

Ukraine has its own present government, national troops, weapons, and support of NATO. Compared with Ukraine, Taiwan at that time was seeded by Qing Dynasty to Japan, and Qing Dynasty government has withdrawn from Taiwan. So there was no leader, no government, no troops, no weapons. Because of the signature of [foreign language 00:42:42] Treaty, no other countries came to aid of Taiwan. So under that kind of tough circumstances, Taiwan could still resist Japanese rulership for five months and 20 days. It was really not easy.

Josh Rogin:

Thank you. If I could just ask you-

Nury Turkel:

Okay.

Josh Rogin:

Thank you for the very good history lesson. Let me impress you today, do you have confidence that the United States and allies will come to Taiwan's defense, and do you have confidence that Taiwan has the means at this moment now to defend itself?

President You Si-kun:

I think Taiwan's self-defense will is the best means of national defense.

As I just mentioned, that Taiwan need to be strong by themselves, and as well as Taiwan has very strong DNA in resisting foreign aggression, or is no threat. So I have full confidence in Taiwan.

In addition, Taiwan also has the Taiwan Strait as the natural national defense for us. Plus we have the sophisticated weaponry provided by the United States, and plus Taiwan has strong self-defense will. Therefore, I have full confidence in our people in resisting or facing external aggression. However, I want to stress that I want to see peace, not war.

And I want to thank the US President Biden for leading the democratic community with Indo-Pacific strategy. And now it's become clearer and clearer as we can see the cases from Japan, the Republic of Korea and the Philippines that have reached the consensus, that issues related with Taiwan trade is a global issue. And I believe that this will become a deterrence to China, and to prevent it from taking any reckless action against Taiwan.

Josh Rogin:

Thank you. I understand. Thank you. You mentioned Ukraine a couple of times. Here in this room, I believe, a couple of weeks ago the Hudson Institute hosted a debate. One side says that the fate of Ukraine matters greatly toward the fate of Taiwan. Another side says these two things are not related at all. Which one do you believe, and why?

President You Si-kun:

I think Ukraine's case has provided reflections to International Democratic Society that have provided staunch support to Ukraine. And I believe that after Mr. Xi Jinping sees this kind of trend, it has been so difficult to conquer Ukraine because of the collect efforts of support by the international community to Ukraine. I believe that it will become a kind of a deterrence for Mr. Xi Jinping, and to make him to pounder, and to prevent him from taking any reckless action so that he will not become the second Putin.

Josh Rogin:

Excellent. Let me turn to you, Nuri, for your reactions, first of all on legislative president's speech, and your take on the current state of US/Taiwan time one relations and the debate over Taiwan right now in Washington.

Nury Turkel:

Thank you very much. Just to listening to President Yo and your excellent questions, something came in mind that I think we need to focus a little bit more. In addition to technology, the competition, the military aid issues, for example, the messaging strategy, the way that we are conveying our messages need to be revisited.

The United States government has been somewhat confusing. Keep changing the tone, the messages, the wording. That is not helpful. We have to look at, in relation to what you were asking earlier, the American people's response. If we cannot explain why we care about Taiwan democracy and sovereignty, at the end of the day we'll not have the backing from the American people. It's very dangerous, and it's very, very unhelpful to people of Taiwan, and those policy makers trying to do the right thing. And then on the other hand, for the Taiwanese people, if he keeps sending confusing messages, it undermines their courage. Their willpower to defend their homeland, defend their sovereignty.

And finally, the messaging also has a ramification in Beijing. If you keep making inconsistent statements, keep changing the tone, it will be perceived as a weakness in Beijing. So I strongly, strongly believe that on this issue and overall China policy, and other issues specifically in human rights, we have to be consistent. Saying democracy and human rights are front and center of foreign policy objectives are a plausible position, it's a good position, but we have to also deliver.

Josh Rogin:

Understood. Thank you Nuri. Let me turn back to you, Mr. President.

