

THE UNITED STATES OF THE WORLD:  
HUMAN RIGHTS, POLITICAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP, AND U.S.  
FOREIGN POLICY VIA AFFECTIVE AND RATIONAL POLITICS

by

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Abstract

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This study examines how Political Entrepreneurs in the United States Congress responded to human rights abuses in six countries during the 1970s and 1980s: Cambodia, El Salvador, South Africa, the Soviet Union, Taiwan, and Uganda. It presents a four-point model for approaching the study of United States human rights policy. The key element in all the cases is bonding social capital, also called affective politics. American policy towards the Soviet Union and Uganda both demonstrate the integration of international, transnational, and domestic politics. Taiwan receives special attention because U.S. Taiwan policy continues to exemplify the integration of international relations, transnational relations, and domestic politics.

The Formosan Association for Public Affairs (FAPA) represents Taiwanese-Americans who care about promoting democracy on Taiwan and, ultimately, Taiwan's legal status as an independent country. FAPA cultivates and sustains relationships with members of Congress and their staff to create the Taiwan Caucus in the House and Senate, second in influence only to the Israel Caucus, which is cultivated by the American-Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC). This study investigates how the Taiwan Independence Movement (TIM) learned, in part from AIPAC, to become politically viable as an ethnic lobby in the 1980s after limited success in the 1960s and 1970s, despite lacking the voting power and financial resources of Jewish-Americans.

This study examines how bonding social capital (affective politics) is used to compensate for deficiencies in financial capital and voting power (rational politics), thus creating the political capital that political entrepreneurs use to shape U.S. foreign policy. Political entrepreneurs include citizens, congressional staff, and members of Congress, who have an impact on U.S. foreign policy that is greater than we would expect if we studied their resources by using only a rational choice framework. This study demonstrates that scholars of international relations, transnational politics and American politics can analyze the biographies of political entrepreneurs and their emotional relationships to more fully understand U.S. foreign policy.

## Acknowledgements

For this section I am going to tell the story of the past 35 years. If I don't tell it, no one will.

This dissertation started, in a sense, the day I was born: January 2, 1976. I was the love child of two Hippie parents: my father Clay Adams ("Black Man Clay") and my mother Vivian Swearingen ("Vivian the White Woman"). He was a black retired United States Air Force Officer who had spent 20 years as a technical sergeant. He left the Air Force after returning from Vietnam. She was a white college graduate, 15 years his junior, who had recently moved out to the west coast of the United States from Indiana and Ohio. As a liberated woman, my mother chose not to marry my father. They also gave me a name that was unconventional: "Marriah", meaning "the wind", and "Star", because they wanted me to be a Star in everything I do. This is normal for Hippie culture: my sister is named Crystal Sunshine Star. This unique name helped me identify as a "flower child." I was normal in the Hippie community of the American West, but different in other environments. This feeling of being different has stayed with me over 27 years of living in other environments, and has influenced my approach to research and thinking about the world. It has convinced me that, solely because of my name, I must make a unique contribution to society, a contribution that builds on the Hippie critiques of Western society while accepting the benefits of Western society. This dissertation is one element of that contribution.

My father left behind his first family to go on his Hippie journey. His first wife, Veda Adams, had four children: Albert, Sandra, Anthony, and Alton. My father's exodus started a chain reaction of events that has culminated, 35 years later, in me, his middle son out of nine children completing a Ph.D. Veda succumbed to paranoid schizophrenia and her three male children eventually followed. As I moved around the country with my parents, living occasionally in a car, a teepee, a friend's house, and other places in the Rocky Mountains and the Mohave Desert, my older brothers turned to drugs, gangs, and crime as coping mechanisms. I knew at the age of 8 that my life had to go in the opposite direction. I entered public school at that age and vowed that I would create a new pattern for my family. It is because of this long-term effort that I identify with the political entrepreneurs examined in this dissertation. It takes one to know one!

27 years later, on the exact day I called my stepmother to tell her I finished writing my dissertation, my older brother Albert went to my father asking for money and help because he had stopped taking his medications. My father had no choice but to call the police to put Albert in prison. As I completed editing my dissertation, my father and stepmother searched for ways to put Albert into a hospital so that he would not endanger himself or other people. My father told me that mental illness has plagued his first family since he was in Vietnam, and likely affects his extended family as well.

Nothing has changed. I was in junior high in 1989 when Albert first became a menace to my family. I remember when the police came to Albert when he was intruding in my father's house, where I lived with Alton, Sandra and Anthony. Albert could not remember his name and he did not know what time of the year it was. He was placed in a hospital. Five years later I celebrated getting accepted to Harvard in June 1994. I sat around a camp fire one night with my brother Alton as we talked about how bright my future surely was. I told him that, since I had

accomplished this great thing, I wanted him to succeed as well. He told me that he knew within five years, by the time he was 40, he would have \$10,000. He did not know how he would do this, but he was sure he would be rich. That was the last night I saw him. He is currently living homeless on the streets. Alton had a run-in with the police, which triggered his paranoia, followed by time in a group home. My sister Amber last saw him homeless as she walked to her college graduation in 2009.

My siblings have shaped, for better and worse, my entire academic career. It breaks my heart every time I think about them. It was because of them that I refused to give up when my studies seemed too difficult. I knew I had to be the example for my younger brothers and sisters to follow if they also wished to avoid a life of homelessness, drugs, gangs and prison. The Hippie drug culture I grew up in, and the shadow of mental illness in my family, motivated me to constantly verify and measure reality. I had to convince myself that I was neither stoned nor mentally ill if I accepted an argument within academia. This has helped me be comprehensive and thorough as a researcher, always challenging my own assumptions.

In the past 20 years, thanks both to my example and the positive values instilled by my parents, I have seen my sister Crystal complete her college education, followed by Amber. Ava is currently embarking on the school of life, developing a range of practical skills that will always help her and other people. My youngest sibling, Austin, is embarking on the same promising academic path that I started at the same high school I attended. He is the same distance from me (4 siblings) that I am from my brother Albert. However, instead of trying to avoid mental illness and drug abuse, Austin can be a healthy, normal teenager -- the kind I never had the freedom to be. My academic efforts for the past 25 years have been my gift to them.

This dissertation is, in a very real sense, my love letter to them. I dedicate this dissertation to them because they taught me that, no matter how educated I get, I must be a voice and an advocate for the sick, the abused, the weak, the drug-addicted, and all other people who have been cast aside by a supposedly affluent society. I owe a debt of gratitude to Stephen J. Dubner for writing about the life of Harvard Professor Roland G. Fryer Jr. in "Toward a Unified Theory of Black America" (*New York Times Magazine*, March 20, 2005). Fryer proved that other at-risk black males can turn their lives around, just like he and I did.

It has taken me 20 years to place my life on the proper academic foundations. In 1992, after my sophomore year of high school, I realized that I had become lazy and undisciplined. I thought I had built the necessary academic foundations for my life in junior high and my first two years of high school. However, in August 1992 I discovered that these foundations were crumbling beneath me. For four years I had seen my friends get involved with street gangs and drugs, saw gang signs spring up around my neighborhood, and gang activity in both my junior high school (Miles Exploratory Learning Center) and my high school (Amphitheater). I was a staff writer on my high school newspaper as it did one story after another on gang members, gang violence, drug sales, and the ongoing battle between the Crips and the Bloods. Every night I watched a news report about drive-by shootings between rival gangs, with young black and Hispanic kids being killed by stray bullets. I saw stories about drug overdoses, teenagers dying before they made it to college. In my home town gang activity was nearly everywhere. My high school had to close its campus in 1992 because the gang violence was getting so severe that it was claiming

the lives of students. I spent half of my time in "regular" classes, overhearing black and Hispanic students talking about their gang activities while they earned Bs and Cs on homework, and the other half of my time in "advanced" classes surrounded by white and Asian students talking about their perfect grade point averages while discussing class work. I knew where I wanted to be.

The year from September 1991 to September 1992 was critical for me. It divides my life into "before" and "after." It was during this year that I became very aware of my prospects for a happy and successful life. I realized that, even though I was racially mixed, I was considered African-American under the one-drop-of-blood theory. I watched *Boyz n the Hood* and realized that most young African-American males ended up dead or in prison. I listened to Body Count, with its song "Cop Killer", and realized just how dangerous the world was for people of my ethnicity and gender. I listened to Ice T talking about the fact that more black males were in prison than in college. I listened to Easy-E and learned about the life of a gangster through Gangsta Rap. I watched the television as Rodney King was beat by white police officers and Los Angeles burst into flames during race riots after the officers were acquitted. The riots overwhelmed me emotionally. I watched *Grand Canyon* and realized that the biggest problems American society faced involved race and poverty.

Between September 1991 and May 1992 my high school grades fell from A's to B's and C's. I feared the worst: That I would end up dead or in prison, mentally ill, a drug addict, and homeless. I had changed my self-perception from being the smartest person in the room to being the most stupid. The bad grades had that effect on my psyche and self-esteem. I felt ridiculed by everyone around me for the first time in my life and I thought my life would be over if I did nothing to save myself. Yet, my daily habits were not intelligent. My life revolved around video games, watching television sitcoms almost all the time, watching horror movies and reading comic books. I knew I had to transform myself completely if I hoped to escape my environment.

I made a choice. I gave up the friends and lifestyle that I associated with the ridicule, the mockery, and the bad grades. I vowed to get only A's after that year. I killed the person I had been and gave birth to a new, very serious, very intellectual personality. I entered survival mode. I stopped listening to "Gangsta rap." I stopped "hanging out" with my friends in high school and in the Boy Scouts. I stopped spending time with my family. I stopped playing video games, reading comic books, watching television, and watching horror movies. I went cold turkey. I stopped living during the day. I started studying non-stop, mostly at night. My life became the "life of the mind," between 10 pm and 6 am, and my friends became books. I read politics, history, psychology, economics, philosophy, English literature, science, mathematics, and anything else I found interesting as the best way to train my brain and myself. I forced myself to think in completely different ways, to replace all of my mundane thoughts with intelligent analysis. I dissected fictional books, TV shows, movies, and songs (mostly from the 1960's) for philosophical themes. I owe a huge debt to my therapist at that time, Jean Ware, who helped me remember during my junior year of high school that there is more to life than reading books. There is also spontaneity and fellowship in a loving community.

In September 1992 I was starting from nothing. The person I had been no longer existed. The person I am today did not yet exist. I had only emptiness, fear for my future and dread for the present inside me. I looked for signs of hope anywhere I could find it.

I shifted my circadian rhythms. I stopped waking up at 6 am and going to bed at 10 pm or midnight. Instead, I pushed myself to be awake for 48 straight hours until I physically collapsed. By December of 1992 I measured myself getting a total of 8 hours of sleep between Monday and Friday. I learned I could function very well on 3 to 4 hours of sleep per night. That has been my pattern for 20 straight years. At the time I knew this was abnormal and unhealthy. My stepmother reminded me constantly to get more sleep. However, as I looked ahead to the next 20 years – essentially to this year, 2011 – I realized that I could not get through the years of studying if I went back to my former personality. I had to sacrifice my body and my comfort to develop my mind.

By November 1992, I started calling 1992 the “year of change” to correspond with Bill Clinton’s campaign theme and I increasingly turned my attention to politics. This was my first true political awakening. I turned for inspiration to such stories as *Flowers for Algernon*. I knew my only chance for success was for me to develop my mind, and that could happen only if I crammed as many books into my brain as I could read and remember. Wendelyn “Wende” Julien and other top students who were a year ahead of me (class of 1993) became my inspiration after I changed, and I owe them my gratitude. Greg Arnold helped me get excited about Algebra and Trigonometry, and wrote letters of recommendation. Karen Jocame helped me get into the REACH program. Teresa McCrory instilled in me a passion for art and culture. My classmates Matthew Scrivner and Sarah Taylor inspired me to keep writing.

Thanks to Sam Caruso who sparked my passion for American History. His class gave me the foundation for reconstructing my mind by helping me to develop my memory. I was in his class in January 1993 as we were discussing the Progressive Era in the United States, in particular muckraking journalism. After we talked about Upton Sinclair’s 1906 novel “The Jungle”, Mr. Caruso referred to this book as the Bible of the Progressive Movement because its important role in American History. He then asked the class, “What is the Bible of the Native American Rights Movement?” In that class, whoever spoke first became an intellectual hero. I rarely spoke first, if at all. We had covered Native American rights in November 1992. Immediately after he asked this question I formed a clear mental picture of the book he was talking about: “A Century of Dishonor” written by Helen Hunt Jackson in 1881. I was the first to speak and Mr. Caruso nodded his approval. I realized from that point on that I have a photographic memory. All the reading I had done since September 1992 gave me instant recall of the exact paragraph on any page. In order to remember something, I simply recall the page as an image in my mind and read the paragraph or sentence that I want to remember. I have since developed the ability to read what I remember and to compose paragraphs mentally. When I sit down to type what I have written in my mind, the only remaining challenge is mechanically transforming the mental image into a digital image on a screen.

That was one day of lucidity and perfect clarity. I would have two or three lucid days every week. The rest would often be cloudy as I swam in a pool of despair and anxiety. Another day of crystal clarity came in April 1993. It started again with AP American History. We had taken a

Mock AP American History test. I received the score back – 88 points out of 100. I was disappointed that I had not achieved 90 points, but Mr. Caruso had written on the bottom, “You are a strong writer. I encourage you to take the AP American History exam.” Based on this note I registered for the test. On the morning of the test, in the middle of May, I completed reading every page of the American History book and immediately walked to the designated classroom to take the test. With everything fresh in my mind I finished the test early with a strong sense of energy. It is because of Mr. Caruso’s class that I was able to achieve the top score, a 5, on the AP American History test. When I saw Mr. Caruso in the library in September 1993 he told me “You are the elite of the elite.” I was shocked. I assumed most students had earned a 5. He said “You are one of only two students in the entire school to earn a 5 on the test.” It is my knowledge of American History, and my passion for analyzing it, that gives me the ability to remember the past 35 years of my life.

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Thanks to Professor Marc Busch who taught “International Conflict and Cooperation” during my senior year at Harvard. It was this class that gave me a passion for game theory, rational choice analysis, and international relations theory. It was because of this class that my first two years at CUNY Graduate Center were so easy. Thanks to Lawrence Hamlet for serving as my thesis adviser at Harvard as I researched Social Capital on the Internet. Thanks to Robert Putnam for writing “Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games”, *Making Democracy Work* and *Bowling Alone*. His ideas on game theory and social capital are the foundation for this study.

I decided to enter graduate school on September 11, 2001. I was in Washington Square Park that day and saw both of the Twin Towers of the World Trade Center fall. Apart from the psychological scars that experience gave me (it took me ten years to talk about it without crying) I also realized that the world had changed. That event gave me a deep yearning to investigate how international relations in the 21<sup>st</sup> century worked. Thus, I started graduate school with a single question in mind: How does the world actually work? I had taken three years after my college graduation to explore this question in New York City. I had written hundreds of personal essays in those three years as I tackled this question daily. I approached this question from a variety of perspectives: my life experience, philosophy, psychology, politics, economics, spirituality, anthropology, historical examination, and literary analysis. I tried to include micro perspectives and macro perspectives.

By the time I started attending classes at CUNY, I knew I needed theoretical grounding for answering the question, “How does the world actually work?” I started with a focus on international relations and foreign policy because I had already studied American politics extensively. I had no interest in studying Congress. Moreover, I assumed most decisions at the international level involved rational analysis of structural constraints. When my colleagues talked about human rights I ignored it because I assumed human rights concerns were unenforceable at the international level. I started my research on this question -- “How does the world actually work?” -- with the aim to update Kenneth Waltz’s Structural Realism with a more comprehensive view of the world. Specifically, I wanted to bridge the gap between domestic politics, foreign policy, and the international system. Over nine years of research and thinking, I discovered that Congress is where all the action occurs, and most of the international action during the 1970s and 1980s was driven by human rights concerns. Contrary to my assumption that human rights concerns were unenforceable, I learned that human rights can easily be enforced through congressional resolutions and legislation. This has been the shock of my graduate education. My assumptions about how the world works were contradicted by my research.

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My 20-year-old academic journey has been shaped by a series of many amazing women (and a few men) in my life. The most amazing woman I know is my wife, Kremena, who struggled as a first-generation Bulgarian immigrant against her own dysfunctional family drama to attend medical school in the United States. When she started, she had no friends or family, and she was sick. In 16 years she has gone from the very bottom of the higher education ladder, Butler Community College in Wichita, Kansas, to the very top as a Pathology Resident at Harvard University's Brigham and Women's Hospital. I owe my wife everything because her practical

sense and love saved me from going into financial ruin after college. Without her, I would likely be homeless today. Instead, because of her I live around beauty. My wife convinced me to pay off my college debts before going to graduate school. She convinced me to start teaching after only a year of graduate study. She taught me the wonders of traveling abroad when I knew only how to travel through books. She taught me what a healthy, functional, loving family is really like. She gave me the time I needed to finish this research.

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## Table of Contents

### Chapter One: Introduction

A Decade of Change.....	1
Explaining Change at All Levels.....	4
Competing explanations for change.....	7
Transnational Actors.....	9
Defining Political Entrepreneurship.....	12
The Congressional Environment.....	18
Broadening the Opportunities for Political Entrepreneurship within Congress.....	20
Opportunity Structure and Personal Motivation.....	25
Interest Groups and Opportunity Structures.....	32
Rational Motivations for Entrepreneurship.....	37

### Chapter Two:

#### **Human Rights Abuse as Catalyst for Affective Political Entrepreneurship.....40**

Amnesty International.....	43
The Increasing Human Rights Sensitivity of Congress.....	45
The Soviet Union.....	50
Cambodia.....	56
El Salvador.....	65
South Africa.....	78
Uganda.....	85
Comparing the five cases according to the model.....	91
Understanding the role of political entrepreneurs.....	94

**Chapter Three:**  
**Taiwan Independence Movement and the Congressional “Gang of Four”.....99**

Taiwan’s Unique International Position.....100

The 228 Incident.....102

Spreading Information Through the Taiwan Independence Movement.....103

The Chung-li Incident and Kaohsiung Incident.....106

Spreading information.....107

Deep Personal Impact: Staff and Members of Congress.....109

Safe seats for the Gang of Four.....119

The Impact of Wen-cheng Chen’s Death.....121

The Assassination of Henry Liu.....126

Applying the Model.....132

Congressional reactions to political oppression on Taiwan  
and Taiwan’s response.....132

Switching from a focus on political oppression to a focus on democracy.....136

Applying the Model.....139

Path of least resistance: Small effort, big impact.....140

Conclusion: The Global Congress.....144

**Chapter Four: The Formosan Association for Public Affairs: Organization, Strategies,  
Successes, and Failures**  
.....146

Shifting strategy: From independence to democracy.....147

Window Opens on U.S. China Policy:

Taiwan democracy movement enters Congress.....154

Spreading Information through FAPA: Access and timing.....	160
Maintaining influence in Congress.....	163
Married to Taiwan.....	164
Congressional strategy.....	166
Building relationships with congressional staff.....	170
Cultivating relationships with substance and grassroots passion.....	172
Explaining FAPA’s continuing congressional influence.....	178
Conclusion.....	180

**Chapter Five: Conclusion: Using the Power Game in Reverse to Change the Home Country**

.....	<b>182</b>
Appendix A: Methodology.....	200
Appendix B: Safe Seats.....	202
Bibliography .....	222

**List of Charts**

1. Safe Seats for members of Congress active on Cambodia, El Salvador, South Africa, the Soviet Union, and Uganda.....96

2. Safe Seats for Members of Congress active on Taiwan .....119

3. Safe Seat for Sen. Sherrod Brown.....176

### **A Decade of Change**

- The Democrats were not happy. It was 1969 and the party had just lost the presidency to Republican Richard M. Nixon in a close election after occupying the White House for eight years. If that were not bad enough, the United States Congress, controlled by the Democratic Party, was not producing policies favored by most Democratic lawmakers. Long-serving conservative Southern Democrats controlled powerful committee chairs and refused to hold hearings on or mark up liberal legislation. Progressive Democrats knew they had to do something, so the Democratic Study Group (DSG), which had been instrumental in paving the way for the Great Society legislation in the 1960s, took the lead in reforming the House to make it possible to advance liberal Democratic proposals. In 1970 the DSG helped pass the Legislative Reorganization Act, which, among other things, liberated subcommittees from control by the committees. By 1975, powerful committee chairs who fell out of step with mainstream Democratic positions were losing their chair positions.
- On Dec. 15, 1978, President Jimmy Carter announced, without consulting Congress, that the United States would officially recognize the People's Republic of China on January 1, 1979, and transfer its embassy from the Republic of China on Taiwan. This action shocked and angered Congress because President Carter had pledged to consult it on all major foreign policies before making a decision. Representatives in the House decided to take immediate steps to adjust America's relationship with Taiwan. By April 1979 Congress passed and Carter signed the Taiwan Relations Act (TRA).

- Stephen Solarz was a liberal Democrat from a heavily Jewish neighborhood in Brooklyn, New York. He was elected in 1974 in the so-called Watergate Class, which included 70 new Democrats in the House of Representatives. He joined the House Foreign Affairs Committee so that he could have a say in U.S. policy toward Israel and he rose up the ranks of various subcommittees. Within five years he became chair of the Africa Subcommittee and frequently visited African presidents and officials in the Middle East. In 1980 he switched to the Asian and Pacific Affairs Subcommittee because he anticipated interactions with China. In 1981 he became the subcommittee chair after the previous chair died in office. Solarz used his new position to advocate democracy for Taiwan and promote military and economic aid for rebel factions in Cambodia, among other policies. He became a shadow secretary of state (Winik 1993), using congressional junkets to perform shuttle diplomacy by visiting numerous heads of state to negotiate realistic and acceptable policies toward Cambodia.
- Cindy Sprunger was a human rights activist in the 1970s. She went to work for Representative Jim Leach (R-IA), who was the ranking minority member on the Asian and Pacific Subcommittee. After President Carter announced recognition of China, the government of Taiwan began a crackdown, postponing indefinitely the scheduled elections and then, on Dec. 10, 1979, killing and arresting hundreds of protesters who were recognizing Human Rights Day in Kaoshiung, Taiwan's second-largest city. Sprunger's family had spent a great deal of time on Taiwan as ministers for the Presbyterian Church. She encouraged Rep. Leach to take a public stand and condemn Taiwan's actions. Cindy's colleague, Fulton Armstrong, had lived on Taiwan and he also urged Leach to enter a statement in the congressional record. Dr. Edward Friedman worked for Rep. Solarz. He had completed his dissertation research on Taiwan in the 1960s and worked for Solarz

immediately after he became chair of the Asian and Pacific Subcommittee. Solarz started organizing hearings about Taiwan, including the murder of Taiwanese-Americans by the agents of the Republic of China (ROC) on Taiwan. The Asian and Pacific Subcommittee produced legislation banning arms sales to any country that killed citizens who became Americans.

- The Taiwan Relations Act had changed the immigration quota for the Taiwan, merging it with the immigration quota for all of China, which severely limited the immigration of Taiwanese citizens to the United States. Dr. Peng Ming-Min, Trong Chai, and Mark Chen were Taiwanese independence activists who started the Formosan Association for Public Affairs (FAPA) in 1981. The three men met with Edward Friedman to explain this problem, and Friedman wrote legislation that created two separate immigration quotas for Taiwan and Mainland China. Mark Chen met with Senators Claiborne Pell (D-RI) and Edward Kennedy to get Senate support for Taiwan. Soon, Solarz, Leach, Pell and Kennedy began holding press conferences together, calling themselves the “Gang of Four” to encourage Taiwan to democratize. Rep. Leach made speeches on the House floor and Solarz traveled to Taiwan to bring the message to the government. Senator Kennedy gave the John F. Kennedy Prize to Taiwan democracy activists. Senator Pell helped pass Senate resolutions stating that the fate of Taiwan was to be determined by the people of Taiwan, not its government. Although the membership of FAPA has averaged a mere 5,000 since its inception, it has managed to organize the Taiwan Caucus in the House and the Senate. The Taiwan Caucus is the second-largest ethnic caucus, second only to the Israel Caucus.

## **Explaining Change at All Levels**

What do these examples have in common? From members of Congress to congressional staff and organizers of interest groups, they all involve the exercise of political entrepreneurship. At first glance this may seem puzzling. After all, senators, representatives, congressional staff, and political organizers have vastly different social and political resources. From the ordinary citizen who gets people to meet together to discuss a common problem to a member of Congress, every actor plays a different political role. Yet, what unites all of these actors is the ability to create long-lasting change beyond their limited official roles, whether change starts at the grassroots level or in the halls of Congress.

A study of political entrepreneurship requires not just examining change of degree, but also change of kind. A change of degree occurs within the boundaries of a political actor's responsibility. Changes of degree can be reversed easily and thus they seldom last. In order for change to become durable reform, change of degree must become change of kind, and only a political entrepreneur can create that kind of change. A political entrepreneur creates a change of kind by adjusting the boundaries of responsibility, the jurisdiction, and acquires more responsibilities. The examples above demonstrate this: members of Congress changed the selection of committee chairs and the rights of subcommittees; members of Congress acted like cabinet secretaries; congressional staff acted like members of Congress; citizens acted like congressional staff. The political entrepreneur, regardless of the level of activity, changes the fundamental nature of the role in practice. This change may eventually be codified in law, but it starts with a political entrepreneur changing the boundaries of his/her formal jurisdiction to create lasting changes within institutions and within society (usually by stretching the boundaries to acquire more responsibilities).

This study contends that understanding what political entrepreneurs do and why they do it is essential for understanding political changes at the domestic and the international levels. Most studies of political entrepreneurship approach entrepreneurship as a change in degree instead of a change in kind, and thus the focus of the studies are confined to discrete political domains and fixed jurisdictions. These studies are effective within their specialized fields but they fail to elucidate the phenomena described above. A main purpose of this project is to *extend* the study of entrepreneurship to illustrate its radical or transformative possibilities.

Why would Rep. Solarz, a Jewish representative from a safe Jewish district, care so much about Taiwan? Taiwan was just one of many countries that Solarz became intensely focused on during his career. He became one of the most-traveled members of Congress, visiting countries in Africa, the Middle East, Central America, South America, and Asia, meeting with heads of state and dissident groups. He became such an expert in American foreign policy that he was rumored to be a prospective secretary of state in a future Democratic presidential administration. What explains his deep interest and involvement in so many different areas of American foreign policy that were of little if any concern to his constituents? What allowed Rep. Solarz to be so effective on American foreign policy as a member of Congress with less than 10 years of experience in the House?

Why do congressional staff have so much influence on a member of Congress when the literature would lead us to predict that the member of Congress leads the way? What incentives did Cindy Sprunger have for making suggestions to Rep. Leach, and what incentives did Rep. Leach have for following her lead?

How did a small number of Taiwanese-American activists manage to have such great influence on members of Congress and congressional activities? How does a small, grassroots

organization manage to organize so many members of Congress to vote in favor of Taiwan, especially for an island that no longer has strategic significance for United States foreign policy? How did this small organization become influential despite the lack of resources that the literature would predict, including votes in congressional districts and financial contributions to campaigns?

By studying these entrepreneurs, this dissertation explains a set of policy outcomes that defy most expectations we have of how foreign policy works, and much of what we think we know about elected lawmakers, their staffs, and the interest groups and issue activists with whom they interact. In addition, this dissertation focuses on what motivates political actors, especially elected officials. Some of them do not choose issues on which to focus based on our conventional understanding of rational political action. Instead, they are moved to act by their emotional attachment to an issue.

More generally, this study focuses on the impact political entrepreneurs have on American foreign policy and international relations. When we look at the making of American foreign policy from the 1970s onward, specifically human rights policy, we see that many key players seem to lack the motives or means to exercise influence. Most of the literature on international relations, foreign policy making, Congress, and interest groups focuses on elite actors who have significant institutional resources. They are supposed to be motivated primarily by their immediate interests. Yet in the area of human rights, policy reflected the influence of different actors, both lawmakers and organized interests, who often derived no direct political benefit from their efforts.

This study claims that much political entrepreneurship in foreign policy has an affective foundation. Powerful emotional responses, both in the short-term and over long periods of time,

have led to significant foreign policy outcomes that we would not expect from limited traditional political resources. In turn, affective entrepreneurship has changed the nature of international relations.

