

# Preface

Taiwan and Poland. Geographically and culturally so far away from each other yet socially and politically so similar. Both had gone through dramatic political change from authoritarianism to democracy. Both faced immersive economic challenges brought by post-authoritarian transformation. Both have to deal with complex geopolitical situations, to a large extent shaped by powerful, yet not always friendly neighbors. Both far away yet close to one another.

The presented collection of articles on Taiwan and Poland is a fruit of scholarly passion of researchers of Soochow University and of Warsaw School of Economics. The goal of the publication is to provide Polish and Taiwanese readers with an introductory insight into complex, yet fascinating world of politics and economics not only of Taiwan and Poland, but also of East Asia and Eastern Europe. Taiwan is an East Asian economic powerhouse and a political riddle. Poland is an economically promising yet politically often surprising actor on European scene. The analysis of current political, social and economic changes in Taiwan and in Poland provides an opportunity to understand not only ambitions of the two local players in Asia and in Europe but also to look at the both regions from a local perspective which is sometimes difficult to reconstruct for the outsiders. And the task is even more important in context of the international developments which are taking place in the second decade of the 21 century in both continents. Taiwan and Poland rise in prominence in difficult times. Yet both face significant economic and political challenges in the years to come. The way they will deal with them may influence not only their fate but also the future of Asia and Europe.

The hereby presented collection of articles on one hand draws parallels between political, economic and social situation of Poland and Taiwan. On the other hand it uncovers their individual characteristics. The major assumption of the editors was to reflect the former by defining five major fields of problems of substantial importance in geopolitical reality of both Polish and Taiwanese policy-making. To reflect the latter, the Polish and Taiwanese authors within the general problem fields defined on their own the specific issues that reflect the peculiarities of Polish or Taiwanese politics, economy and society.

The first field that the authors tackled concerns the relationship between democratization and transitional justice. The memory of authoritarian times is still vivid in politics of both Taiwan and Poland, and the question of reconciliation with the

Past is still unanswered. As Chen Chun-hung and Chung Han-hui show in their article concerning the transitional justice in Taiwan, the way a new democratic government deals with authoritarian regime's violations of human rights is one of crucial elements of post-transitional political reality. According to the authors, Taiwan never had an opportunity to reflect on the damage caused by the authoritarian system. Just like in Poland, in Taiwan the democratic governments have to face the challenge of finding the balance between reconciling the supporters of the previous regime with the democratic opposition and avoiding the memory of democratic struggles and sacrifices being forgotten. Similar problems are visible in the article by Wojciech Morawski and Jerzy Łazor, who try to systemically approach the issue of complexity of memory of Polish People's Republic in nowadays Poland. While the majority of Polish society considered the communist system as exogenous and oppressive, the individual perceptions were far from white and black support vs. rejection pattern. The authors focus on the collective memory of political parties and politicians, particularly on the controversial question of collaborating with the communist regime. What emerges from both articles is a picture of two dominant types of memory: one stressing reconciliation and the other stressing distinction between former regime representatives and democratic opposition members.

The second field is not less crucial for the quality of Polish and Taiwanese democracy as it concerns evaluations of the electoral systems and voting behavior. In her paper, Chiung-chu Lin conducts an analysis of the implementation of the new electoral system (single-district, two-votes system) since its introduction in 2008. The research is concentrated on the voters' awareness of the new electoral system as well as on the impact of the new electoral system on the political party system. Apart from easily traceable consequences: decreasing the number of parties in the parliament and making survival difficult for small parties, the research shows that Taiwanese voters' understanding of the electoral system is not high. This coincides with the conclusions of Joachim Osiński and Bogusław Pytlik concerning the elections to the European Parliament in Poland. The authors discuss the electoral regulations and the institutional background of the elections. As they put the 2014 elections against the historic background of 2004 and 2009 European Parliament elections, they point out that the most important challenge in terms of the elections is the low electoral turnout. The major reasons of this state of facts are the low quality of knowledge concerning the European Institutions and the social discontent of Polish citizens with the economic and political situation both in Europe and in Poland. Thus the authors of both articles conclude that the future of Taiwan and Poland may depend on the voters' ability to comprehend the connection between their activity on the electoral day and the quality of the coming parliamentary terms.