This week the leaders of the G7 nations are meeting in Hiroshima. At the top of the agenda will be a discussion of Chinese economic coercion. These leaders are looking for a way to reduce dependency on China's economy and increase punishment for economic coercion by Beijing. Taiwan has been a victim of economic coercion for a very long time. What advice would you have for the G7 leaders as they think about solutions to this very complex problem?

President You Si-kun:

I think the entire world is getting better understanding about the true nature of CCP regime, and more democratic countries have been united to find ways to be engaged with China or CCP. And I believe that this is a positive trend.

This, what French President Macron stated that conflict in the Taiwan Strait has nothing to do with Europe. And this kind of statements effects have been died down.

In terms of how to sanction CCP, or how to polish the CCP economic coercion, Taiwan has less experience in that, and I believe that NATO member states, or especially the United States might have more experiences or ways to do that.

And we need to notice that this marks the first time for G7 to issue a joint statement to support Taiwan's participation in various international organizations. If organizations do not require statehood as a membership, then Taiwan can join them as a member. And if it requires a state as a membership, then we can participate in these organizations as an observer. And I believe that this is a very encouraging signal to Taiwan.

And both Japanese Prime Minister Kishida and Korean President Yoon stated that issues across the Taiwan Strait is a global issue. And their statement has offset the impact made by French ... Macron's statement about the conflicts in Taiwan Strait has nothing to do with Europe. So I believe that G7's joint statement has made tremendous assistance to Taiwan.

Josh Rogin:

Thank you so much. Nuri, let me ask. You bring up a good point with that unclear can be destructive to good communication between the US and Taiwan this week in Washington, or I should say last week in Washington, we had a strange debate about a strange idea. The idea proposed by a US congressman was that the United States government should threaten to, I can't make this up, to blow up TSMC, in order to keep it from falling into Chinese hands. To be clear, I think that this is a stupid idea. Nevertheless, there are many people in Washington who think this is a great idea.

Nury Turkel:

Yep.

Josh Rogin:

This seems to fit into your idea of messaging. What do you think about this? And then Mr. President, I'm going to ask you as well, so be prepared.

Nury Turkel:

It is, lack of a better word, asinine to make that kind of suggestion. It's very irresponsible. Two ways. One, it will help those who are advising Xi Jinping to say, "See? US has a different ultra motive." At the same time, makes those countries around the world, partners and allies, who are reluctant to get involved in this conflict to say, "Look, the US has different objectives." So it's unhelpful-

Nury Turkel:

... Look, the US has different objective, so it's unhelpful both ways. So the politicians, specifically members of Congress, need to be careful with what they say in public.

Josh Rogin:

I agree. Mr. President, threatening to blow up the SMC. Good idea? Bad idea? What do you think?

President You Si-kun:

I follow this issue very closely, and actually I discussed this issue with some members of the Congress when we were in Capitol Hill yesterday.

I was told that actually this statement has been out of context, so the original meaning has been distorted.

And the congressman thought that it was not a very serious issue, so that's why he did not have further elaboration on his statement. However, it has become a heated, debated issue in Taiwan, and also further increase the number of people holding the mindset of US skepticism.

I was told that actually the congressman apologize for his statement and he had further elaboration on his statement. So I think that's the end of this issue.

But I agree with you, it's not really a good idea, if it is his true intention.

Josh Rogin:

Thank you for that answer. I understand. I also hope this idea will go away, but I'm not so sure. The larger issue I think is that many in Washington argue that defending Taiwan is only important because of the chips, not because of the values of freedom and democracy and human rights. What do you think about this idea that the chips are the most important thing? And in fact, some US politicians argue for moving all of the chip's technology to America. Do you think that is on the table, possible? Good, bad?

President You Si-kun:

I think for any country or for any individuals happiness is of course very important, and I know that interests lead to happiness. However, we cannot sacrifice righteousness or justice to pursue happiness.