### **Competing explanations for change**

Following America's official recognition of China, the Taiwanese government postponed scheduled elections. Then, in December 1979, the Taiwanese government started arresting human rights protesters, dissidents, and other activists after December 10, UN Human Rights day. This provoked many Taiwanese-Americans to pool their resources and contact Congress about Taiwan's human rights abuses. The TRA had included a line saying that the United States thought human rights on Taiwan were important (an amendment submitted by Rep. Jim Leach), but nothing obligated members of Congress to actively push for human rights on Taiwan. Yet, that is exactly what Congress did during the 1980s. To explain congressional activity on behalf of Taiwan, in the TRA as well as through hearings, press conferences, binding and non-binding legislation, from the 1980s to the present, we turn to theories of domestic policy change.

Scholars of American politics draw on two general approaches to explain policy shifts. The first approach is the rational actor model: individual actors, including elected officials and policy entrepreneurs (Kingdon 1984), make policy changes to win re-election (Mayhew 1974). Mayhew's approach has been influential because it describes members of Congress as single-minded seekers of reelection. This approach is useful, but limited, because members of Congress are emotional human beings in addition to rational actors. Elected officials change policies to respond to both electoral pressures in their districts and to their own emotional needs.

It is possible for affective politics and rational electoral politics to co-exist and reinforce each other. We see this in the example of the American-Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC). Passionate Jewish voters care deeply about Israel and evoke memories of the Holocaust, but they also have high net worth. Jewish donors give money to political candidates and have large voting blocks. If another ethnic group wants to accomplish the same political influence in Congress, it can have money and voting power, and/or affective concerns about human rights abuses in their home countries. Rep. Solarz responded to human rights abuses in Asian countries, then found to his surprise that Asian-Americans are wealthy and active voters. He cultivated this donor base after realizing that it existed. Other politicians may go for the rational calculation first, collecting money from ethnic voters in their district, and then, second, discover that they really care about the human rights abuses that these voters bring to their attention. This research gives a fuller, more comprehensive picture of how members of Congress actually work.

The second approach to explain policy shifts is analyzing collective action through social movements or organized interests. A policy window may occur in which a policy entrepreneur senses that an old policy no longer works and a new policy is needed, but no one except the entrepreneur is offering a new policy. Social movements convince many policy makers at different levels to change policies simultaneously as a response to various forms of collective action (Allen 2007; Bernstein 1997; Jenkins 1977, 1983; McCarthy and Zald 1973, 1977). Some scholars of American politics have tried to connect these approaches, explaining that individual entrepreneurs lead policy coalitions, cohering social movements that are otherwise fragmented (McCarthy and Zald 1973, 1977).<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Some scholars of international relations apply this logic internationally by merging the lenses of collective action and states. They have coined the term “complex interdependence” to analyze transnational politics (Keck and

These theories of domestic change have their own limitations. They can explain short-term changes in policy at a specific time by a specific group of actors. Yet, collective action is difficult to sustain over very long periods of time, and thus the results of collective action tend to be limited. In the case of Taiwan, in contrast, the specific actors, including members of Congress, staff, and activists, remained the same from the 1980s until the present. The policy targets have changed over the decades, but the goal has remained the same: maintaining a democratic and economically vibrant Taiwan even as the PRC grows in military power, economic power and international influence. This study aims to explain this continuity in both the actors and their goals despite three decades of changes in American politics and Sino-American relations.

### **Transnational Actors**

One of the ways this study tries to explain the continuity of specific political actors in a changing political environment is by highlighting the unique nature of transnational activists in the international community, and how democratic countries filled with immigrants behave as a result of their presence. The U.S. has been the destination of choice for many immigrants, refugees, and exiles from around the world. America's global economic and military dominance has made American foreign policy a subject with global implications. Thus, it was natural for foreign governments, ethnic lobbies, and transnational groups to lobby Congress (Tierney 1994). America's destination status has turned the United States into a foreign policy tool for immigrant groups who retain their ethnic or homeland identities. "Diasporas are an inherent part of the imperfection of the nation-state. Almost no states match perfectly territory with populations,

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Sikkink 1998; Adamson 2002; Risse-Kappen 1995; Huntington 1973; Nye and Keohane 1971; Keohane and Nye 1972; Rosenau 1980).

whether they define themselves in civic-nationalist or ethno-nationalist terms. Diasporas are thus an endemic feature of the international system, and transnational ethnic ties are an inevitable part of international relations.” (Shain and Wittes 2002, 177-178) (See also Shain, Yossi, and Barth 2003)

Thus, the interaction between the transnational level and the domestic level can be analyzed in terms of diaspora politics. The issues that motivate diasporas include human rights abuses, foreign aid, and democratization. Diaspora politics are “homeland political practices confined to those groups that are barred from direct participation in the political system of their homeland - or who do not even have a homeland political regime of their own to support/oppose.” (Cohen 1997, cited in Østergaard-Nielsen 2003, 763) Diaspora politics are one source of inputs, among many, in shaping U.S. foreign policy because immigrant groups are one source of pressure on Congress if political entrepreneurs can mobilize them to have a stable political identity. The Taiwanese-American community constituted a diaspora, with exiled academic, political, and business leaders searching for ways to make Taiwan democratic so they could return home. U.S. Taiwan policy became one of their targets.

We need to use different theories to explain entrepreneurship over time on international human rights issues. Major international relations theories are of little value in explaining diaspora politics in the United States. Neither state-centric Realist theories, institutional Liberal theories, nor relationship-based Constructivist approaches can account for the specific actors, the Taiwanese-American exiles, involved in helping to shape U.S. Taiwan policy in the 1980s. Realism ignores them. These actors were not official representatives of Taiwan at international institutions because Taiwan was no longer represented in any institutions. The relationships that the China Lobby had developed over 30 years were with the KMT government, not with the

exiles who lived in the United States. In sum, theoretical approaches in international relations would lead scholars to ignore this small group of activists who affected U.S.-Taiwan relations over three decades.

Many theories of domestic political change would also ignore these actors. Taiwanese-American activists lacked resources to put sufficient political pressure on policy makers at any level of government. A theory of political entrepreneurship helps us explain the impact of these actors. The only way these activists could make any impact was by finding political entrepreneurs in Congress, including staff, representatives, and senators, who would act on their behalf.

Finally, the only way to account for the durability of the entrepreneurship is to use the concept of Bonding Social Capital (Auerbach 1995; Bourdieu 1986; Gittel and Vidal 1998; Loflin 2003; Putnam 2000). When we shift from a state-centric explanation to an explanation that includes individuals and collectives we encounter problems: How do collectives form? Why do certain individuals act and others do not? Political scientists and social movement theorists have offered explanations for collective formation. These explanations include pressure on people in a stressful environment; possessing the financial and social resources to organize; encountering a favorable political opportunity structure; receiving psychological, social and economic benefits by taking part in the social movement. Political scientists and psychologists offer explanations for why some individuals take action and others do not. These explanations include financial incentives and ambition (within a rational choice framework), and social relationships. This study combines these explanations to understand the motivations of the Taiwanese-American activists. The concept of bonding social capital emphasizes the importance of the affective, emotional relationships that members of a social group develop as they organize.

A stressful environment causes citizens with high socio-economic status to form a movement. Taiwanese-American activists had faced this stressful environment on Taiwan, then they faced it again as they received news about the government's crackdown in December 1979. These activists confronted economic depression, oppression by the KMT, and military conflict. They were forced to confront these problems together, and they derived psychological benefit from being part of the collective. Individuals who also have financial resources will use their social capital and financial capital to start organizations that will distribute social and financial resources to less capable people within the movement and through to society they live in. Taiwanese-American activists started the Formosan Association for Public Affairs to do this for the Taiwanese-American community. The problem is that these individuals usually do not receive a direct economic benefit from starting such organizations, and members have no incentive for paying dues to these organizations when they get the social benefits for free, thus presenting a collective action problem (Olson 1965). This brings us to the central problem: Why do individuals start organizations that present little, if any, financial reward and may not provide the desired political outcomes for years or decades? The question leads to the study of political entrepreneurship.

### **Defining Political Entrepreneurship**

Scholars have approached political entrepreneurship from a variety of perspectives, most of them viewing entrepreneurship as a change of degree, within jurisdictional boundaries, rather than a change of kind, to expand jurisdictional boundaries. This study builds on entrepreneurship scholarship that focuses on changing boundaries to permit policy change in kind. Political entrepreneurs are people who expand the jurisdictions of authority by engaging in “speculative

acts of creative recombination in ways that challenge existing boundaries of authority” (Sheingate 2003, 18). Political entrepreneurs operate within complex institutions where the boundaries of authority are ambiguous. These boundaries are constantly shifting as different parts of an institution lose authority over specific policy areas and gain authority over other areas. Political entrepreneurs are likely to be more common when there is more money to allocate. “Entrepreneurs will ... be attracted by the possibility of redeploying ... budgets to achieve the policy goals they prefer.” (Schneider and Teske 1992, 743). Combining these approaches, we can predict that political entrepreneurs will be more numerous when there are ambiguous jurisdictions and bigger budgets to allocate to preferred policy goals.

Congress is a likely place to find political entrepreneurs for three reasons. First, congressional committees and subcommittees have ambiguous jurisdictions. Second, legislation is often referred simultaneously to multiple committees because the subject matter often crosses committee boundaries. This leads to conflict between committees and subcommittees, also known as turf wars (King 1997), in which members of Congress and their staff are constantly trying to expand their jurisdictions and protect their jurisdictions from encroachment by rival committees. Third, members of Congress must serve on multiple committees, often more committees than they have time to attend, and so they sometimes are forced to sit on relatively obscure committees that rarely see any relevant action related to their districts or their policy interests. Thus, members of Congress and their staff have incentives to expand their committee jurisdictions to enhance the visibility with their constituents and increase their stature in Congress (Maltzman 1997). These factors provide incentives for members of Congress to become political entrepreneurs.

However, not all members do so, and few successfully expand or change the jurisdictions of their committees and subcommittees. This leads to the question: what factors allow a member of Congress to become a successful political entrepreneur? Like business entrepreneurs, political entrepreneurs usually succeed because they make savvy investments with their time and energy on policy issues. Unlike business entrepreneurs, who do not have fixed jurisdictions, political entrepreneurs have been identified mainly because they propose new policies in fixed jurisdictions (Polsby 1984; Weissert 1991; Ainsworth and Sened 1993; Mintrom 1996, 1997; Polsky 2000; Moukarim 2008). Scholars have argued that success depends on the role of the person proposing new policies and on the environment the political actor is in. The environment creates a “policy window” (Kingdon 1997) and political entrepreneurs use issue or policy networks (Hecl 1977) within that window to build coalitions and create new policies. Subsequent studies have advanced the study of issue entrepreneurs and policy entrepreneurs in different policy areas and at different levels of political activity.

Like many fashionable terms in scholarship, “political entrepreneurship” is applied to a wide range of activities, some with little in common with the others. The only way to avoid conceptual confusion is by using the word “entrepreneur” sparingly to prevent “conceptual stretching” (Sartori 1970, 1984; Collier and Mahon 1993). A concept is an information container or “data container” (Sartori 1970) that is meaningful only if a scholar is very selective in choosing data for the concept. From this perspective, an “entrepreneur” is meaningful in a business context because the entrepreneur must make an investment of financial resources. For the concept to apply to political science, there must be similar kinds of investments and risks. Most scholars focus on the payoffs – the profit – that an investment generates in politics, such as when a policy becomes law. If the word “entrepreneur” is going to mean anything in political

science, it is more effective to focus on the investments that are required instead of the payoffs. By focusing on the payoffs, it is impossible to distinguish between an entrepreneur, who works to make a profit, and a gambler who just gets lucky with a momentary windfall. In contrast, by focusing on the investment we can distinguish the likely successes from the failures.

I define “political entrepreneur” as someone who makes an investment in his or her social network and consistently advocates policy ideas through various media until the social network includes people working in government who decide to implement the favored policy. The entrepreneur absorbs the transaction costs of assembling the coalition needed to bring about the political outcome the entrepreneur seeks. Transaction costs derive from trade-offs in the use of scarce resources. These trade-offs become more obvious as resources become more scarce. For members of Congress and their staff, the trade-off is time spent in the district versus time spent on Capitol Hill writing legislation, meeting with interest groups, and holding hearings. For interest groups, the trade-off is time spent assembling a coalition versus time spent maintaining the interest group. For citizens, the trade-off is time spent assembling a coalition versus time spent with friends, family, and business associates. The lower these transaction costs, the easier the trade-offs, and the more likely a person is to become a political entrepreneur.

To identify a political entrepreneur according to this definition, we must examine the working alliances, friendships, and advocacy groups that the entrepreneur develops. Thus, it is useful to think of “issue networks” (Heclo 1978) as well as “advocacy coalitions” (Sabatier 1988). These networks take time and energy to develop, and they change as policies are implemented and generate feedback.

We also need to understand what a political entrepreneur is not. “Organizer” and “advocate” already describe people who use the media as resources to start social movements.

The media cover such events as sit-ins, marches, protests, picket lines, civil disobedience and acts of terrorism. The people who innovate these tools help people identify a common problem and take action to solve that problem. However, these political acts are high-risk, possibly leading to arrest or death. Few people have the fortitude to take such risks. Therefore, a less risky way to promote a policy change is to become an advocate by writing letters to the editor, publishing newspaper articles, and speaking through television and radio. Whether a person chooses a high-risk or low-risk approach to policy change, these activities merely represent good citizenship. These actors are not political entrepreneurs if their social networks do not include people working in government who decide to implement the favored policy

Since a political entrepreneur must build social networks that include elected and appointed officials who will implement the favored policy, once those social networks are built, the political entrepreneur must use them. Initially, politicians and policy makers will likely oppose the favored policy. Thus, the political entrepreneur must be able to convince them to change their minds or help elect people who approve of the policy. The political entrepreneur must set the agenda for the policy makers (Cobb and Elder 1983).

Once the entrepreneur sets the agenda, a political actor within the governing body must codify the issue in legislation. Lawmakers often use legislation to take a position on a policy issue in order to please constituents (Mayhew, 1974), knowing that there is almost no chance of the bill becoming law. “Bill sponsorship seems to be the irrational act of otherwise rational members of Congress. From 1947 to 1998 only 4.74% of the bills introduced in Congress became law.” (Platt 2008) A political entrepreneur can sponsor, cosponsor, or amend legislation at some point along the legislative process (in subcommittee or committee markup, on the House or Senate Floor, or during a conference session). At the local level there are more opportunities

for policy to become law, so there should be more political entrepreneurs in local government. At the state level, with 50 governments, there should be fewer political entrepreneurs. At the federal level there should be a very small number of political entrepreneurs (Schneider and Teske 1992).

Given the difficulties and low probability of turning policy into law at the federal level, there are two conditions that allow a citizen or political actor to see policy through the legislative process to become law: a policy window opens independent of a political actor's efforts or a political actor helps to create a policy window. A policy window opens when the supporting coalition and the policy ideas coincide at the right moment. Usually, the "right" moment occurs after a "focusing event" (Baumgartner and Jones 1993; Birkland 1997; Sabatier 1988; Saikaly 2009; Corbin 2010). A political entrepreneur sees the opening and rushes to get his or her policy voted into law, or the political entrepreneur may submit the policy for consideration by the governing body over many sessions (Weissert 1991). Political entrepreneurs help to create policy windows by their continuous advocacy of specific policies.

The political entrepreneurs in this study fit under Riker's (1980) label "heresthetics" because they structured the world so they could win. Taiwanese-American activists and members of Congress used rhetoric to build coalitions of policy advocates, and the people within that coalition helped shape the environment so that the policy becomes acceptable. The composition of the coalition is critical for the political entrepreneur, and the ways the political entrepreneur composes the coalition are just as important (Mintrom and Norman 2009). The Taiwanese-American activists used precise language to target members of Congress and congressional staff who were sympathetic to the cause of human rights on Taiwan. The activists also supported

sympathetic candidates for Congress who won their first elections, in part with funding from wealthy Taiwanese-Americans, and maintained the support over the decades.

This long period of time was critical for Taiwanese-Americans to develop relationships with citizens, congressional staff, and politicians. The metaphor of a policy window is appealing precisely because it captures the short time period in which new policies are considered and implemented. Yet, in order to understand sustained entrepreneurship, we must know what motivates political actors over long periods of time.

### **The Congressional Environment**

A narrow understanding of political entrepreneurship is a key tool for resolving the puzzles of change in U.S-Taiwan relations during the 1980s. All the action took place in Congress. The congressional environment poses a critical test for political entrepreneurship on foreign policy for three reasons. First, as previously mentioned, passing laws at the federal level is incredibly difficult, discouraging political entrepreneurship. Second, because foreign policy is not traditionally considered to be the domain of individual members of Congress, it is counterintuitive when a member of Congress acts like a surrogate secretary of state or defense. Finally, a common expectation for members of Congress is that they are always trying to win reelection, so it is also counterintuitive when members of Congress become political entrepreneurs in foreign policy in ways that do not promote their own reelection.

The congressional environment matters as we try to account for the motivations of members to become political entrepreneurs. Aspects of the congressional environment provide incentives for entrepreneurship, including electoral imperatives, an opportunity structure with

many openings for individual initiative, leadership positions that reward entrepreneurs, media organizations that show entrepreneurs to the public, and fundraisers who reward entrepreneurs.

One influential scholarly view of Congress maintains that its members rationally focus on doing what they can to win re-election (Mayhew 1974). They serve on committees that serve their district's interests. They do constituent case work and meet mainly with people from their districts. They may meet with interest groups, but only with those that affect their district's interests. They get involved in foreign policy issues if it helps their district or enhances their standing among constituents. They meet mainly with people who will either give them votes for re-election or money to campaign. They take positions that matter to the constituents even if the position does not lead to a legislative outcome or a position on a committee. In addition, ambition theory recognizes that members of Congress may take positions that will help them advance to higher office.

The scholarly literature on congressional staff leads us to predict that staffers have little influence over members of Congress. Staff members do not initiate legislation or new policies, instead working as agents who do the bidding of the member of Congress or the committee. Finally, the scholarly literature leads us to predict that interest groups get the attention of members of Congress only if they have the ability to sway a large number of votes or contribute money to a campaign (Haney and Vanderbush 1999; Weil 1974; Said 1981; Watanabe 1984: ch. 3; Tierney 1994). Thus, we would expect that large and/or wealthy interest groups get more attention than small, poor interest groups. We would also expect interest groups to succeed only if they can apply electoral pressure on enough members of Congress to affect election results.

## **Broadening the Opportunities for Political Entrepreneurship within Congress**

As previously mentioned, the U.S. Congress is a complex institution characterized by multiple (and sometimes competing) committees and subcommittees in the House and the Senate. Therefore, we can expect to find many political entrepreneurs within each chamber, and indeed we do. However, at the start of the time period that is the focus of this study, lawmakers who might pursue political entrepreneurship in the U.S. Congress faced several constraints. Obstacles included the powers of the leadership to appoint committee and subcommittee chairs and direct legislation to relevant subcommittees, the powers of committee and subcommittee chairs to hold hearings, and the powers of members of Congress to submit legislation and amendments during markup sessions within committees and on the House floor. These powers presented significant obstacles to political entrepreneurs.

A brief review of House reforms will help us understand why members did not become entrepreneurs until the 1970s. The first House reform was in 1910. Before 1910, Speaker Joe Cannon had appointed committee chairs in a very arbitrary manner, satisfying his personal political preferences and effectively curbing any initiative by individual lawmakers. The reforms centralized power in the House leadership, taking personal political preferences out of the selection of committee chairs. The new tool was seniority (Polsby et al 1969). This system still stifled entrepreneurship because members could accomplish nothing without the chairs' cooperation.

In 1975 Democratic House members rebelled against the powers conferred by seniority and created a more open political environment that was conducive to entrepreneurship. This rebellion happened because conservative Southern Democratic committee chairs had views that matched the Republican White House more than the rank-and-file democrats who came from the

Northeast (Ornstein 1977). To counter an assertive Republican President and the monopoly power of conservative Southern democrats, liberal Northern Democrats stripped committee chairs of their power. This rebellion also happened in part because Congress began to lose trust in the executive branch, particularly in its monopoly over information on international issues that allowed executive officials to distort what they presented to Congress and the public (Bennet 1978). Moreover, the partisan division of national institutions, with the Democrats controlling Congress and the Republicans dominating the presidency, led to increasing congressional assertiveness (Rohde 1994).

Congressional assertiveness reflected other developments that involved foreign policy in particular. The postwar consensus, premised upon the need to resist Communist threats, took a particular institutional form in which the executive branch developed and managed a national security state and an intelligence community. Congress followed the president's lead, permitting various parts of the executive branch latitude to deal with international Communism. As liberal Northern Democrats became more numerous in the late 1960s, they recoiled against executive dominance over foreign policy. This spilled over into opposition to Southern Democrats because they controlled the committees that set foreign relations and defense policy, and they often sided with the executive branch. The Northern Democrats sought to change the institutional rules to take power away from the Southern Democrats and make foreign and defense policy reflect liberal ideas (Rohde 1994).

Congress faced three pressures at the start of the 1970s that triggered changes that, in turn, improved the opportunity structure for entrepreneurship by lawmakers, their staffs, and others. First, within the House the views of the committee chairs no longer reflected the views of the committee members, much less those of the whole chamber. Second, Congress had

inadequate resources for managing issues. Finally, Congress had to figure out how to effectively manage the new demands of interest groups and political entrepreneurs.

For the first pressure, committee chairs whose views no longer reflected the views of the committee members, Democratic reformers made it easier to amend measures and insisted on recorded floor votes (Whalen 1982). Floor transparency thwarted the committee chair who might try a final vote on a bill he had drafted himself, sometimes with little committee say. Without transparency, rank-and-file representatives had no incentive to challenge legislation because no one in their district would know how they voted. Once legislative action became public through recorded votes, members could put together majorities to amend bills. Transparency in the selection of committee chairs was intended to accomplish the same goal of giving power to the rank-and-file. Before the 1970s the House members voted on committee and subcommittee chairs as a block and were unable to challenge individual chairs. During the 1970s House reformers changed the voting procedures so that representatives could approve or reject committee chairs individually by secret ballot. Lawmakers gained more influence over chairs, even if they exercised it infrequently. Further, the approval of the so-called Subcommittee Bill of Rights transferred control over legislation to subcommittee chairs and gave them their own staff resources.

These changes within the House lowered the obstacles for political entrepreneurs. During the 1970s, rank-and-file House members started to move more quickly into leadership positions on subcommittees and committees, and they started to expand the boundaries of acceptable behavior for representatives. For example, they started to challenge committee and subcommittee chairs who had greater seniority, replacing them with members who had barely arrived in the House. In addition, representatives started to propose many more amendments on the House

floor. Republicans, accustomed to minority status in House, accepted transparency to force liberal Democrats to take a stand on controversial issues on the floor (Smith 1992). The Democrats followed the Republicans' lead and submitted floor amendments if they could not get amendments approved in subcommittee or committee markup sessions. Subcommittee empowerment meant a large number of lawmakers in the majority party now had resources to influence the legislative agenda and the content of legislation.

The second pressure, inadequate resources for managing issues, derived from revelations that the Nixon administration frequently lied to Congress about foreign policy activities, and from the increasing merger of international and domestic issues as "intermestic" issues (Manning 1977). The Nixon administration's lies demonstrated to Congress that the House and Senate needed professional staff that equaled the staff in the executive branch. To fix this, Congress passed the 1974 Congressional Budget and Impoundment Act that gave Congress more oversight over executive branch activity (Fox and Hammond 1977). The merger of domestic and international issues forced members of Congress to spend more time on case work that merged foreign policy and their constituents' interests, but members of Congress simply did not have this time, and committees did not have the staff. Thus, Congress gave itself more staff in the 1970s. With more staff, members of Congress suddenly found more issues to place on the agenda as entrepreneurs (Loomis 1988; Burgin 1991; Burgin 1993) and they delegated more authority to staff. Congressional staff began to accept more input from interest groups (Tierney 1993; Tierney 1994).

The addition of more expert staff to Congress, especially to the House, reversed the historical dynamics in foreign policy. Before 1970, the foreign policy environment had been filled by the executive branch and the Senate according to their prescribed constitutional roles.

By 1980, in contrast, the House took the lead in the foreign policy arena for three reasons. First, the executive branch became more deferential to Congress, especially to the House, and consulted members of Congress before making foreign policy decisions (with exceptions such as America's China policy). Second, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee went from being very active to largely inactive. Third, the House Foreign Affairs Committee moved in the reverse direction, from being inactive to being very active. The declining activity of the Senate committee and the increasing activity of the House committee were largely the result of changes in committee chairmen in the House and Senate during the 1970s (Johnson 1975; McCormick 1985; Noble 1993). After 1974 the Senate Foreign Relations Committee lost influence as it became ideologically divided, filled with inexperienced senators and thus unable to pass legislation. Simultaneously, the powers of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs were spread out to its subcommittee chairs and staff, and the chairs became very active.

Members of Congress responded to the third pressure, managing the new demands of interest groups, by delegating tasks to staff and interest groups through a legislative enterprise system (Salisbury and Shepsle 1981) in which congressional offices functioned like small businesses (Loomis 1979). House members created enterprises that helped them to coordinate domestic and international policies, from writing legislation to final signature by the president. House subcommittees became routine, focused and aggressive in monitoring policy behavior in the executive branch (McCormick 1993).

In sum, the House increased transparency, increased staff resources, and increased organization at the level of the individual member and subcommittee. These changes shifted influence from the foreign policy elites in the executive branch and the Senate to House members who sat on committees overseeing defense policies and appropriations. As these

developments converged in the 1970s, political entrepreneurs took advantage of both the openness of Congress and the synthesis of international and domestic issues to become national political figures with high levels of ambition. This ambition compelled them to seek an impact on a range of international and domestic policy issues from the moment they entered Congress, whether as a member, or as congressional staff, or as a lobbyist for an interest group.

### **Opportunity Structure and Personal Motivation**

The developments within Congress during the 1970s transformed the political opportunity structure. A closed political structure will present no opportunities for political entrepreneurs. Conversely, an open one will provide opportunities, but no incentives: political entrepreneurs will see no long-term benefits because their accomplishments can be easily undone. As Sheingate explains, “Consider for a moment the impact of very high or very low entry barriers on political entrepreneurship. Where entry barriers are too high, entrepreneurship will be discouraged as innovations that would challenge existing jurisdictions of authority fail to see the light of day....Where entry barriers are too low, entrepreneurs find it comparatively easy to engage in speculative acts of creative recombination, but the consolidation of innovation – transforming institutional boundaries in a way that perpetuates new jurisdictions of authority – may be exceptionally difficult.” (Sheingate 2003, 200)

Applying the idea of political opportunity structures to Congress, Sheingate articulates a “congressional opportunity structure” based on the jurisdictions of committees and subcommittees. The more ambiguous a committee’s or subcommittee’s jurisdiction, the more opportunities there will be for hearings on different issues.

Central to the concept of a congressional opportunity structure is the notion that committee jurisdictions are not uniform. Whereas some committees maintain

relatively homogeneous jurisdictions and a degree of redundancy in issue attention, others have more complex jurisdictions characterized by a diversity of issue attention. Because of these manifold qualities, issue attention will be contingent upon the characteristics of specific policy domains and the manner in which they engage particular committee jurisdictions. Whereas some issues will touch upon multiple jurisdictions, ... others will not, instead falling within the purview of well-defined committee jurisdictions that offer few opportunities for issue entrepreneurship. (Sheingate 2006, 847)

Political entrepreneurs will likely be members of Congress and congressional staff who serve on committees that have ambiguous, overlapping jurisdictions. The more ambiguous the jurisdictions of committees and subcommittees, the more hearings, indicating political entrepreneurship on the part of both members of Congress and their staff, Sheingate argues. In addition, committees that control appropriations should attract more political entrepreneurs (Schneider and Teske 1992). We can also see political entrepreneurs on committees that authorize policies because, within these committees, it is still necessary to push an agenda item and forge coalitions. Setting the committee's agenda and building coalitions on the committee are entrepreneurial activities because both entail transaction costs. Sometimes members of Congress become both authorizers and appropriators (Fisher 1980; Gist 1981; Champoux and Sullivan 2006; Ginieczki 2010), and fund policies without authorization.