The above considerations lead directly to the third field of authors' interests: constitutional development and democratization. Shiow-duan Hawang discusses one of the most recent and important social developments in democratic history of Taiwan: the Sunflower Movement and its influence of Taiwanese politics. The occupation of parliament in March 2014 not only surprised the observers but also opened a new chapter in Taiwanese post-authoritarian period. The author discusses what actually has happened, why the students' actions gained so much support as well as the possible long-term consequences of the protests. The picture of protests in the streets of Taipei is supplemented by the analysis of so called color revolutions in post-Soviet space by Krzysztof Kozłowski. Although the Rose, the Orange nor the Tulip Revolution did not take place in Poland, especially the first two loudly resonated in Polish politics. The author points out, that a proper analysis of social unrest in freshly post-authoritarian political system, is a *sine qua non* condition to understand the fundamental social and political dynamics of ongoing and of future changes. The both evaluations of democratic social movements provide an opportunity for a universal lesson concerning the most important challenge that all the post-authoritarian states have to face: how to manage large scale civil disobedience protests of a disappointed society while ruling governments do not always follow democratic rules of conduct and the international society does not fully comprehend the content of the ongoing changes.

The fourth field of studies: regional issues in Polish and Taiwanese politics, is opened with a Chih-Mao Tang's analysis of challenges Taiwan has to face in the changing landscape of regional security and the economy in the Asia-Pacific region after the end of the Cold War. On one hand, East Asia has entered into a reality of bilateral and multilateral free trade agreements. On the other hand, there is still a high risk of regional conflicts in the region. From the security and economic perspective, while focusing on the territorial disputes of the East China Sea and the South China Sea, the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) and the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP), the article illustrates the development of the international political and economic situation of the Asia-Pacific region and the challenges and opportunities for Taiwan created by its political and economic status in East Asia. The approach corresponds with views of Ewa Latoszek and Agnieszka Kłos, who analyze the place of Eastern Partnership within the framework of European Neighborhood Policy. Just like Taiwan, Poland aims to increase its regional standing. The Partnership is meant to be more than just a tool in reforming the third countries institutions' to the EU standards. The main benefit of this project is progressive integration of partner countries with EU structures, thus making it one of the substantial vehicles of EU regional and foreign policy. Thus, according to the authors of both articles,

the multilateral reality of East Asia and Eastern Europe pose both an opportunity and a challenge to the regional actors.

The fifth and final field of studies: great Power politics, concerns global perspectives on the geopolitical situation of Taiwan and Poland. Wu Chih-Chung discusses the geopolitical consequences of Chinese Rise in Asia and the challenges to regional security order it brings from Taiwan's point of view. The paper presents an analysis of how Taiwan confronts China's setting up the AIIB and forming the "One Belt One Road" strategy. The author shows not only the peculiarity of the Taiwanese position but also the global implications of changes taking place in PRC-Taiwan relations. Piotr Ostaszewski complements this part of the collection of papers with a comparison of two cases of non-confrontational asymmetry in international relations: between Taiwan and the United States and between Poland and the United States. The author explores the differences and the common elements of both situations. The outcome provides a background for comparative studies concerning not only the international situation of Taipei and of Warsaw, but also an introduction to comparative approaches concerning political developments in Eastern Europe and East Asia.

The articles are an effect of close cooperation between the Department of Political Studies of Soochow University in Taipei and the Collegium of Socio-Economics of the Warsaw School of Economics. The collection of papers is a culmination of hard work of over a dozen of authors from Taiwan and Poland. The publication benefits from a patronage of Taipei Economic and Cultural Office in Warsaw and of Warsaw Trade Office in Taipei. The editors would like to thank the authors, the academies and the Taipei and the Warsaw Offices for their involvement in the project.