So I think we need to take care of both interests, as well as righteousness.

Actually, in my speech I mentioned about this because I mentioned that some politicians overlook the righteousness and justice, or human rights and only focus on interests, and that's why it leads to the shrinking, or withering of the global democratic landscape.

So that's why the speech of my title is that the United States, A Pillar of Civilization and Justice.

And I believe that universal values of freedom, democracy, human rights, and rule of law are the major elements of civilization which should be continued. And the US, the United States, play a very pivotal role in continuing this values, and also to continue to act, or to protect, or to promote justice and righteousness.

Josh Rogin:

Thank you very much. I'm going to open it up for questions. Just one easy question to end with. Who will win the presidential election?

President You Si-kun:

So I will also give you a simple answer, and please do not protest. Agree?

Josh Rogin:

Okay.

President You Si-kun:

Of course that's who receive more ballots who will be elected.

Josh Rogin:

I cannot argue with that logic.

We do have time for a couple of questions. I would just ask that first you introduce yourself, and please tell us which speaker you're directing the question to, or both. And if you have a political statement, please put it in the form of a question. And we'll start there. We'll go ahead. Please wait for the microphone. And a reminder, the questions and answers are on the record.

Josh Rogin:

Thank you, thank you. Can you just identify yourself in English for the-

Natalie Liu:

And I can translate it as well.

Josh Rogin:

No problem.

Natalie Liu:

Natalie Liu with The Voice of America. Speaker Yu talked about the DNA factor in Taiwan's will to self-defend. And I asked the question that in and around 1949, with the migration of mainlanders onto Taiwan, Taiwan's DNA has changed and is changing. And the DPP in the

meantime has evolved from an opposition party, illegal to legal, to a ruling party. So how does the DPP handle the question of the evolving DNA in Taiwan and also uniting the society?

Josh Rogin:

Thank you.

President You Si-kun:

In terms of the questions about changing DNA, I believe that Taiwan's DNA remains unchanged. One obvious example is Sunflower Movement, and I believe that ancestors, that have been lived in Taiwan for generations, of course we have seen some new immigrants. For the second generation immigrants, they might think of going back to the hometown of their parents from time to time. But for the third generation immigrants, I think they already regard Taiwan as their hometown. So we can see the example from the Sunflower Movement, most of them are the third generation of immigrants.

And one advantage of democratic politics is that when facing foreign aggression, it will be very quick to reach a consensus and also unity within the country, which is very different from that of authoritarian regime, or autocracy.

So from World War II we can see a changing position of the United States. From the very beginning the United States did not have the intention to intervene until the Pearl Harbor attack, and the United States quickly prepared itself to engage itself in the war. So that's one of the advantages for democratic countries and so is Taiwan. So I believe that when facing external aggression the people of Taiwan will be very quick in reaching a consensus and in preparing themselves to resist external aggression.

Josh Rogin:

Thank you very much. Yes, it seems there were a lot more pro-Russian Ukrainians before the attack, and now there has been a fall in the number of pro-Russian Ukrainians after the attack. I understand your point. I also take your point that the United States tends to do the right thing after exhausting all of the other available options. Nuri, can I just ask for your reaction to what the president has said today, and any closing thoughts that you may have?

Nury Turkel:

Thank you very much. This is an important topic. I wanted to thank the Hudson Institute and leadership for continuing to carry out this important conversation and educate American people, policy makers, that we have to do the right thing and defend and protect Taiwanese sovereignty and Taiwanese democracy. That is in line with our values. With that, I wanted to thank our comms team for quickly putting together this event. Thank you, Morgan. And I also wanted to thank our guest of honor, President Yu. And most importantly, amazing journalist with those excellent questions, Josh Rogan. Give it up.

Josh Rogin:

Thank you.

Nury Turkel:

Thank you. Thank you very much.

Josh Rogin:

Thank you for coming. Thank you. Thank you.