This logic leads us to expect that every member of Congress and every staff can become a political entrepreneur, but we know that few people choose this path. We are left with the original puzzle: Why do some members of Congress and congressional staff become political entrepreneurs? The only way to solve this puzzle is to examine motivations. Committee assignments, district representation, and number of years serving in Congress are necessary but not sufficient conditions for entrepreneurship.

District representation and number of years serving in Congress are necessary conditions for entrepreneurship because a member of Congress is more likely to become an entrepreneur if

his or her seat is safe, as indicated by the political composition of the district and the margins of victory in past elections. Starting in the 1970s, congressional seats became increasingly safe as landslide victories replaced marginal victories (Mayhew 1974). This happened for a couple reasons. First, party loyalty declined as voters defected from their registered political parties and voted for incumbents based on casework (Yiannakis 1981). Second, the advantages of incumbency increased as members of Congress used increased staff to devote more resources to casework (Epstein and Frankovic 1982). Paradoxically, as casework replaced political parties as voting cues for citizens, they became more important for political entrepreneurs as a way to reduce transaction costs (Aldrich 1995). This leads us to predict that a member of Congress is likely to be a political entrepreneur in foreign policy if he has won a series of landslide victories, has sufficient staff to devote to casework, and has a high enough political rank in Congress (subcommittee chair, committee chair, whip, minority leader, majority leader, speaker) to know that his or her party will support entrepreneurial activities. The entrepreneurs I study in chapters two and three have all of these characteristics.

However, even with a safe seat and the backing of the political party, the initial incentive for a member of Congress is to not get involved in foreign policy issues because the transaction costs are too high. The executive branch usually has more information about foreign policy issues. If the executive branch does not have a policy on a specific foreign policy problem, there is likely at least one member of Congress, out of 535, who “owns” the issue. Thus, a member of Congress will likely learn who else is active on the specific foreign policy issue before becoming active. This is because, with scarce time and resources, no member of Congress wants to duplicate efforts. If the effort to learn about a foreign policy issue is high, but the political reward

is low, then the member of Congress will likely delegate the foreign policy issue to the executive branch or another member of Congress (Epstein and O'Halloran 1999).

Once we know that a member of Congress has a secure enough position to take political risks as an entrepreneur, and learns that neither the executive branch or another member is acting on a foreign policy issue, we can use a microfoundational approach to extend the application of the concept of political opportunity structure beyond the committee level to include all of Congress. We can approach a more complete understanding of the rational and affective motivations for political entrepreneurship. "Microfoundation refers to considering how decisions ...aggregate into larger phenomena. Basically, it aims to trace a causal path through individual decisions. It is based on the understanding that the external incentives structure is only half of the story; the individual decision is the other, and both halves of the equation are equally important." (Fan 2000, 9) A microfoundation approach requires examining the demographic profiles of the subjects of study. Fan argues that a subject's demographic profile affects "a movement's organizational and tactical repertoires as well as its interaction with political opportunity structure." (Fan 2000, 12-13)

As the House and Senate opened up their opportunity structures, members of Congress claimed ownership of specific foreign policies. Representative James Oberstar (D-MN, 1975-2011), held no seat on a committee related to foreign affairs but was "the universally recognized congressional expert on Haiti (having lived there for several years in the early 1960s)" and "earned the privilege of being consulted whenever United States actions concerning Haiti were considered." (Tierney 1994, 104) Representative Joe Moakley (D-MA, 1973-2001) chaired the Rules Committee and "had tremendous influence in cutting military aid to El Salvador because he got interested in human rights abuses there." (Tierney 1994, 104) Moakley became an expert

on the issue and rewrote the 1990 immigration law to allow more Salvadorans to immigrate to the United States Senator Christopher Dodd (D-CT, 1981-2011) became influential on Central America issues because of “his stint as a Peace Corps volunteer in the Dominican Republic, his fluency in Spanish, and his demonstrated expertise on the issues.” (Tierney 1994, 110) For these members of Congress, biography mattered more than the demographics or needs of the senator’s state or the representative’s districts.

One obvious motivator for a politician is ambition. During the 1970s, members of Congress became more ambitious. Schlesinger identifies three types of ambition: discrete, for a specific political office for a specific time period and no other political office; static, for a long career in a specific political office; and progressive, for an office that is more important than the current one the politician seeks or holds (Schlesinger 1966). A political opportunity structure describes the situational responses of politicians as their ambition is facilitated by the political environment they occupy (Day, 1974). House members shifted from static ambition to progressive ambition. Members of Congress became more ambitious in the 1970s because the Watergate class that was elected in 1974, the “Watergate Babies”, was younger and less experienced in politics than the rest of the House of Representatives (Loomis 1988). Before 1970, representatives aimed for higher leadership roles within the House over decades of service through seniority. By 1980, representatives sought more prominent leadership roles without relying on seniority, and they focused more quickly on being elected to the Senate or even running for president.

The Watergate Class reformed Congress as an institution and the way members organized their offices because they knew of different organizational repertoires (Clemens 1997). They formed personal offices that were open and non-hierarchical, and allowed staff members and

constituents to have frequent and direct access to them. In addition to the organization of their personal offices, these House freshmen brought a new emphasis on intra-party organization: they organized themselves rapidly into informal caucuses immediately following the November midterm elections and were thus able to quickly mobilize their numerical resources to change the institutional structures in the House.

The House of Representatives consists of multiple layers of political opportunity structures. The top layer is the structure of leadership opportunities for representatives. The middle layer is the structure of opportunities for congressional staff. The opportunities include the ability to impact legislation, the ability to translate a congressional staff position into an elected political office, an appointed position on a government agency, a staff position in the senate or executive branch, and/or a paid position as a lobbyist for an interest group or a law firm. The bottom layer is the structure of opportunities for concerned citizens, constituents, and interest groups who want to set the agenda for legislation in the House of Representatives. We can also use this approach to look at the Senate with equivalent layers.

Congressional staff became more numerous, more specialized, more professional, and more entrepreneurial as well. The staff became an autonomous force, writing legislation before it reached markup in subcommittees and committees (Jones and Woll 1979, Malbin 1977, 1980). Franck and Weisband (1979) illustrate the increased influence of congressional staff on members of Congress. Representative Vanik's legislative aide helped secure passage of the Jackson-Vanik Amendment on Jewish emigration for the Soviet Union. He called every congressional office to secure co-sponsorship from members and he negotiated directly with Jewish lobbying groups. In a second example "Representative Tom Harkin has acknowledged that the human rights issue was of little interest to him until Rebecca Switzer of his staff handed him the fully drafted

amendment to that year's foreign assistance authorization that became the first mandatory human rights legislation.” (Franck and Weisband 1979, 236) Senator Hubert Humphrey and Henry Kissinger had to rely on Humphrey's staff to interpret the language in a foreign aid bill to facilitate negotiations.

Congressional staffs have generally two types of motivations: professional and entrepreneurial (Price 1971). Professional staffs know the policies of the members of Congress and the committee chairs so that they can reflect those policies in legislation. Entrepreneurial staffs actively initiate legislation and seek out members who will sponsor or co-sponsor the legislation, regardless of party, even when the policy views do not match the views of the members for whom the staff work (Romzek 2000). Congressional staffs tend to have short tenures in Congress if they are personal staff, but they have professional ambitions outside of Congress that relate to their work as staff. They may later work in the executive branch or for government agencies that implement the policies they wrote as staff, or they may become members of Congress (Salisbury and Shepsle 1981; Romzek and Utter 1996, 1997; Henschen and Sidlow 1986; Herrnson 1994).

With more staff and greater expertise on a wider range of policy issues under their control, rank-and-file representatives were able to set the agenda of Congress at the individual level instead of relying solely on positions in subcommittees and committees. The congressional staff found allies among other lawmakers through networks of staffs. These became informal issue or policy networks (Hecklo 1977) that enabled the staff to provide a great deal of support to their representatives. Thus, representatives developed multiple resources: intellectual expertise with more and better staff; financial capability with better fundraising from individuals and interest groups; access to decision-makers in both Congress and the executive branch through

their experienced staff; and access to expert policy through policy networks. The issue networks that congressional staff cultivated connected with transnational advocacy networks (Keck and Sikkink 1998) to give members of Congress access to expert information around the world through subcommittee and committee hearings.

### **Interest Groups and Opportunity Structures**

Congressional staff members are often the first points of contact for a lawmaker, suggesting the importance of the relationship between interest groups and legislative staff for understanding how groups influence Congress. For this study, the important literature is on interest groups that influence foreign policy through Congress (Ambrosio 2002; Al Qahtani 2001; Almond 1950; Arnson and Brenner 1993; Brenner et al. 2002; Dent 1995; Dietrich 1997; Fischer 2004; Milbrath 1967; Skidmore 1993; Tierney 1993, 1994; Trice 1976), with a focus on ethnic interest groups that attempt to influence foreign policy toward their home countries or home regions (Aziabu 1992; Cosgrove 1993; Davis and Moore 1997; Fernandez 1987; Goldberg 1990; Greve 1995; Haney and Vanderbush 1999; Heindl 2004, 2007; Huseynov 2003; King and Melvin 2000; King and Pomper 2004; Lindsay 2002; McC Mathias 1981; Mearsheimer and Walt 2006; Moore 2002; O’Gara 2000; O’Grady 1996; Paul and Paul 2009; Podbielski 1997; Rampersad 2007; Said 1981; Saideman 2002; Shain 1995; Silverman 1996; Smith 2000; Watanabe 1984; Woodruff 2005).

Ethnic interest groups have had increasing influence on U.S. foreign policy since the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. There are three historical periods for interest group influence (Smith 2000). In the first period, the 1910s to the 1930s, the most active groups were German, Scandinavian, Irish, and Italian. These groups helped maintain American international neutrality, and there

was often a tension between ethnic loyalties to the homeland and national loyalties. During the second period, the Cold War, ethnic and national identities coincided. AIPAC became the most powerful lobby during this period because its devotion to Israel fit with America's strategic interest in Israel as an ally against Soviet influence in the Middle East, and as an asset for projecting American influence into that region (Silverman 1996). The end of the Cold War marked the transition into the third period. The post-Cold War international environment provided a great opportunity for ethnic and other interest groups to dominate an otherwise aimless American foreign policy. Indeed, the threshold of entry for an ethnic interest group to influence American foreign policy is very low: access is available to an ethnic lobby that can spend at least \$1 million in campaign contributions and control about 250,000 votes in select congressional districts. "The influence of such a group might well be 'considerable,' providing that the group had no powerful enemies, a clear agenda, and the capacity to find at least some credible allies." (Smith 2000, 88)

Ethnic activism on foreign policy has interacted with the more open congressional opportunity structure and increased political entrepreneurship by lawmakers and congressional staff. Paul and Paul (2009) give examples of both representatives and senators who become active in U.S. foreign policy issues because of ethnic group influences. Consider two examples of lawmakers who chose to speak for the Armenian cause. "Senator Bob Dole (R-KS) championed Armenian issues because the doctor who nursed him back to health after World War II was Armenian" (Greve 1995, cited in Paul and Paul 2009, 66). In 1988 Rep. Frank Pallone (D-NJ) succeeded the deceased James Howard and retained as his first staffer Armenian-American Rosalie Chorbajian. Pallone also lives across the street from an Armenian church and thus has close contact with the Armenian community. Chorbajian "told Pallone about her family's

experience, specifically that her father's family was massacred during the Armenian genocide, and her father only escaped because he was not home at the time. She gave Pallone information on the issue, including that opponents of the genocide call the events a civil war. Pallone became a champion of recognizing the genocide, and Armenian Americans were very grateful for his support." (Paul and Paul 2009, 207) Rep. Pallone co-founded the Armenian congressional caucus in 1995 (Auerbach 1995 cited in Paul and Paul 2009, 206).

Closer examination of the details demonstrates causal mechanisms for representatives to become active in a foreign policy issue. The Pallone case suggests the likelihood of activism when (1) a new member of Congress hires staff from previous (retired or deceased) members, (2) develops a close relationship with his personal staff and is influenced by that relationship, (3) uses formal (e.g. subcommittees and committees) and informal (e.g. caucuses) institutional mechanisms in Congress to promote the issues he/she learns about through the staff, and (4) is motivated by a personal connection with the community (living next to a community, having relatives from a community, visiting a specific country) to promote the issue. The Pallone example highlights a key motivational element in entrepreneurship. As his experience shows, affective politics often drive a member of Congress to get involved with a foreign policy issue. Lawmakers who develop close relationships with people who are affected by a foreign policy issue, especially human rights abuses in a specific country, or who visit foreign countries with human rights abuses are more likely to become foreign policy entrepreneurs (Carter et al 2004).

In sum, congressional entrepreneurship on foreign policy reflects the convergence of two developments, a new opportunity structure that facilitates individual lawmaker and staff entrepreneurship and increased ethnic diaspora activism.

To understand why lawmakers embrace causes with no obvious and immediate political payoff, we must broaden our understanding of congressional motivation. Members of Congress and their staff often become foreign policy entrepreneurs because of chance associations between a lawmaker and a particular group, especially one that has been exploited or victimized. In order for the chance association to turn into an affective relationship, two elements need to be present. First, the member of Congress makes a rational decision that there is a policy window: the member discovers a policy that no longer works, learns that no one else is trying to find a solution, and decides to fill the void. Second, the member of Congress forms long-term relationships with ethnic interest groups and staff, and these relationships become the motivation for foreign policy entrepreneurship over years or decades. The longevity of the relationship strengthens the affective connection between the lawmaker, staff, and interest groups. The longer the relationship, the more potent it becomes as a source of motivation.

These changes within Congress, and the sources of motivation, emphasize the individual politician over the institution or the political party, so it is the individual politician who becomes identified with a specific foreign policy and a specific concern over human rights abuses in a given country. Thus it is no longer sufficient to understand foreign policy through Congress from a macro, institutional perspective. Instead we require a micro perspective, one that examines the biographies and lives of specific members of Congress and their staff, to fully explain the origins of foreign policy entrepreneurship. By extension, the micro perspective accounts for the persistence of such legislative entrepreneurship.

The legislative process is difficult and long, with many possible veto points along the path for any member of Congress who is opposed to the specific policy. It takes a long-term strategic view and a great deal of commitment to submit legislation over years and decades with

the hope that a “policy window” will open for the specific policy. If lawmakers were motivated only by short-term electoral calculations, they would have little incentive to push hard for legislation likely to require a long period of time and a measure of luck to be successful. It would be better for the rational politician to content him/herself with a few speeches to please the home audience. Persistence demands a deeper commitment to a cause and affective ties are the most likely basis for such a commitment.

Diaspora organizations also practice entrepreneurial politics. They do so in various ways that include writing legislation for a member of Congress to submit in a committee or on the floor and working with other interest groups, members of Congress, and their staff to build an advocacy coalition that will pass the legislation. Paul and Paul (2009) describe the entrepreneurial model of organizing ethnic groups: “The organization is run by an individual or two, and these few people wear all of the hats, including fundraising, public relations, advocacy, and contacting members of Congress and their offices. Many of these organizations are run by the same individual(s) who founded the group, and some of these founders ... established the organization because of the absence of ethnic entities that focused on foreign policy.” (Paul and Paul 2009, 56) The authors include in this category the Polish American Congress, the Irish National Caucus, the American Kurdish Information Network and the Albanian American Civic League. “Despite their relatively small size, such organizations can have influence.” (Paul and Paul 2009, 56)

For the ethnic lobby, the challenge is to sustain influence over time. An acknowledged policy “crisis” increases the likelihood that the ethnic entrepreneur gets a hearing, but once the focusing event passes entrepreneurial activity usually stops. There is no continuing relationship between the member of Congress and the entrepreneurial immigrant or interest group that

originally submitted the legislation. This is why building personal relationships can prove decisive. Ethnic activists who forge affective ties to a member of Congress will have more opportunities over years or even decades to turn their ideas into successful legislation. They have a better chance of influencing American foreign policy, regardless of how big the ethnic lobby is in terms of membership or how financially wealthy it is. As I will show, Taiwanese-Americans have managed to accomplish this. They continue to have a relationship with members of Congress and their staff, through the Formosan Association for Public Affairs (FAPA).

### **Rational Motivations for Entrepreneurship**

Since the president normally leads the way in a domestic or foreign policy crisis, members of Congress become foreign policy entrepreneurs when (1) the executive does not yet have a policy toward a specific country and (2) when the member of Congress wants to change policy toward a specific country (Carter and Scott 2010). Senators are more likely to be entrepreneurs. Members of the majority party in Congress are likely to be entrepreneurs. Members of the non-presidential party are likely to be entrepreneurs. Members serving on foreign policy committees are likely to be entrepreneurs (Carter and Scott 2010). This helps explain why Rep. Solarz became a foreign policy entrepreneur: he chaired a foreign policy subcommittee, he was a member of the majority party in the House, he was a member of the non-presidential party from 1975 to 1977 and 1981 to 1991.

Carter and Scott (2010) offer evidence on the targets of foreign policy entrepreneurs. They provide a fourfold typology: policy specialists, process specialists, policy strategists, and process strategists. Policy specialists care about what the United States does about specific problems in specific countries, or specific problems shared by many countries. Process

specialists care about how a specific issue should be handled. Policy strategists are concerned about the best approaches to long-term problems like economic development or dealing with rogue states. Finally, process strategists are concerned with such issues as war powers and who makes the rules regarding foreign military sales procedures.

From the literature on policy networks and advocacy coalitions, we can also predict that a member of Congress, or congressional staff, will become a political entrepreneur when (1) he or she thinks that a specific policy is not working and (2) he or she is persuaded by an interest group that a specific policy should be changed. According to the policy literature, a sense of “crisis” builds in a policy coalition such that there is an incentive to change a policy. In this context, a “crisis” in a specific policy, warranting change, is different from a domestic or foreign crisis that the president must address. During a foreign or domestic crisis involving the United States the president leads and Congress follows. This leadership provides a “policy window” around a focusing event that gives policy experts the opportunity to change policies according to their preferences (Corbin 2010). Academics and researchers in think tanks use various strategies to get Congress to pursue one policy instead of another. However, when there is not a focusing event, the president usually does not take the lead. This lack of leadership gives policy advocates and interest groups an opening to contact entrepreneurial staff and members of Congress.

This dissertation examines three types of political entrepreneurship targeted at policy windows. The first is by a member of Congress; the second, by congressional staff; the third, by an ethnic interest group based on transnational activism. In the last type, an ethnic interest group based on transnational activism: immigrants, exiles, or people with strong ethnic identities organize by pooling their resources to target congressional staff or a member of Congress. In the next chapter we will examine how policy windows affected the scope of foreign policy

entrepreneurship by members of Congress. Starting in 1970 there were numerous policy windows opening for American foreign policies toward various countries. These windows included civil wars in Latin America and Africa; human rights abuses by governments in El Salvador, Argentina, Chile, Nicaragua, Cambodia, China, South Africa, Sudan; humanitarian crises brought on by natural disasters. These crises drove citizens of the affected countries to emigrate, many to the United States. In turn members of Congress and their staff started taking the initiative to produce legislation to affect the countries in the crisis.

American policy toward China was settled until President Carter suddenly recognized the People's Republic of China in 1979. This abrupt decision created a policy window for Congress to take the lead on U.S. China policy. The result, as previously mentioned, was the Taiwan Relations Act (TRA). The TRA unintentionally created a policy "crisis" among the Taiwanese-American community because it changed the immigration quota for Taiwanese citizens, merging the quota for Taiwan with the quota for Mainland China and dramatically reducing the number of Taiwanese who could immigrate to the United States. Finally, the recognition of China provoked a human rights crisis on Taiwan that became a catalyst for Taiwanese-Americans to organize themselves and contact Congress for help. There were many political entrepreneurs among Taiwanese-Americans, congressional staff, and members of Congress, all converging simultaneously to rapidly affect American policy toward Taiwan from the 1980s to the present. Taiwan stands out because it is the only example, next to Israel, that has sustained affective and rational relationships with members of Congress to maintain its political influence over three decades.

## **Chapter 2**

### **Human Rights Abuse as Catalyst for Affective Political Entrepreneurship**

The changes within Congress during the late 1960s and early 1970s created an environment that encouraged the emergence of political entrepreneurs. However, these changes do not suffice to explain the emergence of political entrepreneurs who focused on human rights. To understand the rise of human rights, we must examine contemporary changes both within the United States and around the world.

The changes within the United States and around the world changed the topics that members of Congress cared about. In the United States the Civil Rights movement brought home to many activists the importance of human rights. The Watergate scandal demonstrated the willingness of people in the executive branch to abuse power. The Vietnam War showed that the U.S. was supporting an immoral regime and was becoming immoral in the process. The invasion of Cambodia and the killing of students at Kent State convinced many members of Congress that the Vietnam War had shifted from being a military problem to being a moral problem (Schneider 1979, 5). Human rights abuses by a Greek military junta, the Brazilian government, the Indonesian military in East Timor, and the military junta in Chile convinced members of Congress that the American government had to stop sending financial and military support to such governments. This led Congress in 1973 to adopt the War Powers Resolution, which limited the President's ability to deploy American troops, and to amend the Foreign Assistance Act to deny economic and military assistance to governments that committed human rights abuses (Schneider 1979, 6-7). Congress extended human rights amendments to trade agreements and bilateral economic assistance.

The emergence of human rights concerns in the Democratic-led Congress and among Democratic voters persuaded Jimmy Carter to use human rights as a campaign tool to win the Democratic nomination for president in 1976 and then make human rights a centerpiece of American foreign policy during his inaugural address (Schneider 1979, 9; Muravchik 1986). President Carter used human rights rhetoric for two reasons. The first was to provide the moral center to U.S. foreign policy that Democrats believed had been missing from the Nixon and Ford administrations. The second was to aggressively counter the Soviet Union's actions in places like Afghanistan and Angola. Carter viewed policies that emphasized human rights as replacing Cold War military activities in post-Vietnam America (Carleton and Stohl 1985, 1987; Cohen R 1982; Cohen S 1982; Cohen M 1983; Hartmann 2001).

However, Carter was inconsistent in his human rights policies: his administration, led by Patricia Derian, the Coordinator for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs in the State Department, seldom used human rights to formulate foreign policy. When it did use human rights to shape foreign policies, these still supported regimes that committed human rights abuses (Loescher 1979). In reaction, some members of Congress decided that President Carter was not serious about human rights, and that general human rights amendments and legislation were insufficient to deal with specific countries. Senators and representatives began to invest a great deal of time and energy in rights violations in Angola, Argentina, Cambodia, Chile, El Salvador, Guatemala, Nicaragua, the Philippines, South Africa, and the Soviet Union.

Interestingly, the lawmakers received no rewards from their constituents for their efforts. Why would senators and representatives invest so much time and energy in specific countries while knowing that their constituents did not care? To solve this puzzle, this chapter provides a model to explain the motivations of members of Congress and how a human rights abuse in a

specific country translated into American foreign policy toward the country committing the abuses.

First there are the *international provocations*: A country decides to imprison, kill, and torture its citizens or to deprive its citizens of rights that are acknowledged by the United Nations.

Second, *information* about these international provocations reaches people in the United States through an intermediary. Refugees from the country may travel to the United States to testify before Congress, as may political exiles living in the United States. They also may communicate to Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) or citizens' groups, which then communicate the information to Congress. Members of Congress and/or their staff may travel abroad to meet with NGOs and/or political prisoners. Members of Congress may employ staff who have traveled to an afflicted country, have friends/relatives there, or may themselves have had formative experiences there.

Third, regardless of how the member of Congress gets information about human rights abuses in a specific country, he or she is *deeply personally affected* by the information and decides to take action through a variety of mechanisms. This is where we see the concept of bonding social capital, but it is called affective politics. Once members of Congress are deeply personally affected by information about human rights abuses, they form close relationships with the sources of information and with the country suffering the abuse. The words are different, but they refer to the power of emotional attachments to connect people to each other and trust each other so that they can work as a collective.

Fourth, the member of Congress *chooses the path of least resistance to advance his/her concerns*. If the member of Congress is in the majority party and a member of the president's party, the easiest path is to communicate privately with the president about the situation in order to spur immediate action through the executive branch.<sup>2</sup> If a member of Congress is in the minority party and a member of the opposition party, direct communication with the president will likely be difficult. Moreover, communication with the congressional leadership will likely produce few results.

Thus, the motivation to become a foreign policy entrepreneur will depend first on how deeply affected the member of Congress is by the specific human rights abuse, and second on the member's assessment of the probability of getting a result from communication with Congressional leadership and the president. The more deeply affected the member of Congress is, and the more difficult the institutional and political environment, the higher the probability that the member of Congress will exert extraordinary effort to become a foreign policy entrepreneur over years and decades.

### **Amnesty International**

We can apply this model to the work of Amnesty International (AI). AI started in London in 1961. It enlisted many anti-war activists to go to college campuses to start groups that wrote letters to oppressive governments requesting freedom for political prisoners (Cmiel 1999). Most of the information that Congress received about human rights abuses came from AI, whose volunteers went on fact-finding missions around the world to gather information for published reports on human rights abuses in every country. Prisoners of conscience and priests wrote letters

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<sup>2</sup> Ideology may also be a factor: if a member of Congress is ideologically opposed to the president, direct communication will likely not produce the desired results. However, ideology is difficult to measure.

to AI that described the horrible conditions in prisons and the various kinds of torture that states used against their populations. The information that AI published helped other human rights groups to start around the world, especially in the United States. “Between 1965 and 1980 the sheer quantity of information available on human rights abuses around the world rose dramatically. Fact-finding missions, academic studies, and congressional hearings all poured out. There were books on the subject, annual reports, and special reports.” (Cmiel, 1999, 1236) All of this took place mainly during the 1970s, which indicates that “the 1970s should be treated neither as a moment of flagging liberal energy nor as a simple adjunct to the sixties but as a moment of more basic political restructuring.” (Cmiel, 1999, 1234) AI led an information revolution on human rights with a global network of agile activists. This network provided information that had not been available 10 years earlier, and the global network sent this to politicians who could get media attention (Cmiel, 1999, 1238).

An interaction between the executive branch and AI in 1976 reveals how Congress became dependent on AI for information. In 1976, Ronald Palmer, the deputy coordinator for human rights in the State Department visited Stephanie Grant in the London office. He told her that Secretary of State Henry Kissinger was circumventing human rights legislation by ignoring the congressional mandate to report on human rights abuses. As a result, Palmer's office was receiving almost no information. Palmer argued that AI should develop questions based on its research and give them to members of Congress so that the member could send an inquiry to the State Department that would have to be answered within two days. This way, AI would be able to get information to Palmer. The London office sent a memo of this discussion to the American office of AI and suggested that the American office follow Palmer's suggestion (Cmiel, 1999, 1238-1239)

## **The Increasing Human Rights Sensitivity of Congress**

Three factors contributed to the increasing sensitivity of members of Congress to human rights abuses around the world: the pioneering investigations by Representative Donald Fraser (D-MN), starting in 1973 (Fraser 1977, 1979; Fraser and Salzberg 1979); the personal background of many new members of Congress who entered the House in 1975; and House members' desire to focus on human rights to challenge Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's focus on détente with the Soviet Union during the Nixon and Ford administrations.

Rep. Fraser had been an activist in the civil rights and anti-war movements before entering the House, and in 1973 he became the first House member to hold hearings on human rights abuses around the world. Fraser chaired the Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements. The hearings allowed human rights groups to testify and convinced many to seek congressional champions who could apply pressure to oppressive governments and change American foreign policy to embrace human rights. Rep. Fraser thus created the first policy window for paying attention to human rights in Congress.

Human rights activism in the 1970s was an extension of the successful social and political movements of the 1960s. Three parallel movements -- civil rights, the anti-war, women's rights -- had achieved their goals by 1975. The civil rights movement had achieved legal victories with the 1954 Supreme Court ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, and political victories with the Voting Rights Act of 1964 and the Civil Rights Act of 1965. By 1968 the civil rights movement had produced congressional representatives in majority-minority Southern districts. Civil rights activists shifted their attention from the human rights issues posed by Jim Crow to the human rights abuses around the world.

The anti-war movement achieved a political victory in 1973 as President Richard Nixon withdrew all American troops from Vietnam. Many anti-war activists were elected to Congress in 1974. Other anti-war activists took positions in the federal government after Jimmy Carter was elected president in 1976. After the Vietnam War ended, many organizers of anti-war demonstrations shifted their focus to human rights abuses around the world.

The women's movement reached maturity in the 1970s as many women graduated from college and started professional careers. Many feminists shifted their focus from the plight of American women to the plight of oppressed women around the world. Civil rights, anti-war, and women's activists shifted naturally from domestic political concerns to the growing international human rights campaign.

Movement activists entered Congress, the executive branch and various human rights organizations. Representative (and later Senator) Tom Harkin (D-IA) traced his commitment to human rights to his time as a congressional staff member when he discovered South Vietnam's "tiger cages" for prisoners. Representative Andrew Maguire (D-NJ), who entered Congress with the Watergate class of 1974, "began his political education by being punched in the mouth during a civil-rights march" (Vogelgesang, 1980, 122) Maguire also demonstrated against the Vietnam War and was part of the efforts to stop South African Apartheid. Rep. Fraser was active in the civil rights and anti-war movements. Andrew Young was Martin Luther King's collaborator during the civil rights movement, and then was elected to the House in 1972 from Georgia before becoming the highest black official as Ambassador to the UN during the Carter Administration (See also DeRoche, 2003; Haskins, 1979). Allard Lowenstein (D-NY, 1969-1971) was an activist in the civil rights movement and anti-war movement before and after serving a single term in the House. Lowenstein became the U.S. representative to the UN Human

Rights Commission in 1977 under the Carter Administration. (See also Chafe, 1993). Patricia Derian was an activist in the civil rights movement before being appointed by President Carter as Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs.

This spillover from social movements into Congress and the executive branch was based on an implicit recognition of the connections between the movements and international human rights. “By the 1970s, both blacks and whites saw promotion of international human rights as a logical extension of their own work within the United States during the 1960s. Patricia Derian, the highest-ranking political appointee in the Carter administration with the most explicit mandate on human rights, found remarkable overlap between what she experienced as a civil-rights activist in Mississippi and what she found abroad in nations like Argentina, most notable for their violations of human rights. Concern with South African *apartheid* became a focal point for U.S. student activism in the 1970s because of the connection between concern about racial discrimination in both the United States and the Republic of South Africa.” (Vogelgesang, 1980, 122-123)

These social activists were inspired by the idealism of President John F. Kennedy. “A disproportionate number were veterans of the Peace Corps, the symbol of Kennedy-era idealism. Their approach to politics was not rooted in party loyalty or interest-group advocacy. They were Kennedy's children, and, like him, they were committed to a new kind of politics—a politics of ideas.” (Schneider, 1989) They grew up comfortable with television and focused on using government to achieve social justice. The social activists who entered Congress in 1975 had very little political experience in terms of holding previous elected offices. Instead, they had been community organizers and Peace Corps volunteers. “Many members... had grass-roots organizing experience as activists in various liberal movements of the 1960s and early 1970s.

‘We were the sixties generation that did not drop out,’ [Representative] Bob Edgar [D-PA] said.” (Schneider, 1989)

By examining the biographies of House members who entered Congress in 1975, we find many links between grassroots activism and their congressional activities. Rep. Edgar started as a minister and street activist in Philadelphia and helped establish a shelter for women and families. “I spent the late 1960s and early 1970s dealing with racial issues, gang-related issues, and housing issues in the city.” (Schneider, 1989) Representative Toby Moffett (D-CT) had entered the Peace Corps with his wife and then moved to Washington to start a family. Moffett had worked with street gangs to do storefront-school training projects. He worked in the Office of Students and Youth at the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, during the Nixon Administration. After Kent State and the invasion of Cambodia he quit and worked for Senator Walter Mondale (D-MN). As a staffer in Sen. Mondale’s office, Moffett organized hearings for the Select Committee on Children and Youth. After that he went to Connecticut and started the Connecticut Citizen Action Group for Ralph Nader. After running this group for three years he entered Congress.

Once social activists entered Congress in 1975, they turned their attention toward human rights abuses in many countries, including El Salvador, Argentina, Chile, the Soviet Union, South Africa and Cambodia. Refugees and exiles from afflicted regions of the world either traveled to the United States or communicated with activists within the United States. They sent information about human rights abuses to both activists and members of Congress. Information about torture in Soviet prisons, death squads in Latin American countries, racial discrimination in South Africa, and killing fields in Cambodia spawned human rights groups around the world

and inspired members of Congress to hold hearings and write amendments to laws to deal with these abuses.

The hearings held by the Fraser Subcommittee revealed many countries committing human rights abuses. After the Fraser Committee published its report in 1974, Congress passed legislation that targeted three main areas: foreign aid, lethal aid, and voting power for developmental aid. With foreign aid, Congress cut off funds to any country found to be in systematic gross violations of human rights. With lethal aid, Congress cut off sales of police and military equipment to countries found to be arresting people without following due process and then torturing prisoners. With voting power for developmental aid, Congress instructed representatives to the Export-Import Bank, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Finance Corporation, and the International Development Association, to vote to cut off development aid to any country that was found to be in gross violations of human rights (Loescher 1977; Salzberg 1986).

In nearly every case of foreign policy entrepreneurship that followed the model described above, the international provocations (human rights abuses in a country) led to outputs (changes in American foreign policy toward the abusing country). To demonstrate the utility of the model, I apply it to the cases of the Soviet Union, Cambodia, El Salvador, South Africa.

The cases will be discussed in two categories. The first category includes countries that were the target of human rights legislation in a Cold War context, for which the Soviet Union serves as an example. The second category includes countries that were the targets of amendments and stand-alone legislation in an exclusively human rights context, such as Cambodia, El Salvador, South Africa, and Uganda. In each of these cases I will examine the specific human rights abuses in the country, the intermediaries who brought attention regarding

the abuses to members of Congress, and the congressional political entrepreneurs who both invested time investigating the abuses and invested energy trying to pass legislation that would help end the abuses. I will also discuss the final legislative outcome and its impact.

## **The Soviet Union**

The activists from the social movements of the 1950s and 60s entered Congress just as the Ford administration was pursuing détente with the Soviet Union, which meant a reduced American focus on human rights issues with the Soviet Union and other communist countries. This conflict of policy interest produced a growing tension between Congress and the executive branch. Human rights legislation became an important tool for Congress to keep the reluctant Ford administration, and specifically Secretary of State Kissinger, focused on human rights. The Soviet government arrested and tortured political dissidents, producing political activists within the Soviet Union who self-published newsletters and books detailing the many ways that the regime systematically tortured its citizens, both physically and psychologically. The Soviet government also prevented its Jewish citizens from emigrating to Western Europe and North America. These Jewish citizens became known as “refuseniks”.

Members of Congress responded to Soviet human rights abuses by shepherding legislation that made American foreign policy toward the Soviet Union dependent on the Soviet government improving its record with both political dissidents and refuseniks. Representative Millicent Fenwick (R-NJ) was instrumental in creating the American delegation to the Helsinki Accords, an international alliance that monitored human rights abuses in the Soviet Union (Albright and Friendly 1986; Korey 1993). Representative Thomas Vanik (D-OH) and Senator Henry “Scoop” Jackson (D-WA) successfully promoted the Jackson-Vanik Amendment, which

made American-Soviet trade policy contingent on Jewish citizens being allowed to leave the Soviet Union (Franck and Weisband 1979; Robson 1989).

After Israel was founded in 1948, the Soviet Union began a series of actions to suppress Jewish culture. “The period between Israel’s birth in May 1948 and Soviet Premier Joseph Stalin’s death in March 1953 witnessed the gradual elimination of Jewish religion and culture and their institutions in the Soviet Union. In addition, the open Soviet assault on assimilated Jewish ‘cosmopolitans’ during these years resulted in discrimination and the imprisonment of hundreds of Jews.” (Frey 2002; See also Ro’I 1991; Pinkus 1998, Pinkus and Frankel 1984) The Soviet crackdown on Jews was part of a larger crackdown on dissidents. In the mid-1960s a human-rights movement emerged in the Soviet Union. “It sprang up in 1965 because of the arrests of several established dissenters.... Underground writing known as *samizdat* also made an explicit connection between Soviet protest and internationally recognized human rights.” (Vogelgesang 1980)

The plight of Soviet Jews became the focus of American Jews, the Soviet Jewry Movement (SJM), during the 1960s as a distant echo of the Second World War and the Holocaust. Memories of the Holocaust were being reintroduced to the American public. American Jews felt guilty about ignoring the genocidal actions of Nazi Germany in the 1930s. As Soviet discrimination against and persecution of Jews in the 1950s and 1960s increased, the actions reminded American Jewry of the Nazi efforts preceding the Holocaust (Frey 2002). American Jews put pressure on members of Congress and the executive branch to condemn the actions of the Soviet Union and help facilitate emigration of Soviet Jews to Israel.

These efforts reached legislative fruition when Senator Jackson introduced an amendment in 1972 tying U.S.-Soviet trade relations to the Soviet Union’s granting permission to Jews to

emigrate. Jackson introduced his amendment because he believed that “something should have been done about repression of Jews in the 1930s in the interest of world peace.” (Robson 1989, 33) More than that, though, he and his allies, doubting that détente would yield benign Soviet behavior, sought to combat détente and used human rights as their weapon. “The Jacksonites were aiming more at derailing detente than at promoting human rights, but a precedent was nonetheless established.” (Feffer 2004) There was a massive effort by American Jewish organizations to pass the Jackson-Vanick Amendment. Jackson announced his amendment to the National Conference on Soviet Jewry, an umbrella organization comprising B’nai B’rith, the American Jewish Committee, 32 other national Jewish organizations and more than 200 local Jewish agencies (Franck and Weisband 1979, 189). This network of Jewish organizations produced 259 co-sponsors when Rep. Vanik introduced the amendment in the House in 1973. Rep. Vanik’s legislative aide, Mark Talisman, helped secure passage of the Jackson-Vanick Amendment. He called every congressional office to secure co-sponsorship from members and he negotiated directly with Jewish lobbying groups. Talisman “undertook a sixteen-hour-a-day campaign to contact every one of 435 Congressional offices, cajoling key staffers to secure co-sponsorship of the amendment by their principals. He called some offices as many as fifteen times.” (Franck and Weisband 1979, 236) The Jackson-Vanick Amendment was finally passed and became part of the 1974 Trade Act.

Another legislative product of the SJM was the U.S. Helsinki Commission to the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). The CSCE had been conceived by the Soviet Union in the 1950s and 1960s to legitimize the Soviet territorial gains from World War II. The CSCE was organized through a series of meetings culminating in Helsinki, Finland, with the Final Act. The Helsinki accords constituted

a far-ranging set of agreements among 35 countries in Europe, North America, and the Soviet bloc, represented the high-water mark of detente. Numerous bargaining positions had to be accommodated at the negotiating table. ... [H]uman rights advocates wanted the Eastern bloc countries to adhere to a set of principles guaranteeing individual rights of expression, assembly, and so on. The final accords did include human rights provisions, though no one in the West expected the governments in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union to pay anything but lip service to the human rights protocols. (Feffer 2004, 32)

Following the signing of the Final Act in Helsinki, Congress sent a delegation of 18 representatives, led by Speaker Carl Albert, to the Soviet Union in 1975 to discuss issues of compliance. A member of that delegation was freshman Rep. Fenwick. She met with refuseniks, Soviet Jews who had been denied exit visas to join families in Israel. The meetings were arranged by an American Jewish organization, but the refuseniks took the initiative to visit the congressional delegation (Korey 1993, 22). Fenwick was struck by the courage and the pathos of the Soviet Jews who were being denied freedom to emigrate to Israel.

“We would meet them at night in hotels in Moscow and Leningrad,” she later recalled, “and I would ask, ‘How do you dare to come see us here?’” in a setting where no visitor went unnoticed by the Soviet secret police. “‘Don’t you understand?’” she recalls the universal reply. “‘That’s our only hope. We’ve seen you. Now they [the KGB] know you’ve seen us.’” (Albright and Friendly 1986, 291)

One visitor deeply touched Rep. Fenwick. Lilia Tenenboim Roitburd was a 39-year-old mother from Odessa. She and her husband, Lev, had been applying for exit visas for 3 years. “Lev was fired from his engineering job, denounced in the local newspaper as ‘an imperialist puppet,’ and later arrested for allegedly striking a police officer.” (Korey 1993, 23) Lilia was visiting Fenwick because Lev had disappeared a month earlier as he was traveling to Moscow to get help with the exit visa.

“She was desperate,” Representative Fenwick remembered. “She brought out a photograph that showed three people: a solemn-eyed little boy, a solidly built man, and a good-looking woman. It had been taken four months earlier. It was her

family, but she was unrecognizable; the strain had aged her so much. That woman haunted me. I wanted to do something for Lilia, and the Commission bill was what I did. Like all my legislation, it comes from some human problem.” (Albright and Friendly 1986, 291-292)

Korey notes that Fenwick

was overwrought by the difference between Lilia’s image on a snapshot and the “ravaged face” of the woman pleading her family’s case. “I still have nightmares about it,” she would tell listeners upon returning to the United States. (Korey 1993, 23)

Fenwick told herself: “We’ve got to do something for Lilia. We’ve got to do something.” (Korey 1993, 23) When she returned to Washington she read the Final Act of the Helsinki Accords and decided that the human rights provisions (Basket III) of the Final Act would help Soviet Jews get to Israel. On September 9, 1975, she introduced a bill to create a commission that would press countries to comply with the Helsinki Accords and monitor violations of the Final Act. On November 17, 1975, Senator Clifford Case (R-NJ) introduced her bill before the Senate. The Commission was designed to include members from both houses of Congress and from the executive branch to demonstrate national unity in favor of compliance with human rights. President Gerald Ford, who had gone to Helsinki to sign the Final Act, signed the Fenwick-Case Bill into law on June 3, 1976.

The SJM found its cohesion with the Helsinki Final Act. The humanitarian provisions of the Final Act mandated the reunification of families, increased contact among people, and improved communication flows. After Helsinki the member nations met in Belgrade in 1978, in Madrid in 1983, and in Vienna in 1989. Yet, despite the Final Act, the Soviet Union increased its crackdown on Soviet Jews and other dissidents in the late 1970s. Vogelgesang notes that the Soviet leaders were likely surprised that the Final Act became a rallying point for internal dissension. There was also growing unrest across Eastern Europe as human rights activists used

the Final Act to protest their governments. The Soviet Union wanted to make sure that this unrest did not affect it as well. The Soviet economy was crumbling, leading to increasing dissatisfaction with the Soviet government. Finally, aging Soviet leaders were very conservative and sensitive to criticism from dissidents and Jews. Thus, despite the creation of the U.S. Helsinki Commission, the condition of Soviet Jews got worse instead of better, and the U.S. Congress was forced to deal with refuseniks until the Soviet Union collapsed in 1991. However, the Helsinki Commission helped institutionalize human rights in American foreign policy (Galey 1985), translating the Universal Declaration of Human Rights into American foreign policy (Galey 1998). The Helsinki Accords also changed global norms on human rights and helped speed up the demise of Communism (Peterson 2009, Thomas 1997).

We can understand the efforts of Senator Jackson, Rep. Vanik, and Rep. Fenwick, by applying the four elements of the model. The input came from the Soviet crackdown on dissidents and refusal to grant exit visas to Soviet Jews to travel to Israel. The information came from both political dissidents, who self-published books and magazines documenting horrible prison conditions in the Soviet Union (Vogelgesang 1980), and the SJM, which passed information from the Soviet Union to American Jewish groups that responded because they felt guilty about America's failure to respond adequately to the Jewish Holocaust in Nazi Germany (Frey 2002). The information reached members of Congress through the Soviet dissidents and the SJM, culminating in the Jackson-Vanik amendment. Senator Jackson had ties to American Jewish organizations, and Rep. Vanik employed staff who had connections to Jewish organizations. They were in the majority parties in Congress, facing a Republican administration that sought to decrease the focus on human rights. The Jackson-Vanik Amendment represented the path of least resistance for them, coupled with great assistance from American Jewish

organizations. Rep. Fenwick received information directly from a refusenik during her visit in the Soviet Union and she was deeply personally affected by the information. Even though she was a freshman representative lacking institutional resources and a member of the minority party, her bill to create the commission resonated with her colleagues, who were also interested in human rights. Her colleague, Senator Case, gave her institutional weight by sponsoring her amendment in the Senate. This legislation constituted her path of least resistance. The personal impact is more apparent for Rep. Fenwick than for Rep. Vanik or Senator Jackson, but the international provocations and information are obvious in both cases.

## **Cambodia**

After the victorious Khmer Rouge entered Phnom Penh on April 17, 1975, they marched Cambodians, including the sick and the elderly, out of the cities to create collective farms. The Khmer Rouge established concentration camps for the sole purpose of interrogating, torturing, and killing Cambodians who were suspected of disobedience. Hundreds of thousands of Cambodians died in the camps, and many more thousands died from untreated diseases while working the collective farms. Fortunately, in the midst of mass death and destruction, a few hundred Cambodians managed to escape. The Khmer Rouge had cut off all contact with the outside world as they conducted this experiment in pure Communism, so the first information about this genocide came from Cambodians who fled through refugee camps in Thailand. For example, there is the story of Ly Linn, one of many told to *New York Times* correspondent Henry Kamm and U.S. embassy officials at Cambodian refugee camps (Vogelgesang 1980). Linn was born into the upper middle class in Phnom Penh. On April 17, 1975 Communist Khmer Rouge soldiers broke into her home and forced her and her family to leave Phnom Penh with thousands

of other Cambodians. Most of her relatives died on the month-long march to the small rural villages in southeastern Cambodia near the Vietnamese border. Linn was made to work in existing fields and carve new fields out of the jungle. Her only food was banana tree roots and leaves. The Khmer Rouge soldiers learned her husband was a lieutenant in the army in General Lon Nol's government and killed him. Once her husband disappeared, Ly Linn decided to make a run for freedom. She left with her two-year-old son and sister-in-law in the night and traveled to Vietnam. They bribed village officials along the way with jewels hidden on their bodies and worked in the villages until they arrived by separate routes in Saigon. She hid in a sugar-cane field for three days and nights before leaving on a boat run by a Cambodian refugee who was helping many others to escape to Thailand. While in the Thai refugee camp she applied for emigration to the United States.

The events in Cambodia can be described as genocide (Hannum 1989). The Khmer Rouge forcibly moved half of the population to rural areas to provide compulsory agricultural production. They eliminated money, markets, wages, and salaries. They prohibited private property, including a family's cooking utensils, clothing, and personal effects. They separated children from parents and forced children to spy on parents. In addition, the Khmer Rouge destroyed organized religion and prohibited religious practice. They stopped all education and eliminated all government institutions. "The radical transformation of Cambodia envisaged by the Khmer Rouge required the racial, social, ideological, and political purification of the Cambodian nation, through the sociological and physical liquidation of a variety of groups considered to be irremediably tainted by their association with the old social order or otherwise unsuited to the intended new order. To achieve this goal, the Khmer Rouge government instituted unremitting, absolute dictatorship over a populace ruled by terror." (Hannum 1989, 85)

With little information of the atrocities seeping out beyond Cambodia, the United States and the international community responded very slowly. The information that did emerge from refugees and American foreign service officers seemed unbelievable. Power (2002) writes about Charles Twining, a foreign service officer who interviewed refugees arriving at the Thai-Cambodia border and initially

did not even file a report because he found the refugees' recollections literally "inconceivable" and felt he would be laughed at back in Washington. But every time he took the four-hour car journey to the border, he found it harder to deny the reality of the atrocities. The Cambodians had heard the howls of their starving infants. They had watched KR [Khmer Rouge] cadres use plastic bags to suffocate Buddhist monks. They had seen their loved ones murdered by teenage warriors who mechanically delivered the blow of a hoe to the back of the neck. (Power 2002, 115)

The Khmer Rouge was killing groups of people, anyone who was deemed suspicious for any reason.

One of the few American politicians who heard these stories was Representative Stephen Solarz (D-NY), who became very engaged. He traveled in 1976 to Bangkok with a congressional delegation and heard from Cambodian refugees about the conditions they had survived. "Solarz was seized by what he was told about the Khmer Rouge." (Winik 1993) He returned to Washington and organized hearings on "Human Rights in Cambodia." "For Solarz, the events in Cambodia had ominous echoes of the Holocaust. 'We have a moral obligation to consider every conceivable possibility of doing something about the situation. I am not simply talking about making statements so that we can wallow in our own sense of virtue. I am talking about doing something which can bring a criminal regime to its senses and prevent a continuation of what has happened.'" (Hearing on Human Rights in Cambodia, p. 39, cited in Winik 1993, 126) Solarz successfully worked with Senator Robert Dole (R-KS) to change the refugee laws so that 15,000 Cambodians could enter the United States immediately as a group.

In January 1979, compelled by security concerns, Vietnam invaded Cambodia, driving the Khmer Rouge from power and installing the People's Republic of Democratic Kampuchea (PRK). This invasion sparked retaliation by the Chinese government, which invaded Vietnam in February 1979. Thailand joined China to nurture a guerilla movement on Cambodia's border with Vietnam that benefited the Khmer Rouge. By 1980 three guerilla groups vied with the PRK for supremacy in Cambodia.

There was constant war among the various factions until Vietnam succeeded in driving out the guerilla groups in 1985 and setting up Cambodia as a satellite state for Vietnam. Meanwhile, the PRK government behaved in much the same way as the Khmer Rouge had between 1975 and 1979 (Winik 1993, 132). Because of the brutality exhibited by the PRK government, the Khmer Rouge regained enough popularity and military strength to defeat it, especially after the Khmer Rouge claimed to renounce Communism and Pol Pot announced his retirement.

By 1985 the Reagan Administration was planning to fund another insurgent group, the Non-Communist Resistance (NCR), as part of its effort to support anti-communist guerilla movements around the world. Simultaneously, Rep. Solarz helped authorize \$5 million in economic aid to the NCR. This economic aid provided the spark that the NCR needed to counter the superior manpower of the Khmer Rouge. This produced a military stalemate by 1988, when the international and domestic political environment began to change. The Soviet Union normalized relations with China and pressured Vietnam to leave Cambodia. An internationally brokered peace agreement returned Prince Norodom Sihanouk as head of state and led the Cambodian factions to initiate discussions about sharing power.

This changed international and political environment concerned Rep. Solarz. He feared that once the PRK government left the Khmer Rouge would return to power and resume the genocide. He decided that the United States had to get actively involved in brokering a peace between the factions, and that meant going beyond economic aid to the NCR. He wanted to give the NCR military (or “lethal”) aid, so that it would have a better bargaining chip against the forces of the Khmer Rouge and the PRK. Solarz had backing for this effort from President Reagan in 1988, when Reagan met with Sihanouk and pledged more economic aid for the NCR. President George H.W. Bush met with Chinese leaders in February 1989 to discuss a peace settlement in Cambodia. But it was Solarz who formulated the policy for Cambodia.

Solarz used his chair position on the Asian and Pacific Subcommittee to first establish during March 1989 hearings that the Bush Administration would support lethal aid to the NCR and then started engaging in shuttle diplomacy to see if lethal aid would actually work as a policy. “He met with virtually all the key actors relevant to the Cambodia settlement, testing his ideas against the realities of the region. In addition to solidifying his thinking, the trip also had the benefit of shoring up his credibility and authority at home on the issue.” (Winik 1993, 149) Overall, Solarz learned that lethal aid was the right policy at that time, and he returned to Washington to persuade the Bush Administration to adopt this policy.

Despite this intense diplomatic and political work, Solarz encountered resistance to lethal aid from Senator Claiborne Pell (D-RI), the chair of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee (SFRC), because the SFRC staff specialists were against lethal aid to any non-communist group around the world. Solarz overcame this resistance by forming a political alliance with freshman Senator Charles Robb (D-VA). Solarz convinced Robb to sponsor an amendment to the relevant State Department Authorization bill that regularly passed through the SFRC. He formed an

alliance with Robb by persuading Vice President Dan Quayle, a supporter of lethal aid to the NCR, to contact Robb. This was an essential act of coalition-building on Solarz's part: enlisting the help of the Vice-President in the opposition party to call a freshman senator of your party. Robb faced resistance in the SFRC from Senator Pell and Senator Alan Cranston, the chair of the Subcommittee on East Asian and Pacific Affairs. During markup sessions on the Subcommittee, Sen. Cranston organized his fellow Democrats to criticize the lethal aid amendment and postpone a vote on it, essentially killing the amendment in the subcommittee. Sen. Robb was forced to go to the Senate Floor and offer his amendment during the final debate on the bill, which was scheduled for a vote by the full Senate five weeks later.

This delay between the subcommittee defeat and the floor vote gave both Solarz and Robb the ability to line up a coalition of supporters that passed the amendment in the Senate. (Solarz had passed the lethal aid amendment in the House, so the Senate remained the final obstacle.) The Bush Administration had already come out in support of lethal aid to the NCR. Robb and Solarz set out to line up the votes of moderate Republicans and Democrats. Solarz took extraordinary steps in this effort. In addition to giving Robb the support of his staff, Solarz "wrote a detailed, three-page, single-spaced letter urging senators to support a possible Robb amendment. The letter was marked 'Urgent,' and was co-signed by HFAC Chairman Dante Fascell, and Congressmen Bill Richardson, Robert Torricelli, and Charles Wilson. ... Solarz hand-carried more than 50 copies of his letter and strode onto the Senate floor after a vote on another issue...One by one, Solarz stopped Senate Democrats, handed them his letter, and pleaded for them to support Robb." (Winik 1993, 187-188)

After Robb pressed his Senate colleagues heavily, the amendment passed 59-39. Robb had put together a coalition that crossed party and ideological lines (Winik 1993, 192).

Throughout this effort, Cambodian-Americans had been very active, attending the subcommittee and committee hearings, and sending letters to senators on the SFRC. However, this grassroots organizing effort had no impact on the SFRC. Instead it served to further motivate Robb by giving him the sense that he had the moral high ground (Winik 1993, 177).

In addition to this emotional support, Robb forged a personal bond with Solarz and senators to help build the coalition. The connection to Solarz was solidified when he testified before the Senate Subcommittee on East Asian and Pacific Affairs. This relationship with Solarz gave Robb intense motivation (Winik 1993, 167). Robb built his coalition with fellow senators who had grown close to him as a Vietnam War veteran, such as Senator John McCain (R-AZ). McCain had spent five and a half years in an American POW camp in Vietnam during the war. McCain helped Robb enlist the support of fellow moderate Republicans and Democrats during the final days before the vote (Winik 1993, 186).

Despite the victory in the Senate that paved the way for lethal aid to the NCR, the international environment made lethal aid nearly a moot issue. Solarz realized that lethal aid was not enough to provide a final resolution for Cambodia once Vietnam removed the PRK government. He began to think of what the endgame for Cambodia might look like. He decided to get the United Nations involved to administer elections in Cambodia and ensure a peaceful transition to democracy that did not simultaneously raise the possibility of the Khmer Rouge coming back into power. He developed a UN Interim Trusteeship Perm Five Plan in which the permanent members of the UN Security Council would authorize the UN to take over the sovereignty of Cambodia to ensure the transition to a peaceful democratic government.

Solarz had presented the idea of a UN Interim Trusteeship to both Sihanouk and the prime minister of Singapore, with positive reviews, and he decided to focus on making it a

reality. In the steps that he took to realize the UN plan, Solarz first enlisted the help of Australia, which presented the plan as its own plan for Cambodia. Next, Solarz contacted the State Department to see if the Bush Administration would back the plan, and received news that it would. Solarz's political stature was rising. Solarz presented the UN plan to the State Department, which was reluctant to accept it, but, lacking an alternative policy, was forced to go along. Next, the NCR and the UN Security Council both endorsed the plan.

The only obstacle for Solarz was the U.S. Senate. In both houses of Congress the critics of the UN plan either had misconceptions about what was happening in Cambodia or had the wrong information. They charged that aid to the NCR was also going to the Khmer Rouge and that the Khmer Rouge would be brought back into power with the help of Congress. They argued that the Chinese government was supporting the Khmer Rouge in its bid to take back power, and that any UN Plan that included the Khmer Rouge in a governing body was, ipso facto, a plan to return the Khmer Rouge to power. No one in Congress wanted the Khmer Rouge to return to power and recommence the genocide of the late 1970s, but by 1989 and 1990 few members of Congress, except Rep. Solarz, Sen. Robb, Senator Bob Kerrey (D-NE), and Senator John Kerry (D-MA) knew the facts on the ground.

In the end, international events overtook the Cambodia debate in Congress. Once Iraq invaded Kuwait in August 1990, few, if any, members of Congress focused on Cambodia. Moreover, by that time the UN negotiations were finalized. On August 29, 1990, the Perm Five announced a plan that aligned perfectly with Solarz's initial idea. This announcement removed the issue from congressional debate when the four factions in Cambodia quickly agreed to the plan. The final disagreement was over the level of covert lethal and overt economic aid that Congress would authorize for the NCR and for humanitarian purposes, such as for the children of

Cambodia. The Bush Administration struck a deal with the Senate critics to maintain the overt aid, and eventually turn covert aid into overt aid, on a last-minute amendment to the State Department authorization bill. The bill was passed and President Bush signed it into law. Afterwards, Congress focused on the international crisis brewing in the Middle East. This effectively ended America's focus on Southeast Asia, which had been continuous from 1960 to 1990, as the Middle East dominated American foreign policy for the next 20 years.

We can see the four elements of the model present in Cambodia. The international provocations were striking. Cambodia experienced genocide that rivaled the most extreme conditions in Nazi Germany during the Jewish Holocaust. Information about these conditions reached Rep. Solarz in 1975. He was so affected that he immediately organized hearings, despite being a freshman in the House, and his interest in Cambodia remained until he left Congress in 1993. A hearing was the path of least resistance for Solarz during his early years in the House. Once Solarz became Chairman of the Asian and Pacific Subcommittee in 1981, a hearing was no longer adequate as a response to the overwhelming information coming out of Cambodia. He was in a position to write legislation that would easily pass the Subcommittee and then pass the House. By the 1980s Solarz was a recognized authority, if not the expert, on Cambodia and a slew of other international issues, so legislation by his subcommittee was almost guaranteed to pass the House. The only challenge was the Senate. His strategy in the Senate was to find allies who could influence other senators.

The personal background of Senator Robb made him a suitable ally for Solarz. Robb was a celebrity because President Lyndon Johnson was his father-in-law, and Robb had become a major player in Southern politics. Sen. Robb had used his celebrity status to get a seat on the SFRC and he emphasized his foreign policy credentials more than his domestic policy concerns.

Senator Robb's celebrity status was a valuable asset for Solarz because it enabled Solarz to turn his strategic relationship with Robb into the coalition in the Senate that passed the lethal aid amendment. As mentioned in the first chapter, coalition-building is an important skill for political entrepreneurs, especially for those who take the path of least resistance. Few political entrepreneurs have the desire or skill to do everything on their own, so having influential allies is critical for passing legislation.

### **El Salvador**

El Salvador has a history of political oppression, starting in 1932. Its politics, economy and military are linked to preserve the power of the 14 families that control 60 percent of its farm land. Its economy is concentrated in agriculture, but the land is unequally distributed. "Four percent of the farms account for over 60 percent of the land area, while 70 percent of all farms account for only 11 percent of land area. Two percent of the citizens own 60 percent of the land, while most peasants have no land or such small holdings that they must work for the larger landholders to supplement their incomes." (Vogelgesang 1980, 167) This unequal distribution of land and income leads to extreme poverty among the peasants. In the 1970s there were over 400 people per square mile, which was the highest population density in Latin America. Moreover, at that time over 200,000 peasants were landless. This was the most severe imbalance of land and labor in Latin America. (LeoGrande and Robbins 1980, 1085)

These economic inequalities caused periodic political turmoil in El Salvador, with the most extreme occurring in 1932 with La Matanza (Anderson 1971), when the armed forces took control of the government to suppress a massive peasant uprising. The 14 families that control the country joined forces with the military to kill the organizers of peasant revolts, using death

squads that went from village to village and killed all peasants who were suspected of being sympathetic to the rebels. 30,000 Salvadorans were killed in La Matanza. (LeoGrande and Robbins 1980, 1085) After 1932 the military was always suspicious of the peasants and the peasants did not trust the army or ruling families. The government denied the peasants the right to organize, and elections were rigged in both 1972 and 1977 (Vogelgesang 1980, 168-169).

The peasants started to fight back in the mid-1970s by organizing into the Popular Revolutionary Bloc. They kidnapped and killed members of the fourteen families. The government retaliated by creating right-wing paramilitary organizations that went into the countryside to harass and kill peasant leaders. "According to some estimates, as many as half of the approximately 40,000 victims of the current conflict in El Salvador were killed by death squads, most of them rightist in their orientation." (Livingstone 1984, 240) Death squads were common in Latin America and they were effective. "Some reports describe custom-built vans outfitted as mobile torture chambers that cruise the streets of San Salvador searching for victims. Once abducted, victims are subjected to electric shocks and other torture in the van, and then either released or their bodies dumped along the roadside." (Livingstone 1984, 243) These hostile conditions caused thousands of Salvadorans to leave.

Salvadoran refugees started an exodus to the United States to escape the civil war. They entered illegally along the Mexican border, transported in many cases by religious groups (Brett 1994). The religious groups turned thousands of churches into sanctuaries for Salvadorans. In addition, the religious groups tried to conceal the identities of the Salvadoran refugees. They often defied U.S. immigration laws based on their sense of religious duty (Mims 1989, 60-61). At the time, American immigration law identified Salvadorans as economic refugees, not

political refugees, and thus Salvadorans were immediately deported back to El Salvador once they were captured by immigration officials.

In addition to rejecting Salvadoran refugees, the Reagan administration began sending financial aid to the Salvadoran government to combat communism. Reagan followed Jeanne Kirkpatrick's advice to distinguish totalitarian governments from authoritarian governments. For Reagan, totalitarian and communist were identical, and he saw Latin America as the place where the United States faced the greatest threat from the Soviet Union (Bright 1990). Therefore, Reagan increased foreign aid to Latin American governments to help them defeat communist insurgencies. El Salvador was one of the main targets of this aid (Fisher 1982, Weissman 1995). In addition to aiding the government, the United States trained military officers from El Salvador at the School of the Americas (SOA) (Fitch 1981).

This combination of foreign aid, military training, and immigration policy provided the ingredients for political entrepreneurship by Representative John Joseph "Joe" Moakley (D-MA). Rep. Moakley's district included an area of Boston called Jamaica Plain. He was elected in 1972 and expressed no interest in foreign policy. He described himself as a "bread-and-butter" congressman who devoted himself entirely to constituent services. That changed in the early 1980s.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, many Salvadoran refugees began moving into Jamaica Plain. They were transported by Catholic organizations and placed in Catholic churches. At the same time, residents in the neighborhood began to become frustrated by American policy toward El Salvador. Virginia Vogel Zanger had close friends living in El Salvador whom she had met when she was an anti-war activist in 1971, protesting the Vietnam War. As the civil war escalated in El Salvador, Zanger decided to start organizing her community in Jamaica Plain.

Zanger had a meeting with other Jamaica Plain residents in her house. Most were neighbors, some were friends. The organization Zanger co-founded was the Jamaica Plain Committee on Central America (JPCOCA).

Once JPCOCA became active, the members noticed Salvadoran refugees living in the neighborhood and learned they faced deportation if caught and then a grim fate at the hands of the death squads. After consulting with some professional lobbying groups and Zanger's brother, who worked for a congressman, JPCOCA sent a letter to Rep. Moakley asking for a meeting with him to discuss U.S. policy toward El Salvador. At the meeting, JPCOCA told Moakley about Salvadoran refugees being sent back to certain death, and Moakley asked his aid, Jim McGovern, to determine if this was happening. Once McGovern confirmed it, Moakley wrote an amendment to the immigration law allowing Temporary Protected Status for all refugees from El Salvador.

Rep. Moakley tells a somewhat different version of the story. He reports that he met with constituents at post offices in Jamaica Plain and that refugees from El Salvador met with him to explain their situation. After meeting with these refugees, Moakley contacted McGovern and set out to change the immigration law. Moakley's effort to create Temporary Protected Status (TPS) for all refugees from El Salvador took nearly a decade to pass into law. (Moakley, John Joseph. Interviewed by Robert Allison. John Joseph Moakley Oral History Project OH-001. 2 April 2001)

Moakley was not the only member of Congress to take an interest in El Salvador. Representative Robert F. Drinian (D-MA) was a Catholic priest who visited El Salvador in 1978. Rep. Drinian had held a press conference in Washington in which he revealed reports about murders, disappearances, or imprisonments of peasant men. (Vogelgesang 1980, 175)

The Carter Administration had started sending foreign aid to El Salvador's military when the civil war began. However, this aid was cut when a National Guard death squad raped and murdered four American nuns and a laywoman on December 2, 1980. The Carter Administration cut aid as a way to pressure El Salvador's government to eliminate the death squads and improve its human rights record. The Reagan Administration took office six weeks later and reinstated the aid.

Rep. Moakley began pressuring the Reagan administration to cut foreign aid to El Salvador's military. When he learned from his constituents that refugees in his district were being deported, he began to target changing the immigration law. He learned from his aide, Jim McGovern, that 50,000 noncombatants were being killed in a country that had the same population as Massachusetts. First he wrote to Reagan's attorney general, Ed Meese, to change the immigration law so that Salvadorans in the United States could remain under a limited extended volunteer departure with green cards (Moakley 2001). When that did not work, Moakley decided to write legislation to give Salvadorans Temporary Protected Status. Starting in 1983, Moakley introduced legislation to protect Salvadoran refugees using the "Extended Voluntary Departure" provision that allowed a temporary stay of deportation and work authorization.

Moakley faced resistance from two sources: the Reagan administration and the federal courts. The Reagan Administration defined Salvadoran refugees as economic refugees, or illegal immigrants, instead of as political refugees requiring sanctuary in the United States. The Attorney General had the power to grant refugee status to the Salvadorans, but he refused. The Reagan Administration believed that the Salvadoran problem was essentially an immigration problem unrelated to the civil war. The United States had experienced increased illegal

immigration in the late 1970s and early 1980s, and, the administration argued, allowing TPS for Salvadorans would send Salvadorans a message that illegal immigration was acceptable. The Salvadoran immigration problem was huge, according to the Reagan administration, with about 25,000 illegal migrants entering the United States each year (Vogelgesang 1980, 172). Hence, the Reagan Administration feared a flood of new immigrants if TPS became law. The administration argued that other countries provided asylum, including Mexico, and yet Salvadorans went to the U.S. border instead. The administration ignored the harsh conditions for Salvadoran refugees in Mexican camps.

On the other hand, the federal courts rejected asylum requests by Salvadoran plaintiffs. When political refugees sought asylum in the United States, the courts would grant asylum only to those refugees who faced specific persecution, and thus certain death, back in their home countries. The Supreme Court held that allowing refugees to stay in the United States because of a general fear of returning to their home counties would compel the U.S. to let the majority of a country's population relocate to the United States for an indefinite period of time, which would be infeasible (Mims 1989).

Faced with these two obstacles to changing the immigration status for Salvadoran refugees, Moakley was hesitant to get involved in the issue. He knew he would not receive any electoral rewards from his constituents. "Of all the issues that I've been involved with... it was a no-win issue, because...when I first got involved with it, I was getting calls from my constituents, 'Hey, what are you doing down there with them, if you want to bring people in this country, what about the Irish and the Italian?' That wasn't a win." (Moakely 2001) Moreover he knew that other members of Congress could easily focus on this issue and achieve similar results. He usually followed Representatives Gerry Studds (D-MA) and Tom Harkin (D-IA) on foreign

policy issues. Thus, he had to know that they were not going to pursue this issue in order to claim it as his own. Moakley asked his assistant, Jim McGovern, to find out where Studds and Harkin stood on Extended Voluntary Departure for Salvadoran refugees. McGovern told him that both Studds and Harkin considered the issue an internal matter for El Salvador and were not active on the issue. At that point Moakley agreed to take it on. Moakley thought of his efforts on behalf of Salvadoran refugees as one of the most important things he did in his career.

Karen Harraghy, a member of Rep. Moakley's district staff from 1983 to 2001, notes that the legislation Moakley crafted for the Salvadoran refugees initially covered only Salvadorans and thus was too limited in scope to pass the House. To win congressional approval, Moakley had to include protection for other refugee groups (Harraghy 2003). As Moakley included more refugee groups in his legislation he was finally able to build a big enough coalition in the House to pass it. However, passage of the bill provoked a veto threat from President Bush if the Salvadorans were included. The critical moment for the legislation was in the conference committee to reconcile the House and Senate versions. Moakley demonstrated to the Republicans that he was willing to sacrifice the entire bill if the Salvadorans were not included. Attorney General Edwin Meese contacted the conference chairman in 1988 and threatened to kill the bill. Moakley told Representative Jack Brooks (D-TX) and Senator Alan Simpson (R-WY), the chairs of the conference committees, that he would use his position as Chairman of the Rules Committee to kill any bill that did not have TPS for Salvadoran refugees. After some negotiation with President Bush they settled on 18 months for extended volunteer departure.

Thus was Moakley finally able to pass legislation that granted Temporary Protected Status (TPS) to Salvadorans in the Immigration Act of 1990 (PL. 101-649). TPS grants temporary legal residency and work authorization to immigrants fleeing civil wars, natural

disasters or other conditions in their home country for a set period of time. In El Salvador's case, TPS has been extended several times since 1990. The TPS designation has been used by other countries experiencing civil unrest and is administered by the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS). (See <http://www.uscis.gov>.)

As the bill was nearing final passage, events in El Salvador took a turn for the worse. On November 16, 1989, six Jesuit priests, their housekeeper, and her daughter were murdered by El Salvador's military at the University of Central America in San Salvador. The crime was the culmination of El Salvador's antagonism toward Jesuit priests, and specifically their advocacy of liberation theology. Catholic priests had been using their sermons to focus on the plight of the poor in El Salvador, and these sermons were instrumental in sparking peasant rebellions. When the six Jesuit priests were murdered, Congress took action by authorizing an investigation (Weissman 1995, 140). House Speaker Thomas Foley (D-WA) organized a special House committee to investigate the murders and he asked Rep. Moakley to lead the committee.

So Tom Foley called me. I was down in Florida, giving a speech.... He said, "Joe, I don't like the way that investigation is going down there... I want you to handle it. .. I want you to be chairman of the committee and task force." I said, "Mr. Speaker, ... if you'd put a request on the bulletin board, you'd have 434 members, but you wouldn't have me on it." He said, "I know, that's why I'm calling. I wanted somebody who didn't have ... baggage; all their other foreign affairs meanderings." So we went in there and [it] didn't cost a penny; I just worked out of my Rules Committee ... The embassy ... didn't want us to get near anything. And it was very, very awakening...frightening at times. ... a couple of times I thought I was going to get killed.... But it turned out all right, and we were able to put the Moakley Report into ... the case against them. (Moakley 2001)

Moakley was an ideal selection to lead the committee in part because he was chairman of the House Rules Committee, and in part because he was very tough (Weissman 1995, 141).

Moakley enlisted Leonel Gomez, a Salvadoran who became his man on the ground, investigator, and interpreter. Gomez had grown up among the elite in El Salvador because his

family owned coffee plantations. When the political turmoil started in the 1970s, Gomez started organizing peasant unions and he became chief adviser to the president of the Salvadoran land reform agency. Unfortunately his boss was assassinated and Gomez fled to the United States. He started to testify at congressional hearings. Gomez returned to El Salvador in 1989 to help Moakley because he knew the local scene (Weissman 1995, 141-142). Gomez was a critical link because of his numerous contacts in El Salvador (Whitfield 1994, 165). With this team, the Moakley committee was effective (Weissman 1995, 142). Sean Ryan, a member of Moakley's congressional staff from 1992 through 2000, notes that Moakley became passionate about his involvement in this committee because he thought the Bush Administration was stonewalling the investigation. "He got the feeling that our government was protecting a government that was really filled with bullies and people that were performing terrible human rights violations as a result of our government's assistance to them." (Ryan, Sean T. Interviewed by Paul Caruso. John Joseph Moakley Oral History Project OH-004. 18 April 2003.)

The work required knowing the details of the Jesuit murders as thoroughly as possible. The team worked with the American Embassy in El Salvador, read court documents, talked with Salvadoran investigators, judges, and the attorney general. They contacted the military and government officials. They interviewed human rights groups and witnesses, including the accused murderers, in hopes of implicating any leaders who had authorized the killings. A critical turning point in the investigation came when the team learned that an American military officer had heard first-hand accounts from an El Salvadoran soldier who was present at the killings. The military officer had written down this information and brought it to his superiors. Rep. Moakley set out to get this incriminating document, only to encounter resistance from both the State Department and the Defense Department. Moakley then threatened to issue a Rules

Committee subpoena and he was finally allowed to at least talk to the officer. Moakley persuaded the officer to make a copy of the document for him. The Moakley committee learned that the Salvadorean Armed Forces Chief of Staff had ordered that the soldiers kill the Jesuit priest, Father Ignacio Ellacuria, and leave no witnesses.

This information convinced Congress in November 1990 to make military assistance to El Salvador “conditional on its ‘thorough and effective’ investigation and prosecution of the Jesuit case, as well as both the government’s *and* FMLN’s respect for human rights and pursuit of peace. Half of the requested aid would be initially withheld, but it could be restored or cut off depending on both sides’ performance.” (Weissman 1995, 146) Senator Christopher Dodd (D-CT) had conceived of this approach, but Moakley was instrumental in putting it into motion in the House. Moakley used both his chairmanship of the Rules Committee and an alliance with Rep. John Murtha (D-PA), who had visited El Salvador and been on the Moakley Committee. “Murtha’s cooperation grew out of both the investigation and his personal relationship with Moakley. Murtha also had considerable clout as chairman of the important Defense Appropriations Subcommittee.” (Weissman 1995, 147)

When the Moakley Committee finished its work for Congress, Moakley became even more invested in El Salvador. Moakley learned that the military officers involved in the killings had been trained at the SOA. He focused, unsuccessfully, on closing the school, but he did help change it. Stephen LaRose, a member of Moakley’s congressional staff from 1993 to 2001, notes that Moakley was horrified that the U.S. military had trained the killers. So Moakley sponsored a bill to close the school. The bill failed but it started a dialogue with the Pentagon that ultimately changed the leadership and culture at the school (LaRose, Stephen M. Interviewed by Beth Anne Bower and Zenelky Ortiz. John Joseph Moakley Oral History Project OH-002. 7 April 2003)

The murders of the Jesuit priests coincided with a massive offensive by the FMLN, demonstrating that the civil war would require a diplomatic solution instead of a military one. This caused the Bush administration to advocate openly a political settlement (Munck 1993, 80). With the help of the United States and the United Nations, El Salvador accepted UN Peace Accords in 1992 and held democratic elections the following year. Moakley went to El Salvador to observe the elections in 1994.

Moakley visited El Salvador a few more times in the 1990s, including in 1999 to commemorate the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the killings of the Jesuit priests. He went because he had bonded with the El Salvadoran people. “[I]t was like a love affair of some sort. I mean, they embraced him. He had done so much for them to create peace in their country that he was like a god down there. He felt the same way about them, I think. He felt the warmth coming back, and he wanted to continue to help.” (LaRose 2003) Moakley focused on helping El Salvador reduce its violence, rebuild political institutions, build a functional judiciary, and build a functional police force. He also bonded with the Jesuit priests at the University of Central America.

We can see the four elements of the model in Rep. Moakley’s interaction with El Salvador. First, the international provocations included the killings of the nuns in 1980 and the priests in 1989. The international provocations also included paramilitary organizations killing thousands of Salvadoran peasants. Second, the information about these killings reached Rep. Moakley through several sources, including congressional hearings, meetings with refugees living in his district, meetings with civic groups, including JPCOCA, that were based in his district, and information produced by his assistant, Jim McGovern. Third, there is ample evidence of deep personal impact for Moakley, as recounted by his staff and members of JPCOCA. Moakley’s intensity and focus on Salvadoran issues was sparked by hearing the

testimony of Salvadoran refugees. Zanger, who co-founded JPCOCA, said the members of JPCOCA “were just amazed not only by the tenacity of Jim [McGovern] and Congressman Moakley, but to watch Moakley really change and take on this issue and become so passionate about this issue.... His decision to pick it up,...what I got from Jim...was that as they brought Salvadorans in to testify at these hearings, he became so moved by their stories that he really changed as a person.” (Zanger 2003)

Finally, Moakley took the path of least resistance. Initially his level of involvement was restricted to sponsoring legislation for TPS, but as he acquired more resources as chair of the Rules Committee his involvement increased, but only when he realized that the Reagan and Bush administrations were blocking Congressional investigations into El Salvador. Moakley’s legislative activities on behalf of El Salvador started in 1983. It took seven years to get the legislation passed, and by that time he was leading the committee to investigate the murders of the Jesuit priests. Once Moakley finished his work on the Commission, his deep personal affection for the Salvadoran people sustained his political interaction with them. Moakley had an endowed university chair named after him, as well as a scholarship, at the University of Central America (LaRose 2003). Moakley once “met with the chief of police down in El Salvador, and he invited them up to Boston to meet with Commissioner [Paul] Evans here in Boston and teach him about community policing in Boston. The Salvadoran police officer brought up several of his lieutenants in the Salvadoran police force, and they met with Boston police and learned about community policing.” (LaRose 2003) Moakley essentially did case work for El Salvador, such as after Hurricane Mitch hit the country in October of 1998. He helped to rebuild churches and restore electricity. “Moakley got the U.S. government—the Embassy—to run electricity wires....And within a couple of months, they had electricity.” (LaRose 2003)

It is difficult to explain Moakley's activities on behalf of El Salvador from the perspective of constituent rewards. Politically, El Salvador was a no-win issue for him (Moakley 2001). His constituents were mainly Irish and Italian, and they repeatedly asked him to focus on immigration issues concerning their ethnic groups. He was an unlikely lawmaker to become involved in foreign policy issues such as El Salvador because he maintained an intense focus on the needs of his constituents, devoting all of his time to case work. The presence of Salvadoran refugees in his district and the request of a small minority of his constituents to do something to help the refugees sparked his initial involvement. The support given to him by JPCOCA and other interest groups, such as Citizens for Participation in Political Action (CPPAX), helped sustain his involvement during the 1980s.

A better explanation for why he got involved requires understanding the confluence of rational calculations and affective motivations. El Salvador presented a policy window. Up until 1983 Rep. Moakley had followed the leadership of Rep. Studds on foreign policy issues. However, once he learned that Studds was not moving on Salvadoran refugees, Moakley decided to fill the gap by sponsoring legislation. Once the legislation became law, his affective motivations took over when he started serving on the committee. He continued traveling to El Salvador as it ended its civil war in 1992, held elections in 1994, suffered the ravages of Hurricane Mitch in 1998, and commemorated the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the killings in 1999. He died while in office on May 28, 2001. Moakley entered Congress in 1973, but El Salvador occupied nearly two-thirds of his time in Congress. Through his involvement he earned deep affection from the Salvadorans (LaRose 2003). His Roman Catholic background helped him bond with the Jesuit priests and gave him strong emotional reasons to return to El Salvador.

In addition to revealing the explanatory value of the model, Rep. Moakley demonstrates that it is robust. It is easy to apply the model to someone like Rep. Solarz, who was interested in many different foreign policy issues and was one of the most traveled members of Congress. It is challenging to apply the model to someone like Rep. Moakley who initially had no interest in foreign policy issues. The fact that Rep. Moakley essentially became the Congressman from El Salvador demonstrates the power of deep personal impact to motivate a member of Congress over many years.

### **South Africa**

South Africa had created a racist state based on an ideology of racial superiority (in its case, white supremacy). The very nature of its economic and political system, Apartheid, was oppressive for its African majority. However, the United States and most other countries ignored this oppression until the 1970s when African-American activists started to focus American and international attention on South Africa. (There had been efforts by black activists prior to the 1970s. The Council of African Affairs (CAA) tried without success to get the U.S. government to condemn South Africa between 1937 and 1955.) (Aziabu 1997). Congress began to pay attention because of the efforts of Rep. Charles Diggs (D-MI, 1954-1980). Diggs entered the House in 1955 and worked with Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. (D-NY) to develop his foreign policy expertise. Based on this expertise, Diggs became Chair of the House Subcommittee on Africa in 1969.

In 1971 Diggs started the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC). The CBC intended to unify, articulate, and disseminate the pro-Africa voices within Congress. The caucus held Africa-focused hearings, sponsored resolutions, held press conferences, and wrote dissent letters to the

State Department protesting American policy toward South Africa. The CBC also informed and nurtured ties with black officials to organize a disciplined anti-apartheid strategy. (Aziabu 1997, 125-126) The CBC became active in foreign policy issues mainly because Diggs persuaded black House members that foreign policy success would earn them the credibility they needed to advance in domestic politics (Tillery 2006). Diggs and most of the members of the CBC were in safe districts, so they did not need financial capital to win re-election. However, unlike most of the other members of the CBC, Diggs was very ideologically committed to ending South African Apartheid. Diggs used his seniority on the Foreign Affairs Committee to build up support for sanctions on South Africa. Diggs focused on building grassroots support in majority-minority districts from 1973 to 1975. He sponsored more bills sanctioning South Africa from 1973 to 1975 than any other time in his career. Diggs organized the Black Forum on Foreign Policy and toured Democratic-leaning districts with black populations to raise black America's consciousness about Africa. The result was that black voters began demanding action and CBC members reincorporated sanctions bills into their legislative portfolios (Tillery 2006, 99).

Although Diggs was forced to resign from the House in 1980 during a scandal, his efforts were not in vain. Randall Robinson served as a legislative assistant for Diggs from 1975 to 1977, before starting and becoming the executive director of TransAfrica, a permanent and professional grassroots foreign policy organization modeled on the American-Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC). TransAfrica was designed to transcend ideological divisions within the black community while simultaneously managing organizational linkages among black activist constituencies. TransAfrica was designed to transcend ideological divisions within the black community while simultaneously managing organizational linkages among black activist constituencies. TransAfrica was credible as a coalition-builder and powerful enough to get the

attention of Washington (Aziabu 1997, 193). Robinson brought zeal and expertise to TransAfrica. He had traveled extensively in Africa, had solid knowledge of Southern Africa as a foreign policy issue, and had general knowledge about third world politics (Aziabu 1997, 194-195).

Once Diggs left the House, more representatives – all members of the House Africa Subcommittee – became leaders on South African sanctions. Rep. Solarz became Chair until the same position opened up on the Asian and Pacific Subcommittee. Once Solarz moved to Asia and Pacific, Representative Howard Wolpe (D-MI) became Chair of the House Africa Subcommittee. Starting in 1980, Solarz and Wolpe began collaborating with Representative William Gray III (D-PA) on sanctions legislation. They persuaded the House to adopt bans on new investment and loans, and on sales of gold Krugerrand coins (Weissman 1995, 170). In addition, Representative Ronald Dellums (D-CA) submitted an amendment in the final legislation that imposed a total economic embargo on South Africa.

In the Senate, Senator Ted Kennedy (D-MA) took the lead. Kennedy began to focus on the apartheid system in South Africa during a 1984 luncheon with South African Bishop Desmond Tutu, who was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize that year. Tutu told him “the world will not pay attention until someone like you comes to South Africa and brings the cameras and the spotlights with you” (Clymer 1999:363 cited in Carter, et al 2004). Kennedy told South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha to make progress on forced removals of blacks, South African citizenship for all, and black voting rights. Starting in 1985, Kennedy introduced sanctions legislation with Senator Lowell Weicker (R-CT) that included elements similar to the House bill (Carter, et al 2004). As part of his effort to pass the legislation, Kennedy testified at hearings before the Banking and the Foreign Relations Committees, and he gave numerous speeches

calling for an end to apartheid. He spoke in early 1985 to the Combined Chambers of Commerce in Johannesburg. He published an article in *Ebony* to argue for sanctions. "I came away from my trip with a deep-seated feeling that the U.S. should not be passive in its opposition to apartheid in South Africa and that U.S. policies should in no way be neutral. On the contrary, we should be much more vigorous and much more visible - politically, economically, and morally - in the effort to end apartheid." (Kennedy 1985a cited in Carter, et al 2004)

Back in the House, Solarz, Wolpe, and Gray assembled the coalition of members who would eventually pass sanctions legislation. They consulted with the CBC, TransAfrica, and the Washington Office on Africa. They had to go to every member of the House to negotiate specific proposals and build a veto-proof coalition (Weissman 1995, 171). They were assisted by increased numbers of black representatives in the House, who were in positions on many committees to influence sanctions legislation (Aziabu 1997, 198).

Furthermore, the actions of political entrepreneurs in Congress were critically supported by the efforts of TransAfrica to build grassroots support. TransAfrica developed influence despite its small staff. The leadership studied potential partners closely to build a viable coalition. TransAfrica connected with major black political caucuses and institutions nationally and locally to advocate divestment. Finally, TransAfrica coordinated investigations and public hearings with the CBC, using celebrities to testify and shape public opinion (Aziabu 1997, 200-201).

TransAfrica used all these resources to persuade Congress to act after the South Africa government started its violent campaign against black South Africans. Starting in September 1984, there was a burgeoning black revolt across South Africa's townships. On television Americans saw police officers beating black youths. Antiapartheid protests provoked the

government to arrest key leaders and kill people. By late 1985 that average daily death toll was four people (Jentleson 1990, 157).

Rep. Wolpe said that these images were instrumental in creating the environment that made sanctions legislation possible. “People were back in the civil rights movement with these pictures. It humanized the struggle, made it real and concrete.” (Weissman 1995, 168) Jentleson notes that South African apartheid had become a domestic civil rights issue in Congress. “Prime Minister Pieter Botha was Governor George Wallace; Bishop Desmond Tutu was the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.; and the Anti-Apartheid Act was the Civil Rights Act.” (Jentleson 1990, 158) Jentleson also notes that Republicans voted for the sanctions legislation to appeal more to black voters.

In November 1984, TransAfrica began its campaign against apartheid at the South African embassy in Washington, D.C. Robinson was arrested with a group of civil rights leaders and a few elected officials while picketing the embassy. These arrests continued over months and provoked divestment moves by academic institutions and states (Aziabu 1997, 216). This Free South Africa Movement (FSAM) was also critical for putting pressure on Congress. As Rep. Dellums describes the changed environment: “It was very interesting to see colleagues from both sides of the aisle and of all races, who had previously paid little attention to our efforts, scramble to get arrested in front of the South African embassy and introduce sanctions bills when the [effects of the] movement hit home in their districts.” (Tillery 2006, 100) The FSAM attracted several thousand activists, including members of Congress and representatives of many different human rights groups (Weissman 1995, 169).

This dramatic campaign paid political dividends in the House. Members from left to right lined up to endorse sanctions. Conservative Southern white Democrats were forced to support

sanctions in order to retain the support of their black constituents. There were also conservative Republicans, some former civil rights demonstrators, who wrote to the South African ambassador threatening to support sanctions as a way to align the Republican Party with racial justice and human rights. This coalition helped the House pass a sanctions bill in June 1985. The Senate passed a similar bill in July. At that point, President Reagan signed an executive order that put in place many of the provisions of both bills, thinking this would placate the House and Senate. However, events in South Africa compelled Congress to take further action. South Africa intensified its crackdown on political dissidents. The pro-sanctions forces united to pass the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act (CAAA) over President Reagan's veto, mainly with help from Senator Richard Lugar (R- IN), Chair of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Lugar had been mayor of Indianapolis during school desegregation efforts and had helped avoid rioting in 1968 after Martin Luther King, Jr., was assassinated (Weissman 1995, 173-174). Lugar helped craft the legislation to sustain the veto-proof majority in the Senate and in the House.

The impact of the CAAA on South Africa was swift. In 1989 President F. W. De Klerk started taking the actions that allowed President George H. W. Bush to lift sanctions in 1991. Nelson Mandela, the leader of the African National Congress, was released from a 27-year imprisonment. The state of emergency was lifted and political parties were allowed (Weissman 1995, 165).

The four elements of the model are evident in the case of South Africa. The international provocations from apartheid were well known within the American black community because information about the racial injustices under apartheid was widely shared within the black community (Aziabu 1997). The only obstacle the black community faced was communicating with a unified voice to Congress and the executive branch to place economic sanctions on South

Africa. This unified voice was missing until the creation of the CBC and TransAfrica. The CBC spread information about apartheid to black members of Congress and white members of Congress who represented majority-minority districts. TransAfrica also spread information about apartheid to a plethora of organizations within civil society. Members of Congress who traveled to South Africa, including Rep. Solarz, Rep. Wolpe, and Senator Kennedy, had personal encounters with apartheid that deeply affected them and convinced them to sponsor sanctions legislation in the House and Senate. The Carter Administration was responsive to congressional concerns about apartheid, but the Reagan administration pursued a policy of “constructive engagement” that Congress thought was a failure. The uprisings within South Africa from the late 1970s to the early 1980s provided the inputs for members of Congress to collaborate with TransAfrica until both the black community and Congress found their unified voice. In a sense, South Africa was a simmering pot that was finally brought to a boil with the crackdown by the South African government and the FSAM in Washington, D.C.

In the South Africa case, unlike the others, many lawmakers played the role of political entrepreneur. The torch of leadership was passed from one political entrepreneur to another, burning brighter each time. Rep. Diggs lit the torch with the CBC and passed it to Randal Robinson and TransAfrica. TransAfrica passed the torch to Rep. Wolpe and Rep. Solarz, who helped build the veto-proof majority in the House. Senator Kennedy became a political entrepreneur to end apartheid after he visited South Africa. Senator Lugar used his position as Chairman of the SFRC to give the Senate a unified voice on South Africa, and he was personally affected because of his history of dealing with desegregation and racial tension in Indianapolis. All of these political entrepreneurs lined up to help Congress speak with overwhelming clarity once South Africa demonstrated the extent that it would go to preserve apartheid through

bloodshed. There never was a path of least resistance for any of these political entrepreneurs. They all knew that sanctions legislation, while morally correct, would be very difficult to pass. Thus, they combined their efforts to pass the CAAA over President Reagan's veto.

## **Uganda**

In 1971 Idi Amin came to power in Uganda by overthrowing President Milton Obote. Over the next eight years, he killed over 100,000 people (U.S. Congress, House, Subcommittee on Africa, 1978: 5 cited in Nurnberger 1982). Many victims received international press attention, including two Americans. In 1977, Senator Clifford Case (R-NJ) introduced Senate Resolution 175, condemning Uganda after the murder of Ugandan Anglican Archbishop Janai Luwuum. Other media, including a "60 Minutes" broadcast and a film on Idi Amin, kept Americans aware of events. Amin was portrayed as a tyrant. In response to this attention, Ugandan exiles and prominent Americans began a campaign against him, testifying in Congress and before civic organizations. Ugandan exiles formed the Committee on Uganda in 1973, and by 1977 the committee was lobbying Congress.

Congress focused attention on American coffee imports from Uganda, which provided Uganda with much of its foreign capital. In addition, Congress focused on American companies that supplied Amin's jets, a telecommunications satellite system, and pilot training. Coffee had become the sole remaining foundation for Uganda's economy, as all other sectors of the economy collapsed under Amin. He controlled the coffee industry in Uganda, and this control gave him his money. Freshman Rep. Donald Pease (D-OH) was the first member of Congress to see this connection because his legislative assistant, William Goold, researched the subject for his senior thesis at Oberlin College. Rep. Michael Harrington (D-MA) had revealed Uganda's

reliance on coffee in 1974 (Congressional Record, October 10, 1974: E-35539, cited in Nurnberger 1982), but Pease made the connection to American coffee companies. The United States imported only four percent of its coffee from Uganda in 1971, and that increased to seven percent in 1977 (U.S. Congress, House, 1978: 139; U.S. Congress, Senate, Subcommittee on Foreign Economic Policy, 1978: 52-53, cited in Nurnberger 1982).

Rep. Pease decided that an American-led boycott of Ugandan coffee would deprive Amin of his funds without hurting Americans.

The problem was that the Carter administration did not support the boycott. The Carter administration had already taken extensive diplomatic action against Amin. It had, for instance, closed its embassy in Kampala and discontinued all assistance. It had withdrawn all Peace Corps and AID personnel. Representatives to the World Bank and the African Development Fund were instructed to vote against loans to Uganda. The administration had excluded Uganda from U.S. programs designed to promote trade and investment. The Export-Import Bank (EXIM) and the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) had both ceased activity in Uganda after 1973. The administration did not grant general trade preferences to Uganda, and it reviewed all applications for export licenses to Uganda, denying them if exports contributed to human rights violations. William C. Harrop, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, noted that the administration had worked to prevent activities that contributed to human rights violations and worked with concerned governments to pressure Uganda to improve its human rights situation (U.S. Congress, Senate, 1978: 126-27, cited in Nurnberger 1982). However, this was as far as the Carter administration wanted to go. It did not want to overthrow Amin because this would set a dangerous precedent of overthrowing foreign governments. The administration also did not want to punish Amin. The final risk was the continuing presence of American citizens in

Uganda, including missionaries, students, dependents of Ugandans, pilots, and contract technicians. The Carter administration did not want to provoke retaliatory actions against these people.

The problem with economic sanctions, according to the Carter administration, was that they would violate free trade principles and would likely be ineffective. General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) principles required extraordinary circumstances to cease trade. The Carter administration argued that the human rights violations did not constitute extraordinary circumstances. Finally, even though African countries were embarrassed by Uganda's actions, they saw the situation as an internal African problem and did not want the U.S. to intervene. The Carter administration argued that the risks were too high if it got involved, but would be lower if American companies took the lead in any boycott.

In the face of the Carter administration's resistance to trade sanctions, Pease released the names of the thirty-three American companies that purchased Ugandan coffee in 1975 and 1976 in the hopes of pressuring those companies to voluntarily boycott Uganda. The American coffee industry resisted Rep. Pease's pressure. Representatives of the industry argued that this was a foreign policy decision that was best handled by the United States government and not by the private sector. Moreover, the American companies did not purchase coffee from Uganda directly, but instead went through brokers. The problem was also that an American ban would simply pressure Uganda to sell coffee to other markets. However, the American coffee companies admitted that they did not like Amin's government and wanted to change it. They were concerned about both the domestic repercussions of not boycotting Uganda, and the possible repercussions in Uganda if they did boycott. They wanted Congress to take the lead.

This created an impasse that Congress had to work through. Private companies wanted the United States to set official policy in order to avoid retaliation for their business decisions and the United States wanted the private sector to take the lead to avoid retaliation from Uganda and other trade partners. To resolve this impasse, Congress began to apply pressure on American businesses that were doing business with Uganda or helping it in some way. Members of Congress, including Rep. Jim Mattox (D-TX), targeted a company in Texas that trained pilots for Amin's private jets. They also targeted a company in Ohio that sold a telecommunications satellite system to Uganda, and an airline company in New York that had sold a Gulfstream II jet to Uganda.

Pease submitted legislation, including: H.R. 9252, to amend the Export Administration Act of 1969 to prohibit American exports to Uganda; H.R. 9253 to amend the International Coffee Agreement Act of 1968 to prohibit the importation of Ugandan coffee into the United States; and H.R. 9254 to prohibit the importation of Ugandan goods into the United States (Nurnberger 1982). When Pease introduced his legislation, thirty-five Representatives co-sponsored the bills and Rep. Don Bonker (D-WA) joined the boycott movement. In the Senate, Mark Hatfield (R-OR) became interested after talking with Ugandan Anglican bishop Festo Kivengere. Sen. Lowell Weicker (R-CT) became involved upon the urging of the former ambassador to Uganda, then the president of Sacred Heart University in Bridgeport, CT. Weicker introduced the Pease bills in the Senate. Senator Frank Church (D-ID), Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Foreign Economic Policy, became involved because of a staff memo and called for hearings. In both houses the congressional staff had access to information from the Ugandan community in the United States, which enabled Congressional knowledge to surpass the knowledge of the executive branch.

Reps. Bonker and Pease introduced House Concurrent Resolution 426, which called on the Carter administration to close the Ugandan embassy in Washington, restrict the movement of Ugandan diplomats to the United Nations, prohibit imports and exports of all Ugandan products, prohibit Ugandan citizens from being trained in the U.S., prohibit Ugandan aircraft from landing in the U.S., and prohibit Ugandan equipment with military applications from being maintained in the United States (U.S. Congress, House, 1978: 302-4, cited in Nurnberger 1982). The House Committee on International Relations held hearings on this resolution. Committee chairman Clement Zablocki (D-WI), with the State Department's support, argued that the resolution be weakened. Rep. Pease also faced a political battle within his own Africa Subcommittee. Rep. Diggs thought a congressional investigation of Uganda would divert attention from South Africa and joined Zablocki in supporting a non-binding resolution. Bonker gave in and substituted House Concurrent Resolution 612, urging the president to support and implement measures to discourage United States support of Uganda (U.S. Congress, House, 1978: 305-6, cited in Nurnberger 1982)

This weaker, non-binding resolution was the congressional signal that the coffee industry needed to implement a boycott of Ugandan coffee. Immediately the Folger Coffee Company interpreted the resolution as an expression of government policy and suspended all purchases of Ugandan coffee. The rest of the industry quickly followed (*New York Times*, 1978; *Cleveland Press*, 1978, cited in Nurnberger 1982). The non-binding, "sense of Congress" resolution helped resolve the impasse between the government and the coffee industry because it let the companies initiate a boycott without violating their belief that foreign policy should be conducted by governments, not corporations. The House adopted the resolution, then the Senate Foreign Relations Committee held hearings. Senator Church introduced an amendment to the

International Monetary Fund Supplementary Financing Facility Bill imposing a trade embargo against Uganda. The Senate passed the embargo amendment, then went into conference with the House to reconcile the different versions. The amendment was approved on October 10, 1978.

After this legislation passed Congress, Amin sent soldiers to the Tanzanian border and initiated a civil war within Uganda. President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania retaliated against Amin by using a combined force of Ugandan exiles, dissidents, deserting Ugandan troops, and the Tanzanian army to drive out Amin in April 1979. President Carter informed Congress that the human rights situation in Uganda had improved and Congress removed all restrictions on trade and assistance. The actions by Congress likely had no direct impact on Uganda, but they signaled to Nyerere that the United States would support his military action against Amin. Nyerere assumed the embargo would lead to American assistance and admitted disappointment that the United States did not help pay for the invasion force (Nurnberger 1982).

The four elements of the model are present in the Uganda case. The international provocations by Idi Amin were well known and publicized around the world. American media organizations and Ugandan refugees provided information to members of Congress, who then submitted non-binding resolutions expressing the “sense of Congress” and binding resolutions restricting trade with Uganda. Specific members of Congress, including Reps. Pease and Bonker, and Sens. Hatfield and Weicker, were deeply personally affected by conversations they had with people from Uganda. Finally, they took the path of least resistance. Rep. Pease tried at first to get the Carter administration to impose a coffee embargo. When that did not work he tried to convince American coffee companies to voluntarily implement an embargo, and he submitted legislation. When neither of those worked he submitted a binding resolution that was weakened in committee. The non-binding resolution was the easiest legislative mechanism to get through

the committee system, but it proved to be enough to convince the coffee industry to start the embargo. Congressional signaling became a critical tool as it influenced both industry behavior and Tanzania's behavior.

Uganda also demonstrates that non-binding resolutions can have more impact than binding legislation on the behavior of domestic constituents and foreign governments. This is surprising because we usually assume that binding legislation has a bigger impact. However, Uganda shows that congressional signaling to domestic and foreign actors is an important component of American foreign policy and international relations. Congressional signaling can take many forms in addition to non-binding resolutions.

### **Comparing the five cases according to the model**

Now that the model has been applied to five countries, it is useful to analyze each element of the model so that we can draw some additional lessons about the roles of political entrepreneurs in these cases.

1. *International provocations*: Each of the cases presents obvious human rights abuses.

(a) The Soviet Union cracked down on political dissidents, imprisoning them and torturing them. The Soviet Union also prevented Jews from going to Israel to unite with families. (b) Cambodia under the Khmer Rouge killed about 2 million people through torture, execution and forced labor. (c) El Salvador sent paramilitary units, or death squads, into villages to kill peasants suspected of supporting rebels. (d) South Africa maintained a state that practiced racial discrimination. (e) Uganda's Idi Amin killed over 100,000 people, including an American journalist and a teacher.

2. *Information:* For each of the cases there are intermediaries who tell members of Congress about the rights abuses (the international provocations).

(a) Soviet dissidents and American Jews in the SJM told members of Congress about the plight of political prisoners in the Soviet Union and refuseniks who were trying to leave.

(b) Cambodians fleeing the killing fields of the Khmer Rouge met with Rep. Solarz and told him horrible stories of mass death. (c) Salvadorans fleeing death squads told members of JPCOCA about certain death after being deported back to El Salvador and JPCOCA brought this information to Rep. Moakley. (d) Members of Congress traveled to South Africa and witnessed the immoral conditions under apartheid, or TransAfrica and the CBC communicated this information to them. (e) Dr. Thomas Melady, the last American ambassador to Uganda, spoke to members of Congress, and Ugandan exiles presented their case to Congress through the Committee on Uganda.

3. *Deep personal impact:* For each of these cases there was at least one member of Congress who was deeply affected by information about human rights abuses.

(a) Senator Jackson and Rep. Vanik learned about the plight of refuseniks. Rep. Fenwick met with a refusenik in Russia and was so deeply affected that she had nightmares.

(b) Rep. Solarz met Cambodian refugees and was reminded of the Jewish Holocaust. (c) Rep. Moakley learned about the death squads roaming El Salvador and he decided to take action. He investigated the killing of Jesuit priests in El Salvador and he formed a deep bond with Salvadorans and the Jesuit priests. (d) Rep. Diggs and Randal Robinson equated South African apartheid with Jim Crow in the American South before the Civil Rights Movement. Rep. Wolpe and Solarz traveled to South Africa and decided that apartheid was immoral.

Senator Kennedy traveled to South Africa and reached the same conclusion. Senator Lugar remembered his experience dealing with desegregation in Indianapolis and decided to support sanctions legislation. (e) Senator's Case, Church and Weicker introduced resolutions after having conversations with people who lived or worked in Uganda.

4. *Path of least resistance:* For each of these cases the member of Congress got involved only to the extent that his/her institutional support and support from colleagues made legislation a viable option, and only after realizing that the executive branch would likely resist his/her efforts.

(a) Senator Jackson and Rep. Vanik amended the 1974 trade act to make trade with the Soviet Union contingent on refuseniks being allowed to leave for Israel. Rep. Fenwick submitted legislation to create a commission that would monitor compliance with the Helsinki Final Act. It was supported by her colleague in the Senate, Senator Clifford Case (R-NJ), and other House members who were both interested in human rights and interested in placing pressure on Henry Kissinger's State Department. (b) Rep. Solarz organized a hearing on human rights in Cambodia as a freshman in the House, but he did not pass a non-lethal aid amendment until he was Chair of the Asian and Pacific Subcommittee in 1985. He submitted his UN Interim Trusteeship plan to the international community and the executive branch, where there was a policy window, before submitting it to the House and the Senate, with the Senate being the most resistant obstacle to his plan. His plan passed the Senate only after the UN and the Cambodian factions announced their support for the plan and the Bush administration brokered a deal with key senators.

(c) Rep. Moakley submitted legislation granting TPS to Salvadoran refugees, but he did not play hardball until he was Chairman of the Rules Committee. He used his Chair position to investigate the murders of Jesuit priests in El Salvador, to provide funds to build Salvadoran Society, and to place pressure on the warring factions to broker a peace agreement. (d) Rep. Diggs used his Chair position on the House Africa Subcommittee to start the CBC. When Reps. Solarz and Wolpe occupied the same Chair positions, they started shaping sanctions legislation for South Africa. Senator Lugar used his Chair position on the SFRC to shape legislation that could pass Congress with a veto-proof majority. (e) Rep. Pease tried unsuccessfully to get the Carter administration to implement an economic boycott against Uganda. Then he tried, again unsuccessfully, to get the coffee industry to voluntarily boycott Ugandan coffee. His effort succeeded only when he passed a non-binding “sense of Congress” resolution through committee.

### **Understanding the role of political entrepreneurs**

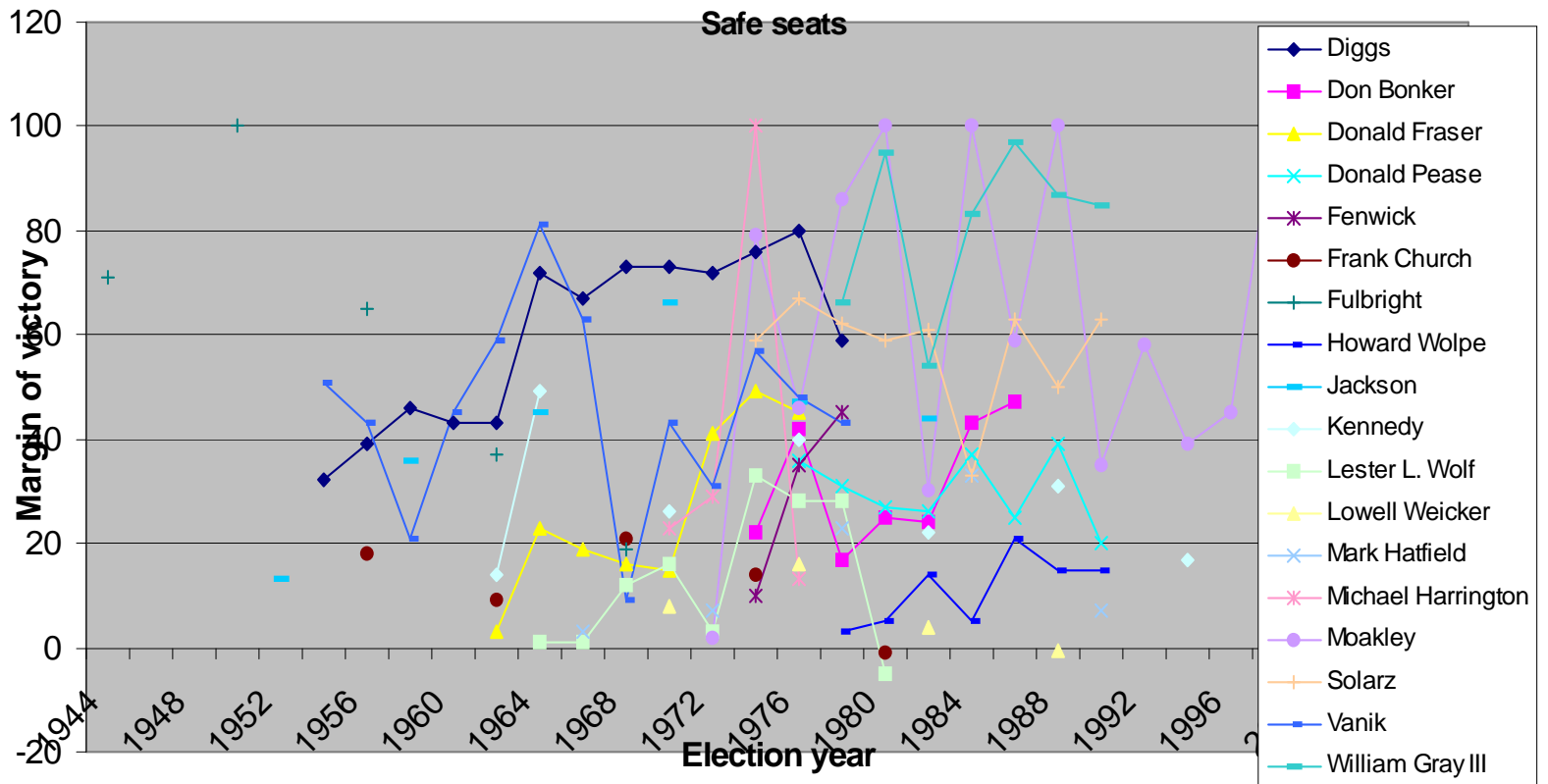
The model helps us understand the specific role that political entrepreneurs and interest groups had in each of the four cases, and in other cases not discussed here. Every case discussed here required political entrepreneurs to change American foreign policy. However, the presence and organization of grassroots interest groups differed across the cases.

In the case of Cambodia the Cambodian-Americans were poorly organized and had no electoral strength. It took Rep. Solarz, an effective political entrepreneur, to argue effectively to both Congress and the executive branch to change American foreign policy. In the case of El Salvador, Salvadoran refugees were not organized, but American citizens were very organized. Yet Rep. Moakley had no interest in foreign policy issues. Citizen groups, including JPCOCA, brought the plight of Salvadoran refugees to the attention of Moakley and his staff and thus

sparked Moakley's interest. For South Africa there was a strong grassroots component, with TransAfrica combining with many effective political entrepreneurs in Congress. It took the united efforts of the House Africa Subcommittee, the CBC, political entrepreneurs Solarz, Wolpe, Gray, Dellums, and Kennedy, and finally TransAfrica, to craft sanctions legislation and pass it over President Reagan's veto a mere two years after TransAfrica began FSAM. As the South African government increased its crackdown TransAfrica stepped up its campaign. For the Soviet Union, there was a strong grassroots component, with the Soviet Jewry Movement and American Jews putting pressure on members of Congress to help free the refuseniks. Sens. Jackson and Case, and Reps. Vanik and Fenwick, both harnessed this grassroots pressure to pass legislation. For Uganda, there was a strong grassroots component with Ugandan exiles organizing and placing pressure on Congress to end trade relations with Uganda. Rep. Pease successfully passed a resolution that facilitated an economic boycott. Senator's Case, Church and Weicker passed binding legislation that restricted trade.

Moreover, we can see in each case that the political entrepreneurs had secure seats that gave them the liberty to pursue foreign policy issues. In the chart below, the Margin of Victory on the Y-axis indicates the percentage points separating the winner in the election from the closest competitor. With the exception of Rep. Lester Wolff, all of the winners sustained large margins during their congressional careers. In Wolff's case, he had razor-thin margins in the first, second, and fifth elections of his career. He received a boost from the Democratic waves in 1974, 1976, and 1978. He was defeated by a Reaganite Republican, John LeBoutillier, in 1980 after LeBoutillier ran an advertising campaign showing Wolff spending more time in other countries as chair of the Asian and Pacific Subcommittee than in his district. Wolff's defeat is sometimes cited as an example of what happens when members of Congress care more about

foreign policy than their districts, but the electoral margins show that Wolff's seat was never really safe without the help of national political forces.<sup>3</sup>



As I argued in the first chapter, the main difference between a citizen, a legislator, and a president is the time frame. A president has the constitutional authority to act quickly on foreign policy issues. The path of least resistance for a member of Congress or a citizen who wants to change American foreign policy is to ask the president to change policy. When the president is in the same party as the member of Congress, the change in policy may come quickly after a letter or meeting from the member of Congress. However, when the president is from the opposition party and becomes unresponsive to the entreaties of members of Congress and citizen groups, members of Congress have a motive to change policy through their own efforts. The motive is

<sup>3</sup> For raw numbers, see Appendix B

dependent on the means: as members of Congress acquire more institutional resources, they do more. A member of Congress who is in the minority party in the House or Senate and lacks tenure on a committee (or celebrity status) may try to use media resources to shape the debate and change American foreign policy (Kedrowski 1992). In each of these cases, it was the combination of both congressional resources and executive opposition that sparked political entrepreneurship.

Based on these cases, a plausible argument can be made that there are three elements that need to exist to facilitate a change in American foreign policy toward a specific country. First, there must be one or more political entrepreneurs, either in Congress or in civil society. They take advantage of institutional resources and a policy window to create policy toward a specific country or region. Second, compelling international events create a window of opportunity for action. Third, there must be a conduit for information from the target country to Congress, possibly provided by citizens groups and ethnic interest groups. The first two elements are essential. The last element speeds up the process. What citizens groups do is shorten the time frame for activity. Instead of waiting decades to take action, Congress may move within months or a few years. When all three elements are combined, Congress can act quickly and override a presidential veto.

The model presented here can probably be applied to other cases of human rights abuses. Possible cases include Argentina, Chile, Guatemala, and Nicaragua, where military coups led to death squads and disappearances, causing refugees to flee to the U.S. Scholars may examine African countries where human rights abuses provoked members of Congress to target bilateral trade relations and economic development assistance. There is the alleged Armenian genocide in which the Ottoman Turks killed 1.5 million Armenians between 1915 and 1923. Their

descendants moved to the United States and placed pressure on Congress to recognize the genocide (Cannon 2009). There are also the cases of Cuba (Zook 2004), Haiti (Gomis 2000), Lithuania (Hartman 1996), and Poland (Podbielski 1997). These, and other cases, may further demonstrate the explanatory power of the model.

The model also demonstrates the connection between international relations, transnational politics, and domestic politics. In the cases of the Soviet Union and Uganda there were organized transnational movements that spread the information to the United States Congress. In the cases of Cambodia, South Africa and El Salvador the transnational movements either were not organized enough (Cambodian and Salvadoran refugees) or they did not exist (South Africa). However, they still had voices in the United States because of American interest groups (JPCOCA for Salvadoran refugees, TransAfrica for South Africa) or champions in Congress (Solarz for Cambodia).

The second element of the model, information, simplifies this complexity for the sake of clarity, but it is important to recognize that these cases demonstrate complex interdependence and the power of transnational networks to connect domestic politics and international relations through United States foreign policy. The limitation of these examples is that the transnational movements dissipated once Congress responded and the international provocation ended. There is no longer a Soviet Jewry Movement because the Soviet Union no longer exists. There is no longer a movement of Ugandan refugees because Idi Amin fled Uganda. In the next chapter, we will examine what happens when the transnational movement, the Taiwan Independence Movement, persists even after Congress acted and most of their demands for change on Taiwan were met as Taiwan liberalized during the 1980s and democratized during the 1990s.

## Chapter 3

### Taiwan Independence Movement and the Congressional “Gang of Four”

Taiwan has a unique position in international relations. It is, in practice, an independent country with its own political system, history and economy. However, legally it is not recognized as independent by the United States and most other countries in the world because it is considered to be part of the People’s Republic of China (PRC). It is within this complex situation that we can apply the model developed in the previous chapter.

After the United States shifted its official relationship from the Republic of China (ROC) to the PRC in 1979, Taiwan’s government began a systematic crackdown on political dissidents, committed human rights abuses against political opponents, and even killed Taiwanese-American citizens who had fled the political oppression on Taiwan. Information about these human rights abuses was brought to the United States Congress by the Taiwan Independence Movement (TIM), which traces its origins to February 28, 1947, when the military forces of the ROC systematically killed thousands of political dissidents who posed a threat to the ROC (Wang 1999). In 1982 TIM created the Formosan Association for Public Affairs (FAPA), a grassroots organization that built relationships with four members of Congress: Rep. Stephen Solarz (D-NY), Rep. Jim Leach (R-IA), Sen. Ted Kennedy (D-MA), and Sen. Claiborne Pell (D-RI) (Lin 2006, Chen 2007). These members of Congress made public statements, held subcommittee hearings, gave press conferences, and passed non-binding resolutions and legislation that communicated to Taiwan’s government the need to end human rights abuses and create a viable democracy. They did this because the Reagan administration refused to condemn the government crackdown, even though it condemned government crackdowns in other

countries. Taiwan's government responded both to these actions by Congress and the changing political dynamics on Taiwan. In 1987 Taiwan liberalized; in the 1990s it democratized.

This chapter will not prove a direct causal link between the actions of Congress and Taiwan's transition to democracy, but Taiwan's government seemed to respond to Congress. This chapter focuses on the role of transnational politics in the information component of the model as it applies to Taiwan. The cases of the Soviet Union and Uganda demonstrated the power of transnational networks in providing information to Congress that ends up in non-binding resolutions and binding legislation. Taiwan demonstrates the persistence of transnational networks after Taiwan ended its human rights abuses and democratized. Previous work has demonstrated TIM's impact on Congress, through FAPA, from the 1990s to the present (Chen 2007). This chapter focuses on the 1980s. There was often a direct exchange of information about human rights abuses in Taiwan with members of Congress during the 1980s through FAPA.

### **Taiwan's Unique International Position**

Any discussion of Taiwan must recognize the complex relationship between the United States, the PRC, and the Republic of China (ROC) on Taiwan. American foreign policy toward China and Taiwan is complex because China's culture, people, and vast resources have posed significant challenges for the West in general, including European colonial powers, and for the United States in particular. The United States has used its China policy to articulate its national identity and its international relationships, from the Open Door Notes that the Secretary of State sent to the European Powers in 1899 to argue for open trade in China, to the recognition of the ROC in 1911, to the decision to not recognize the PRC in 1950, to recognition of the PRC in

1979 and eventual support for the PRC to enter the World Trade Organization (Holdaway 2002). The United States has used its China policy to advocate democracy around the world and demonstrate that it is a loyal ally to friendly countries.

China had been carved up by European powers during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, with different treaties articulating the commercial rights of each European power. Then China entered an anti-colonial, revolutionary period as it came under the military and political dominion of Sun Yat-Sen, Chiang Kai-shek, and the Nationalist government (Kuomintang or KMT). The U.S. recognized this government and allied with it during World War II. The U.S. was about to recognize the PRC after the Chinese Communist Party forced the KMT to move to Formosa (Holdaway 2002), but the PRC's intervention in the Korean War on behalf of North Korea forced the U.S. to maintain its official alliance with the KMT government on Formosa. The U.S. had to engage in a delicate balancing act between the ROC on Taiwan and the PRC on Mainland China. On the one hand, the United States Congress passed the Formosa resolution in 1955 that authorized President Dwight Eisenhower to defend Taiwan and its smaller islands from attacks by the PRC (Briggs 1994). On the other, the U.S. did not want to commit itself to Taiwan's defense such that it got dragged into a war between the ROC and the PRC if Taiwan or one of its smaller islands were attacked. This created a political and military stalemate, a situation that held until the Nixon administration renewed relations with the PRC in 1972 and the Carter administration officially recognized the PRC in 1979.

Between 1949 and 1979, relations between the United States and the ROC were shaped primarily by the "China Lobby", a group of American business leaders, politicians, and missionaries who had been actively involved in Chinese business, politics, and culture (Koen 1974, Chao 1990). The China Lobby helped turn the ROC into an American ally despite

extensive evidence of corruption within the Nationalist Party and ineptitude in the government (Ericson 2004). When the Nixon administration sought a new relationship with the PRC, the China Lobby cast a shadow over negotiations, forcing Nixon and Kissinger to conduct all diplomacy in secret in the lead-up to the 1972 Shanghai Communique (Oksenberg 1986) and the Carter administration to do the same prior to official recognition of the PRC (Holdaway 2002, Sutter 1980). The China Lobby joined forces with the official lobby for the ROC to maintain U.S.-ROC relations from 1949 to 1979. Later the Taiwan independence movement effectively displaced both the China Lobby and the official representatives of the ROC on Capitol Hill.

### **The 228 Incident**

The majority of the population on Taiwan is descended from Chinese who migrated there in previous centuries. Mainland-born Chinese who settled there at the end of WWII, along with their Taiwan-born offspring, constitute a sizeable minority. For 50 years after Japan defeated China in the First Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) Formosa was ruled by the Japanese Empire. The Japanese turned out to be enlightened leaders, building roads, hospitals, and schools for the native population on Formosa. The natives learned Japanese and witnessed their island turn into an industrial power. After the Allied powers defeated Japan in World War II, Formosa was left in limbo for a couple years as the Chinese government struggled for survival against Mao Zedong's Communist rebellion. Unlike the progressive Japanese, who developed Formosa, the Nationalist government on China, led by General Chiang Kia-shek, decided to treat Formosa like a prize from the spoils of war. Chinese troops pillaged Formosa from the moment of their arrival on the island (Kerr 1965). The natives switched from hailing the conquering Chinese heroes to fearing

them and rebelling against them. Chinese corruption on Formosa was rampant, and the natives seethed with anger until, finally, a single spark became the catalyst for a conflagration of terror.

On February 27, 1947, a woman on the island of Formosa started selling cigarettes without a license. She was promptly arrested by police working for the Nationalist Government controlling Formosa. Her arrest symbolized to the island natives all the corruption in the Chinese government and its oppression of the people on Formosa. The natives rebelled, catching the Chinese government off guard at first. The Chinese government on Formosa tried to negotiate, but the governor of the island communicated the troubles to the Nationalist government on the mainland and the government sent troops for a crackdown. The next day, February 28 (the 228 incident), the crackdown began, and it was horrific. In scenes reminiscent of the worst days of the Nazi regime in Germany and the purges in Stalin's Russia, the Nationalist troops murdered or arrested ten thousand natives on Formosa, especially student protesters. The carnage became Formosa's holocaust (Kerr 1965; Lai et al 1991). The massacre was followed by martial law and an era of "White Terror." The crisis caused many Taiwanese students, especially upper-class Taiwanese, to travel abroad and oppose the KMT (Mendel 1970; Wu 2003).

### **Spreading Information Through the Taiwan Independence Movement**

Thus was born the Taiwan Independence Movement (TIM) which consisted of advocates who began to call themselves "Formosans," to distinguish themselves from Chinese born on mainland China, after the Dutch name for Taiwan (Kerr 1974, Ma and Cartier 2003). After the 228 incident, TIM spread to Japan, Sweden, Canada, and the United States. TIM pursued three goals after the initial 228 incident: (1) an end to martial law and the "White Terror", which included improving human rights on Taiwan; (2) democratization, including legal opposition

parties; and (3) independence for Taiwan based on self-determination of the Taiwanese people (Wang 1999; Bush 2005; Tang 2005). Emotion-laden factors, such as national self-image, are an essential part of every national movement (Femenia 2000). Their need for international recognition gave independence activists the energy to spread the message of Taiwan's independence. Their self-image is still tied to an independent Taiwan. They will continue to advocate independence until Taiwan becomes legally independent. Their emotional connection to advocating Taiwan's independence also provides the mechanism for collective organization, which we know through the concept of bonding social capital.

The Nationalist government lost the civil war with the Chinese Communists and was forced to move to Formosa, which became Taiwan. Native Taiwanese thought Formosa was betrayed by the government that was supposed to be its benefactor, and, just as its identity was erased, its freedoms were erased as well. The Nationalist government was oppressive, but it tried to maintain the pretense of democracy so that it could sustain its alliance with the United States and retain a veneer of legitimacy with the native people on Taiwan. Michael Fonte, the Senior Policy Analyst at the FAPA from 1986 to 2002, said "I lived in Taiwan from 67 to 70 so I experienced this all myself -- under tight martial law, a lot of human rights abuses, you were not allowed to speak out in any way.... The native Taiwanese who came here became professional people - scientists, doctors, engineers, etc. -- very well educated, hard-working people, but very dedicated to seeing a change in their home country ...and so they carried an awful lot of that passion into their organizing." (Michael Fonte, interview with author, October 22, 2008)

The 20 years of TIM activity in the United States from the early 1960s to 1980 can be seen as a learning process as the same people created different organizations to advocate Taiwan's independence, and discovered the most viable method, creating political capital in

Congress, only after previous attempts at advocacy failed. The Taiwan independence activists learned to use the appropriate terminology, target the appropriate politicians, and moderate their goals sufficiently to find supporters in Congress. TIM efforts in the United States were disorganized until the 1980s when the activists created the Formosan Association for Public Affairs (FAPA).

In the 1950s and 1960s, Formosans traveled via student visas to Japan, Canada, and the United States, among other countries, to promote a free and independent Formosa. The KMT oppressed Formosans abroad by canceling their visas if they engaged in anti-KMT activity and harassing their relatives on Taiwan (Peng 1972). Nevertheless, Formosans started many American organizations to raise awareness about their plight: Taiwanese Association of America (TAA), Free Formosans for Formosa (FFF), United Formosans for Independence (UFI), United Formosans in America for Independence (UFAI), and World United Formosans for Independence (WUFI) (Lin 2006). “I think the key to my mind lies in the community of Taiwanese Americans who came here. Many of them, especially the FAPA core people, came here in the ‘60s as students, or maybe early ‘70s, around that time.” (Michael Fonte, interview with author, October 22, 2008)

The key organizer was Trong Chai. Chai is from Jiayi, Taiwan, a location of the worst forms of KMT oppression after the 228 incident, and had been active in the Taiwanese-American social organization TAA. In 1970 he organized WUFI, a successor organization to FFF which was started in 1955 in Philadelphia and became UFI until merging with other groups to form UFAI in the 1960s. In April 1970, Chiang Ching-kuo, the son of Taiwan’s president Chiang Kai-shek, visited the United States. Peter Huang, a member of WUFI, attempted to assassinate him. After the failed attempt, Trong Chai asked Peng Ming-min to join WUFI. Dr. Peng had been a

professor of political science and law in Taiwan and been forced into exile after distributing a document calling for democratically elected government. He eventually established roots in the United States through the University of Michigan (Smith 1970), and in September 1971 he agreed to move to New Jersey to establish Formosan Studies, Inc., under the auspices of WUFI. In January 1972, Dr. Peng was elected chairperson of WUFI, but the Chiang assassination incident compelled many members to withdraw from WUFI. Dr. Peng was an ineffective administrator, functioning more as a “thinking-type intellectual”, as WUFI fell apart (Shu 2005). “Worse yet, he was haughtily lofty, obsessively confident, and he lacked political savvy. Unable to handle the situations, after only half of a year on the chairpersonship, Ming-min resigned.” (Shu 2005)

TIM reached its high point in terms of visibility with the attempted assassination of Chiang Ching-kuo, but the connection of TIM activists, especially WUFI members, with violent tactics caused Taiwanese around the world to disassociate themselves from the independence movement. Thus, there was little activity as the major international events of the 1970s transpired.

### **The Chung-li Incident and Kaohsiung Incident**

In the late 1970s, two incidents united Taiwan independence activists on Taiwan and abroad, and galvanized them to take political and sometimes violent action. The Chung-li Incident in 1977 was the first political protest on the streets of Taiwan since the 1940s, and it was aimed at preventing election fraud by the KMT. This incident provoked activists to start organizing again. On Dec. 10, 1979, the Kaohsiung Incident occurred, with the government inciting violence against peaceful demonstrators at a United Nations Human Rights Day

celebration. The government arrested and imprisoned many opposition leaders. The Chung-li Incident and the Kaohsiung Incident gave activists a sense of urgency about the dire situation on Taiwan. These two events fomented organized political opposition and intense activism by Taiwanese exiles in Europe and North America (Gregor and Chang 1983).

The oppressive actions of the KMT occurred in five main areas following the Kaohsiung Incident. The first area was the arrest, imprisonment, and torture of people that the government linked, fairly or unfairly, to the peace demonstration. It arrested politicians, human rights activists, lawyers, ministers, journalists, and other citizens. The government imprisoned many people on Green Island and tortured them in various ways, including sleep deprivation, inflicting bodily injury, denying them access to food, water and toilets, and denying them access to the outside world. The second was the impediment of democratic processes, including preventing non-KMT candidates from campaigning for public office. The third was the denial of press freedoms, such as the right to publish materials concerning human rights, the need for democracy, or documentation of the human rights abuses committed by the KMT. The fourth area was the denial of religious freedoms, particularly involving the rights of the Presbyterian Church and its leaders. The fifth area was persistence of martial law, which started in 1949 as an anti-communist measure, and involved the imprisonment or assassination of politicians, human rights activists, lawyers, ministers, journalists, and other citizens the KMT deemed a threat, whether they lived in Taiwan or in the United States.

### **Spreading information**

Information about these human rights abuses went out to the world through Amnesty International, the State Department's annual report on human rights, international magazines and

newspapers, and publications of organizations associated with the Taiwan independence or democracy movements. The Formosan Association for Human Rights (FAHR), founded in 1976, published literature on the KMT's human rights abuses. The Society for the Protection of East Asians' Human Rights (SPEAHR) published *SPEAHRhead* between 1979 and 1984 to document the plight of prisoners, both those held in connection with the Kaohsiung Incident and those imprisoned for longer periods of time. The International Committee for Human Rights in Taiwan began publishing the *Taiwan Communique* in December 1980; FAPA took over the publication in 1988. The *Taiwan Communique* became a valuable source of information for politicians, policy makers, human rights activists and researchers concerned about the developments on Taiwan. It still publishes to this day. Most of the material is culled from other publications as well as the Congressional Record so that readers have access to the speeches and resolutions by members of Congress on behalf of Taiwan.

Members of Congress, including but not limited to Rep. Solarz, Rep. Leach, Sen. Pell and Sen. Kennedy, directed their staff to gather information on Taiwanese government rights abuses by arranging for activists, scholars and government officials to speak at hearings. Representatives of FAPA were witnesses at many hearings. In addition, Taiwan independence activists spoke at these hearings. After the Kaohsiung Incident, congressional activity -- hearings, press conferences, press releases, speeches, binding resolutions, non-binding resolutions, legislation, casework -- focused on events, both in Taiwan and in the United States. The events received press coverage both in Taiwan and the international press, often sparking hearings in Congress that resulted in legislation. The congressional activities signaled the KMT about the intentions of the United States government and thus often led to changes in the KMT's behavior.

## **Deep Personal Impact: Staff and Members of Congress**

As we examine the motives of members of Congress and their staff as they interacted with Taiwan democracy activists, we find evidence of deep personal impact.

*Rep. Stephen Solarz:* Rep. Solarz explains why he not only met with refugees, but also turned his office into a refugee camp for oppressed people from all over the world. It owed largely to his Jewish background.

My view of history has been shaped profoundly by the destruction of European Jewry in the Holocaust and the failure of the United States and other countries to come to their assistance when it could have made a difference. I believed as a Congressman that wherever there were people in distress, I had a responsibility to do whatever I could to relieve their suffering. That is why, whether it involved protecting the right of people to practice their religion, to freely emigrate, or to express themselves without fear of persecution, I kept my office door open to Timorese, Bahai, Vietnamese, Cambodians, Filipinos, Taiwanese, Pakistanis, South Africans, Bangladeshis, and anyone else in harm's way, seeking help from the U.S. government. (Excerpt from unpublished memoir)

Solarz's deep interest in oppressed people made him the ideal champion for Taiwan. Solarz's introduction to the Taiwan democracy movement started with Trong Chai. Solarz had already traveled to Taiwan, and by 1981 he was the chair of the Asian and Pacific Subcommittee. His chief of Staff, Edward Friedman, had also spent time on Taiwan during the 1960s. Thus, Solarz was the natural contact point for Taiwan democracy activists.

Shortly after I became chairman of the Subcommittee on Asia in 1981, I was approached for help by a Taiwanese American, Trong Chai, who was a professor at Medgar Evers College, which is part of the City University of New York. More importantly, he was a skilled political organizer and president of the Formosan Association for Public Affairs (FAPA)... FAPA's members were Taiwanese Americans who were committed to the creation of real democracy and the eventual establishment of an independent Taiwan. (Excerpt from unpublished memoir)

A key problem between Chai and Solarz was impact of U.S.-Beijing normalization.

Solarz knew U.S. policy on Taiwan could not change, given the rapprochement with the People's

Republic of China in 1972 and the official recognition of the PRC in 1979. But Chai did not recognize this limitation.

There was always a little tension in my relations with Chai and FAPA. While I strongly supported their desire for an end to martial law and the establishment of a real democracy on Taiwan, I was not prepared to unequivocally endorse their goal of formal independence. I believed that if the U.S. had come out in favor of an independent Taiwan it would have resulted in a rupture in our relations with China...I tried to square the circle by securing the adoption of a Congressional resolution stating that the future of Taiwan should be determined peacefully and in a way that was acceptable to the Taiwanese people. (Excerpt from unpublished memoir)

Once Solarz became Chair of the Asian and Pacific Subcommittee, following Lester Wolff's defeat in the 1980 election, he asked Edward Friedman to lead his staff. Friedman explains Solarz's motivation as deriving from his commitment to human rights, which had started in the 1970s. Friedman says, "Solarz had a tremendous and ongoing and global commitment on these kinds of issues. You can see it already when he is on the African Subcommittee chairing it on the issue of South Africa. No one has to put pressure on him to care about these kinds of issues." (Edward Friedman, interview with author, February 5, 2010) Once Solarz got involved in Taiwan issues he became very impressed with the Taiwanese-Americans, most of whom were wealthy and educated doctors, scientists, businessmen, professors, engineers, and so on.

That group of people really was very impressive. These are people who had left Taiwan early and their grouping had unbelievably high percentage of doctors. That's why they had some money that they could give to causes. So it was a very impressive group of professional people. If you met them it's very hard not to be impressed. (Edward Friedman, interview with author, February 5, 2010)

Richard Bush, who succeeded Edward Friedman as Majority Staff Consultant, explains Solarz's nuanced approach to Taiwan issues during the 1980s, which included balancing China-U.S. relations with Taiwan-U.S. relations and, simultaneously, developing a fundraising base.

Solarz ... understood ... that U.S.-China relations was important to the United States; understood that promoting an explicit independence agenda would be

inconsistent with that, so he reached an understanding with the leaders of FAPA early on that he would support democracy and human rights in Taiwan, which if ...successful would create the ability of people on Taiwan to make their own choice, and then it was up to them... that allowed him, he felt, to simultaneously support ... U.S.-China relations. ... Solarz was interested in developing as many fundraising bases as possible, and he saw this as an attractive one. (Richard Bush, interview with author, August 4, 2009)

Bush also explains that Solarz's activity was far above the average for most representatives because he had so much energy.

Solarz...did more than the average congressman. He did have a general and deep interest in promoting democracy and human rights everywhere - something he really believed in. He did not really focus on Taiwan until he became chairman of the subcommittee and until he was approached by Taiwanese. They got more out of him in terms of hearings and other things than they would have gotten out of somebody else. It was an interactive process. ... I think he used his chairmanship aggressively to keep the issue alive. (Richard Bush, interview with author, August 4, 2009)

*Edward Friedman:* Friedman, Solarz's long-time friend, in 1980 was a professor of Chinese politics at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. Friedman had completed his Ph.D. in Political Science in 1968 at Harvard after spending three years on Taiwan going through the archives of the Nationalist government. As a graduate student he had lived in dorms run by the military, had encounters with the secret police, and visited Green Island. In 1981 he agreed to work with Rep. Solarz until Solarz was sufficiently knowledgeable about Asian issues, especially China. Friedman explains that the most important factor for Solarz in interacting with the KMT and FAPA was the intersection of interests in areas that corresponded with the national interest. "American interests and FAPA's interests overlapped in particular places. Overlap is very different from coincided. The key to FAPA's interest is independence. We don't support that. But they also, for their own reasons, have an interest in supporting human rights and democracy in Taiwan. That overlaps with us. The KMT ... want to have good standing in the United States

so they have the ability to get weapons from the United States and so on. That creates a basis for a conversation with them to promote our interests having to do with human rights and democracy.” (Edward Friedman, interview with author, February 5, 2010)

*Rep. James Leach:* Rep. Leach’s personal involvement derives mainly from his background and his staff’s backgrounds. “I had become active on Taiwan democracy issues in the 1970s, starting in January 1977, partly because I have a background in the State Department. I had a wonderful staff member [Cindy Sprunger] who was ... raised in Taiwan. Her father was a missionary there -- a Mennonite. So we developed our own contacts from the island backwards. ... This would have been an interest that sprung from my office and me personally.” (Rep. Leach, interview with author, July 25, 2008) Cindy Sprunger and her family had lived on Taiwan as Christian missionaries. Her concern for Taiwan motivated him to become more active.

Leach notes that his motivation for interacting with the Taiwan democracy movement also derived in part from this sincere desire to promote democracy on the island, and in part from his personal impression of Taiwanese-American immigrant groups.

I remember talking to that group in Illinois of Taiwanese activists. ... they were all doctors and engineers and extremely successful, extremely intelligent people. But when they talked about American politics you had a sense of a little bit of naivete. And then they became very much a part of the American system. ... so this was an integration of groupings of new Americans into American politics in a very profound way, and particularly on the democracy side. I found it wonderfully uplifting. (Rep. Jim Leach, interview with author, July 25, 2008)

Based on these affective impressions, Leach became active on issues pertaining to Taiwan in the late 1970s. He had submitted an amendment to the 1979 Taiwan Relations Act advocating democracy on Taiwan.

Finally, Leach was interested in the intellectual puzzle that Taiwan presented. Taiwan is a country that has de facto independence without legal independence. During the 1980s and before it was technically a democracy but not really a democracy because the representatives had permanent tenure. Taiwan had developed economically but had a horrible human rights record. It was important to the United States but officially part of the People's Republic of China.

*Senator Ted Kennedy:* Senator Kennedy was one of the few celebrity senators in the United States Senate during the activities of the Gang of Four. Given Kennedy's national stature and his human rights advocacy, it was natural for Taiwan democracy activists to seek his support when he ran for president. Kennedy's motivation for supporting Taiwan came from his previous history of advocacy for oppressed people around the world. Nancy Soderberg, the Foreign Policy Advisor to Kennedy from 1985 to 1988, describes Kennedy as being "very involved in democracy movements around the world." This made Kennedy an obvious target for any group of people who wanted to promote democracy and human rights in their countries.

As the Cold War ended, democracy movements around the world took on a new significance and had a new freedom to be active. ...those who had a strong human rights agenda such as Kennedy were an open door to those who were pushing for democracy and human rights around the world. So, Kennedy worked with Solidarity in Poland, ANC in Africa, obviously Ireland, the Philippines, the South Koreans, and the Taiwanese....It was really a lifelong commitment to standing up for the little guy and pushing democracy and human rights. (Nancy Soderberg, interview with author, February 10, 2010)

Soderberg also mentions that Kennedy helped Taiwan because he thought he could be a force for improvement on the island. "It was a movement that he thought he could help develop into a democratic Taiwan... He really had a true feeling that if his weight and voice could help make progress in a certain area, he was willing to do it." (Nancy Soderberg, interview with author, February 10, 2010)

*Senator Claiborne Pell:* Senator Pell was involved in the Gang of Four for personal reasons, having served in the military during World War II and trained at Columbia University to take over the governance of Taiwan once the United States defeated Japan. Pell never served in the capacity for which he trained because Taiwan instead reverted to Nationalist Chinese control. However, because of this war-time experience and friendships among the Taiwan democracy activists, Pell had a strong personal connection to Taiwan. His most important connection to Taiwan was through his friend Mark Chen, one of the key founders of FAPA. Thomas Hughes was his chief of staff during this time period, and recounts how the friendship between Pell and Chen motivated Pell to work on Taiwan issues.

[It was] a special relationship between two significant but dramatically different personalities who during this period came together by sheer happenstance, bonded and really became true friends...working together [they] accomplished a great deal to help Taiwan on the road to democracy, human rights, and self-determination. [Pell] was then in his third of what turned out to be six terms ... He was both by his family tradition and his own personal interest somebody who had a lifetime interest and involvement in foreign policy. And he had a very very unique and unusual interest in, and affection for, Taiwan ... The other personality was Chin Dong Chin, better known ... as Mark Chen. [He became] an advocate for democracy and an end to martial law in his native land. Pell ... never forgot the lessons learned at Columbia and always cherished the affection that he had gained even from a distance for the people of Taiwan. (Hughes 2009)

Hughes said Pell's interest in Taiwan stemmed also from a fondness for small countries.

Throughout his entire legislative life, Claiborne Pell had a passion for what you might call "small states". In fact he had a passion for small states that he thought were being picked on by their bigger neighbors. (Hughes 2009)

Once Senator Pell became friends with Mark Chen, the friendship bothered the KMT. As a result, the KMT became very active in its lobbying effort with Pell's office. When staff from Pell's office met with the ambassador from Taiwan, they were told that Mark Chen worked with WUFI, the infamous terrorist organization.

Pell never could quite figure out what WUFI was. It really didn't impress him very much. But many of these accusations, I was present for many of them. They were done in sort of whispered innuendo. *"Oh senator, I wish I could tell you all the details, because you'd be horrified. But just suffice to say that these are very dangerous people."* Well at this point, Pell had come to know Mark Chen really quite well and liked him enormously. He was impressed by the fact that Mark was very understated, that he was calm, and that he had a very restrained manner. He felt he could trust him and that he could rely on Mark's version of events.

So you can imagine Pell's reaction the first time a CCNA representative... in the same whispered sort of way, told Pell that Mark Chen -- and he had this on the top authority from Taipei -- Mark Chen as a leader of WUFI, was a terrorist. Pell typically did not react, he was a very calm figure, but later he made it very clear to me that he was offended by this. He knew Mark Chen. These accusations were nothing more than a libel against his friend, and it just made him all the more determined to work harder on the issues that they shared. (Hughes 2009)

This friendship motivated Pell to help Mark Chen go back to Taiwan after Taiwan liberalized.

This was not an easy cause. In fact, one of my favorite recollections is when Fred Chen, the legendary Fred Chen, was then the CCNA representative here. And he came to see Pell as he did regularly, bearing some kind of very, very good news. So he came in and Pell expected it was something he really cared about. It wasn't. So Pell listened politely and he said very nicely, *"that's very nice, thank you very much, now tell me, what about Mar.."* and he just got the first syllable of Mark's name, when Chen went, *"Stop talking about Mark Chen, I can't do anything with Mark Chen, please don't talk to me anymore about Mark Chen."* Of course that didn't stop it. And indeed in 1987 they relented, Mark Chen was allowed back into Taiwan. (Hughes 2009) (See also "Mark Chen: from Exile to Lawmaker", Taiwan Communique October 1992)

We get a sense of the intensity of this friendship from Hughes' description of the last meeting between Chen and Pell after Pell had left the Senate.

In 2004 in Newport, RI, Senator Pell was very, very seriously afflicted by Parkinson's disease. He was in a wheelchair, slumped over, quite alert, but unable to talk primarily. And Mark Chen, the then Foreign Minister of Taiwan, came to Newport to present him an award and to give an address. In presenting the award, Mark got incredibly emotionally touched by seeing his old friend and by seeing his old friend so incapacitated, and ... he simply stopped and started to sob. One of the most moving things I've ever seen in my life. ...he went over and embraced his long-time friend. That was the last time they ever saw each other. (Hughes 2009)

The tight emotional bond between Pell and Chen was a key element in Pell's motivation in advocating democracy and human rights on Taiwan.

Pell's relationship with Chen reflects the strategic interaction between the Taiwan democracy activists and the Gang of Four. Pell met mainly with Mark Chen. Trong Chai, the first president of FAPA, related mainly with Rep. Solarz. Peng Ming-Min, the third president of FAPA after Mark Chen, visited mainly with Rep. Leach. This pattern of relationships was tailored to the positions and the personal relationships each activist had with each politician. Friedman describes the interaction he had with the Taiwan activists. "I just know him [Mark Chen] to be very good. He's a very nice person. I think he's a delight to talk to. I think he had a much better feel than the other two [Trong Chai and Peng Ming-Min] for the politics and political life in the United States. You could take him more seriously. ... I thought that he had a very good understanding of the difference between his cause and our cause so that you could have a much more honest conversation with him. We had no interest in promoting an agenda of independence." (Edward Friedman, interview with author, February 5, 2010)

*Cindy Sprunger:* Cindy Sprunger stands out among the congressional staff within the Gang of Four. She sparked Rep. Leach's personal interest in Taiwan, and she provided the emotional energy to sustain the activities of the other staff on Taiwan issues. She has a background as a human rights activist before the Taiwan democracy activists started interacting with members of Congress. She knew of, and interacted with, key people in the Taiwan independence movement before she worked in Congress. She was a natural contact for the more sophisticated Taiwan democracy activists in the 1980s. Sprunger was active in these movements during the 1970s, then she went to the University of Michigan for graduate school. She returned

to Congress in early 1980 and started working on issues involving FAPA. From 1981 to 1985 Sprunger worked with the Subcommittee on Human Rights while Fulton Armstrong, in Rep. Leach's office, was working on Taiwan. After Rep. Leach became the ranking member on the Asian subcommittee, Sprunger moved to that subcommittee as the Minority Staff Consultant.

Sprunger notes that the human rights angle was a critical issue for dealing with Taiwan in the 1970s and 1980s. Sprunger describes the human rights issues that involved Taiwan in terms of getting political dissidents out of prison and improving harsh prison conditions.

It was getting people out of prison, it was getting the head of the Presbyterian Church out of prison, it was getting other people out of prison, making sure there was no pressure being brought on Taiwanese-Americans for their activities in support of human rights. We took a staff delegation to Taiwan in 86 for elections to see how the election process was going, to see how the DPP was being handled, just to kind of monitor this evolution on Taiwan. (Cindy Sprunger, interview with author, July 25, 2009)

Sprunger says her involvement in Taiwan springs from moral motivations as well as her personal background. She appreciates the fact that immigrants and exiles can flee to the U.S. and put pressure on U.S. policy to agitate for democracy and human rights in their home countries. Friedman explains that, while Solarz had the most energy on foreign policy issues in general, it was Cindy Sprunger who showed the greatest drive on Taiwan issues in particular.

*Fulton Armstrong:* Fulton Armstrong lived on Taiwan and became an advocate for democracy and human rights during this critical period of time as Taiwan was liberating politically. From 1980 to 1984 he was the Foreign Affairs Aide to Rep. Leach. Armstrong describes himself as a "long, long student of Taiwan." He says Cindy Sprunger set up the "Taiwan camp in the House of Representatives in Jim Leach's office" before he arrived.

I started in Congressman Leach's office after four years in Taiwan, including some close association with government entities. I worked at the broadcasting

corporation for China and watched Taiwan from both the street and from inside the Kuomintang propaganda apparatus....We saw normalization as inevitable, overdue, and very much in the U.S. national interest. We didn't resist that. If we are upset about anything we are upset with the KMT's inability to prepare for normalization, to engage with the world community, including the U.S. a number of times in previous decades on how to solve the national identity or legal status issue. (Armstrong 2009)

Armstrong said the Kaohsiung Incident and the murders of Lin's mother and daughter demonstrated that the KMT was doing to crackdown during this period of transition.

The Kaohsiung incident and the Lin family massacres - those were huge powerful signals that they were not going to move, or if they were going to move, they were going to move on their own terms. (Armstrong 2009)

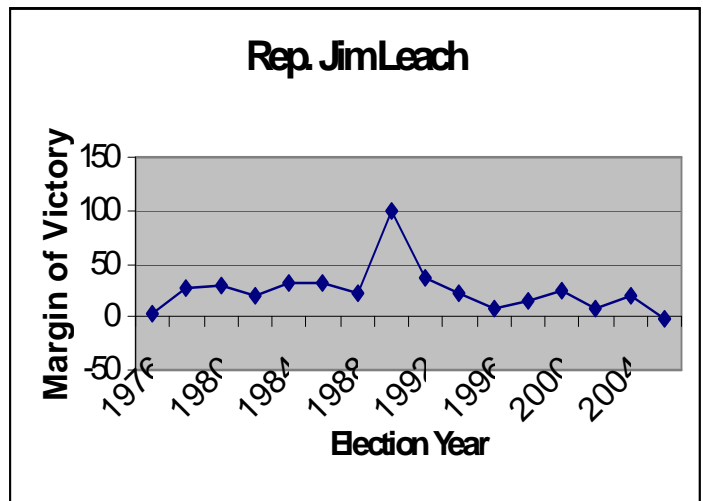
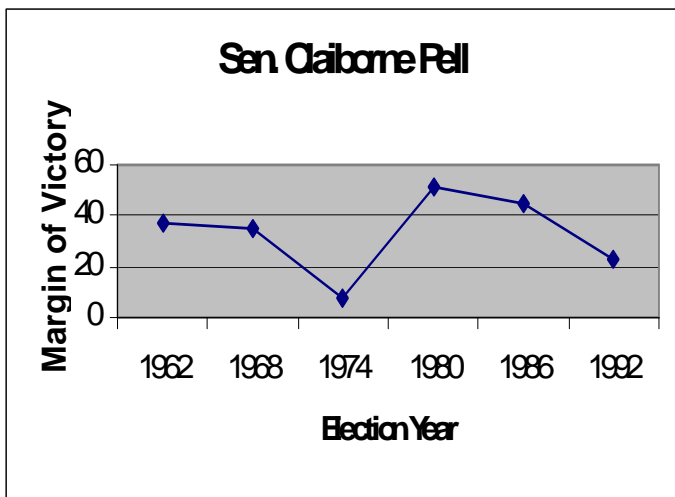
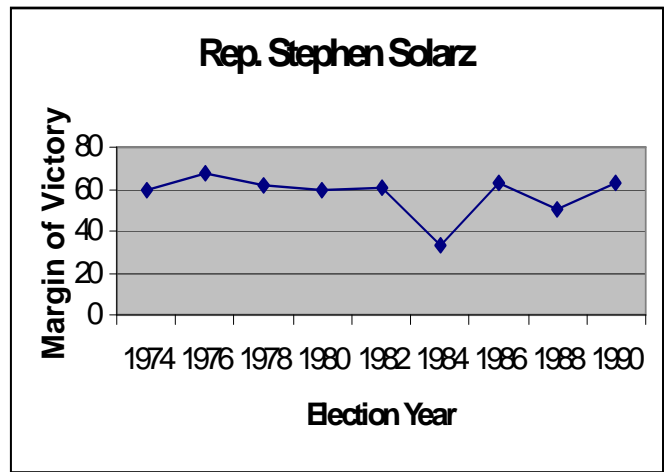
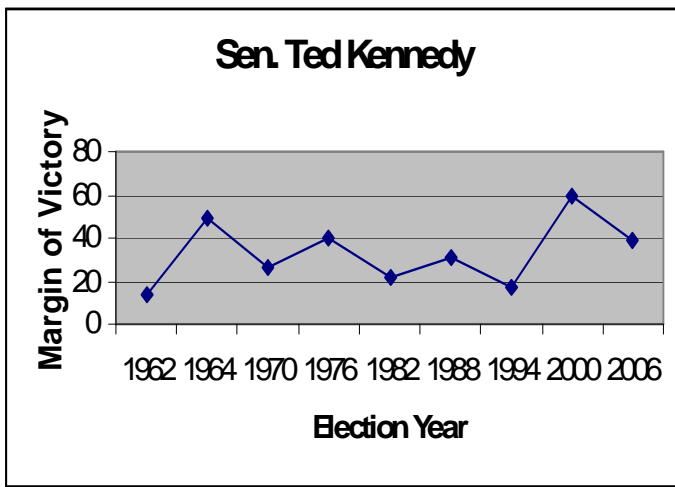
Armstrong says the recalcitrance of the KMT became the biggest motivation for the Gang of Four because the members of Congress and their staff were trying to fix the relationship between the United States and Taiwan.

We thought we were filling an important void in giving this relationship something more than the technical stuff in the Taiwan Relations Act. In other words, I think that what we were doing was encouraging... a new strategy, not just for our relationship with Taiwan and people of Taiwan, but for Taiwan itself. And that is: What [do] you do now with your national identity issue and your internal stability and democratization issue? ... we said ... Taiwan's governance, its survival and its national identity, all would be served with one magic formula, and that is human rights and democracy. ... it was the insurance policy that Taiwan needed. (Armstrong 2009)

The motivations for members of Congress and their staff derived from both moral convictions and personal relationships with Taiwan activists. The affective relationships existed both in the congressional offices, between members and their staff, and in their interactions with ethnic interest groups. Members of Congress and their staff expressed affective motivations in the ways they reacted to the human rights abuses on Taiwan and in the United States.

### Safe seats for the Gang of Four

As the four charts demonstrate below, all of the members of the Gang of Four had safe seats. The “Margin of Victory” on the Y-Axis represents the points separating the winner from the second-place vote-getter. In 1976, for example, there were four points separating Rep. Leach from his Democratic opponent. In 1962 there were thirty-seven points separating Sen. Pell from his Democratic opponent. In 1974 there were fifty-nine points separating Rep. Solarz from his



Republican opponent. In 1962 there were fourteen points separating Sen. Kennedy from his Republican opponent. Kennedy stayed in his seat until his death in 2009. Solarz suffered a district change after the 1990 Census and lost the 1992 primary. Pell retired in 1996. Leach lost

his seat in the Democratic wave of 2006. All of them sustained large victory margins over many election cycles.<sup>4</sup> Rep. Leach ran unopposed in 1990. His closest races were in 1996 and 2002 when he defeated his opponents by seven points. Rep. Solarz had victory margins above fifty points for all of his races except 1984, when thirty-three points separated him from his Republican opponent. Sen. Pell's closest race was in 1962 when eight points separated him from his Republican opponent. Sen. Kennedy's closest race after 1962 was 1994 with seventeen points (Statistics of the Congressional Election).

This political security gave them the freedom to become foreign policy entrepreneurs. As we recall from the first chapter, Carter and Scott (2010) categorize foreign policy entrepreneurs as policy specialists, process specialists, policy strategists, and process strategists. Both Solarz and Leach were policy specialists. As leaders on the Asian and Pacific Subcommittee, they were deeply concerned about American policy toward Asian countries after the Vietnam War and the recognition of the PRC. Both Kennedy and Pell were process specialists and process strategists. They wanted Taiwan to approach its democratic transition in the proper way without interference from the United States or the PRC, and find a way for Taiwan, the PRC, and the United States to relate peacefully over the long term. As policy specialists, Solarz and Leach responded first to specific events on Taiwan. As process specialists and process strategists, Kennedy and Pell focused more on martial law and democratic freedoms. They expressed this focus in their Senate resolutions.

The Gang of Four expressed their policy interests through the events on Taiwan during the 1980s. There are four events after the Kaohsiung Incident that provided the catalyst for members of Congress to act on their affective motivations. In 1981 Wen-cheng Chen, a

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<sup>4</sup> For election years and vote totals, see the Appendix B

Taiwanese-American professor at Carnegie-Mellon University in Pittsburgh, PA, was killed in Taiwan. In 1985 Henry Liu, a Taiwanese-American journalist was killed in the United States. In 1991 Huang Hua, an advocate of independence, was sentenced to a long prison term. In 1992 members of Congress learned about the KMT blacklisting of Taiwanese-Americans, preventing them from entering Taiwan after social or political activities in the United States.

### **The Impact of Wen-cheng Chen's Death**

Wen-cheng Chen was killed on July 2, 1981, by the Taiwanese Garrison Command (TGC) after spies for the KMT alerted the KMT to Chen's various political activities in the United States (Taiwan Communique July 1981, December 1981, October 1982, February 1988, February 1989). When Chen went to Taiwan to visit his family, he was interrogated and killed. On the morning of July 3, his body was found by local jogger under a fire escape on the campus of the National Taiwan University in Taipei.

He had 13 broken ribs, a broken spine and numerous internal injuries. Chen's family had last seen him 22 hours before when he was taken away by the Taiwan Garrison Command, the national security police, for questioning about his political activities in the United States. According to the official Taiwanese account, Chen was interrogated for 13 hours about letters, speeches and phone calls he had written or delivered in the United States. (Peterson 1981)

The KMT claimed it was an accident. This sparked a series of hearings by the Asian and Pacific Affairs Subcommittee that revealed a network of spies for the KMT spread across American college campuses. These spies reported to the KMT and the KMT applied pressure on Taiwanese-American college students by threatening their relatives on Taiwan. Through these hearings, the Asian and Pacific Affairs Subcommittee learned that immigrants who had fled other countries for similar reasons of oppression were being similarly spied on and targeted for killings or repercussions for relatives in the home country. Based on these findings, the

committee passed legislation banning U.S. arms sales to any country that killed immigrants in the United States.

The first reporting on Prof. Chen's death was done by the *Pittsburgh Press* and the *Pittsburgh Post Gazette*. Rep. Leach learned about the death and, on July 9, entered a statement in the Congressional Record requesting a speedy conclusion to the investigation. On July 10 Leach made a statement about Taiwanese agents spying on American college campuses. "Given the admitted surveillance by Taiwanese authorities of Professor Chen in the Pittsburgh area and the chilling message his death leaves with everyone of Taiwanese descent living in America, I am convinced of the necessity of highlighting the intelligence activities of the Taiwan Government as well as those of certain other foreign governments and to demand at the highest government levels that these surveillance activities cease." (Taiwan Communique, December 1981) Following Leach's statement, many other national newspapers and magazines picked up the story.<sup>5</sup>

Hearings before the Asian and Pacific Affairs Subcommittee began on July 30, 1981. Rep. Donald Pease (D-OH) entered a statement in the Congressional Record, as Chairman of the Human Rights Committee of Members of Congress for Peace Through Law, applauding the hearings. The Asian and Pacific Affairs Subcommittee discovered that there was an extensive spy network. This information was widely reported in the press.<sup>6</sup>

Fulton Armstrong described the investigation into Chen's death.

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<sup>5</sup> Articles appeared in the *International Herald Tribune* ('US legislator claims professor's death is related to spying by Taiwan students.', July 15, 1981), the *Honolulu Advertiser* ('Another Chen case?', July 20, 1981), the *New York Times* ('Death of Taiwan professor causes uproar on a Pittsburgh campus.' July 21, 1981), the *Wichita Eagle-Beacon* ('What happened to Dr. Chen?', July 22, 1981) and the *Washington Post* ('After police interrogation, a death.', July 28, 1981). (Taiwan Communique, December 1981)

<sup>6</sup> Articles appeared in the *Chicago Tribune* ("Spying on foreign students", July 30, 1981), the *Los Angeles Times* ('Taiwan harassment of students in U.S. reported.' July 31, 1981), the *Chicago Sun-Times* ('Taiwan spies on U.S. students, House panel told.', July 31, 1981), *Newsweek* ('Professor Chen goes home.' August 3, 1981), the *Christian Science Monitor* ("Professor's death linked to alleged Taiwanese spying.", August 6, 1981), and *TIME Magazine* ('Spies among us; outrage at a professor's death.', August 10, 1981). (Taiwan Communique, December 1981).

If you've ever driven to Pittsburgh, you have to go through this funny little truck stop called Breezewood. We met the Howard Johnsons in Breezewood... we interviewed his [Chen's] friends, we met also with [the] president of the University, we read the full autopsy reports. We were actually the official U.S. government custodians of the autopsy report and photographs and files in congressman Leach's office. We did all this not because we wanted to pick up dirt and make a political case. We actually wanted to make everybody appreciate the true shock value and have everybody appreciate the implications of what was going on here in the United States of America.

We got to look at a model resident of the United States of America, a model immigrant, who was a respected academic embarking on a solid career, a young father, a good husband, well-liked by everybody, being harassed, interrogated, tortured, and killed, purely for his political views.... political views that had been reported through channels by people at the University in Pittsburgh that we found to be a quintessential apparatus, a foreign apparatus repressing its people, suppressing democracy, and killing people ... we thought it was a very powerful signal. It was a warning not just to the Taiwanese on the island. It was a warning to Taiwanese in the United States: We're watching you, we're not just going to blacklist you, we're going to punish you.... We looked at how the KMT ran campus spy networks. (Armstrong 2009)

The congressional hearings were designed to send signals both to the KMT and supporters of the KMT on Taiwan who had believed in the good behavior of their government.

Rep. Leach presented a statement at the first hearing, on July 30, 1981, in which he described the intelligence network that Taiwan had created. He noted that files had been kept on Taiwanese students and faculty in the United States since the 1960s.

For more than fifteen years, students have been receiving parents' secret letters, hand-carried here by close friends, informing them of family harassment. A respected civil engineer working in the Provincial Government was told how "unfortunate" it was that his son associated with "Taiwan Independence elements" at Harvard and, coincidentally, was not promoted once during the last fifteen years of his career. A younger sister, accepted to study at a prominent American university, was denied an exit visa because her brother signed an open letter critical of the arrest of veteran Taiwanese leader Yu Teng-fa. A history teacher was denied a position in a national university because of his sister's "indiscreet political activities" at the University of California. Taiwanese in the U. S. are harassed too, particularly those who have commenced careers here.

They are told directly by Taiwanese Government representatives of potential or actual punitive actions that can be taken against them. It is common to hear of a Taiwanese receiving a note saying, "your visa application to return to the Republic of China has been denied" or "your passport renewal cannot be processed at this time (i.e., you must return home)." Another common message is: "Your application for property sale or transfer has been rejected spending [sic] clarification of a case currently being investigated by the Taiwan Garrison Command." When someone tries to clear up the problem through a Taiwan office in this country, he is either given a confession form (as well as an offer to become an informant") or a run-around. ("Taiwan Agents in America and the Death of Prof. Wen-Chen Chen", Hearings before the Subcommittees on Asian and Pacific Affairs and on Human Rights and International Organizations of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, July 30, 1981)

Rep. Leach said he learned that many countries hunted down and killed their emigrants who became American citizens. The human rights abuses practiced in authoritarian countries were routinely practiced in the United States.

Do not underestimate the coercive dimension of the reach of foreign societies in the United States. ... It took some courage of the pro-democracy people to become active... I mean the word "courage". ...for years... if you were a Taiwanese student in the United States, you would have reports on you made up. Every campus of every size would have someone reporting on everybody else. you were expected never to criticize the government...if you criticized the government, there could be ramifications for your younger brother ever getting a scholarship. There could be ramifications for your father's employment. This was a very serious phenomenon. And very coercive. ... I don't want to suggest this just of Taiwan. It was true in the Philippines, it was true in Yugoslavia - Yugoslavian-Americans, Filipino-Americans might be killed. (Rep. Jim Leach, interview with author, July 25, 2008)

The congressional hearings sparked many journalistic investigations and concurrent congressional investigations into the KMT's American spy network. The trail, followed by college newspapers and national newspapers, revealed that campus spying by the KMT was an old problem going back to the 1970s.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> News stories had appeared about campus spying at MIT in the *Christian Science Monitor* ("Spy charges surface at MIT", March 30, 1976). The University of Chicago newspaper, *The Chicago Maroon*, had reported on spying ("Spying charge found nationwide." May 21, 1976). The *University of Washington Daily* had reported on campus spying ("Students charge Taiwan government spies", December 7, 1977). The *Washington Post* reported on foreign intelligence activities ("Foreign Spy activities found rampant in the U.S.", August 9, 1979). (Taiwan Communique January, 1983, August 1983). For more evidence on campus spying by the KMT and other foreign governments, as

The KMT's spy network created a climate of fear for any Taiwanese students at American college campuses. In addition to MIT, the University of Washington, the University of Minnesota, the University of Illinois, and the University of Hawaii, the KMT had spies at Columbia, Cornell, Iowa State University, Princeton, State University of New York, University of California at Berkeley, University of Chicago, University of Florida, and University of Wisconsin at Madison (Glennon 1984).

Based on the information gathered at these hearings, the Asian and Pacific Subcommittee passed an amendment to the Arms Export Control Act.

Sec. 6. Foreign Intimidation and Harassment of Individuals. -- No letters of offer may be issued, no credits or guarantees may be extended, and no export licenses may be issued under this Act with respect to any country determined by the President to be engaged in a consistent pattern of acts of intimidation or harassment directed against individuals in the United States. The President shall report any such determination promptly to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and to the Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate. (22 U.S.C.A. § 2756 cited in Glennon 1984)

The problem with this amendment, Glennon notes, is that it places the burden on Congress to act on the information the president provides instead of letting the president act on the information independent of Congress. Moreover, it affects only states that depend exclusively on the U.S. for arms sales, thus limiting the impact of the amendment. The Reagan administration produced the U.S.-PRC Joint Communique of August 17, 1982, to commemorate the 10-year anniversary of the 1972 Shanghai Communique. This time, the United States promised to gradually reduce, and ultimately end, arms exports to Taiwan. These actions, from the president and the Congress, placed pressure on the KMT to dismantle its spy network in order to continue receiving defensive weapons from the United States.

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well as relevant laws, see Glennon 1984 and *Activities of "Friendly" Foreign Intelligence Services in the United*

## **The Assassination of Henry Liu**

The murder of Henry Liu was ordered at the highest levels of Taiwan's government. The KMT paid a gang in San Francisco, CA, to assassinate Liu in front of his home. While the death of Prof. Wen-cheng Chen was likely unintentional on the part of the KMT (Chen died after receiving multiple injuries as a result of his nearly 13 hours of interrogation), the murder of Henry Liu was intentional, took place on American soil, and thus posed a direct challenge to the Arms Export Control Act amendment.

Henry Liu was a Taiwanese-American journalist who was killed by KMT-sponsored agents on Oct. 15, 1984 (Taiwan Communique November 1984). Liu had published a book that was unflattering to Chiang Kai-shek. Initially the KMT was uncooperative in the investigation, but became cooperative as the FBI discovered that the assassins had connections with the Taiwan intelligence community and were following the orders of Chiang Hsiao-wu, the de facto head of Taiwan's intelligence organizations and Chiang Ching-kuo's son. The revelations that the KMT ordered members of a Taiwan underworld gang to murder an American citizen outraged members of Congress, sparking hearings and resolutions. The KMT investigated, and then tried, convicted, and sentenced the key people involved with the murder, but denied any connection to Chiang Hsiao-wu and the KMT. The widow of Henry Liu, Helena Liu, was not satisfied with the KMT's explanation, so she sued the KMT for a wrongful death in United States district court in San Francisco, CA. The district court followed the Taiwan court's rulings under the "Act of State" doctrine, but the federal appeals court sided with Mrs. Liu, arguing under the principle *respondiat superior* that the KMT government could be held liable for Henry Liu's death. Finally, the KMT appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court and settled with Mrs. Liu when it realized that the Supreme Court would likely side with Mrs. Liu.

Henry Liu's killing received a great deal of press attention, starting with the *Washington Post*, which reported that Liu was shot in front of his home in Daly City, south of San Francisco. Following the assassination, the KMT began a campaign against organized crime. On November 12 the KMT arrested Chen Chi-li, the leader of the "Bamboo Union Gang", Taiwan's largest underworld gang with 10,000 members, including government officials, business leaders, and movie stars. The KMT arrested three officials of the Military Intelligence Bureau of the Ministry of Defense, including Vice Admiral Wang Hsi-ling, who had ordered the assassination (New York Times January 19, 1985; Taiwan Communiqué February 1985).

Based on these events, Rep. Solarz called for hearings ("Coast Murder Spurs Inquiry in Congress on Taiwan Activities", January 19, 1985, *New York Times*) to investigate whether the murder of Henry Liu violated the amendment to the Arms Export Control Act. In addition to Solarz, Rep. Tom Lantos (D-CA) and Rep. Norman Y. Mineta (D-CA) asked President Reagan to request extradition. "How can Chinese-Americans feel safe when the President remains silent over this terrorism?" Mineta told the *New York Times*. The Asian and Pacific Affairs Subcommittee started its hearings on February 7 and received testimony from Helena Liu, Rep. Mineta, William Brown, deputy assistant secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, and Michael Glennon. Helena Liu expressed her belief that high government officials in the KMT ordered the murder for three reasons: "1) to punish him for writing about the ruling Chiang family; 2) to prevent him from writing books and articles in the future about the Chiang family, and their political and family history; and 3) to scare other journalists and writers who might also be interested as Henry was in writing about this family and its history." (The Murder of Henry Liu, Hearings and Markup before the Committee on Foreign Affairs and its Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs, cited in Taiwan Communiqué April 1985)

During the hearings, Rep. Solarz made the point that aliens living in the United States must be protected from their home governments.

I cannot exaggerate the sense of outrage which the reported involvement of officials of the Taiwan government in the murder of an American citizen on American soil provokes in me. ... Part of my outrage stems from the knowledge that this is not the first time that Taiwan has abused the freedoms of individuals in the United States. In the past, there have been numerous credible charges of surveillance, intimidation, and harassment in the United States by agents of Taiwan's intelligence services, particularly with respect to Taiwanese students in our country." (The Murder of Henry Liu, cited in Taiwan Communiqué April 1985)

Rep. Mineta spoke as the most senior member of the House of Representatives of Asian ancestry. He recounted the racism and denial of justice that Asian-Americans suffered in the United States. He argued that the Reagan administration's failure to condemn the Henry Liu murder was another injustice against people of Asian-American.

I am concerned about acts of violence against other Americans of Asian ancestry. ... I am forced to believe that if Henry Liu was white, then this case would be handled differently by our government and other groups. On June 19, 1982, a young American of Chinese ancestry was enjoying a last night out before his wedding, when two autoworkers in the bar with him blamed him for the troubles in the auto business. Such scapegoating is not at all rare, but in this case the two men followed Mr. Chin for half an hour, later beating him to death with baseball bats. For this crime, the Michigan courts sentenced the two men to \$3,000 fines and probation. Neither spent one night in jail. As you can imagine, protests mounted, and it took 8 months of hard work to convince the Department of Justice to indict these two men on Federal civil rights charges. When the two men were finally prosecuted on Federal charges, one was convicted of violating Mr. Chin's civil rights.

The same sort of situation appears to be developing here. How many of these cases have to be endured before the rights of Americans of Asian ancestry are fully respected and protected by our government? Americans of Asian ancestry are sick and tired of the failure of the Federal Government to vigorously enforce the civil liberties they possess as citizens of the United States. I urge this subcommittee to send a signal that the time has come to put an end to the hypocrisy that condemns terrorism against U. S. citizens abroad, but turns a blind eye to it here at home... We cannot allow Taiwan to be a safe haven for those who murder U.S. citizens. (The Murder of Henry Liu, Hearings before the

Subcommittees on Asian and Pacific Affairs of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, February 7, 1985)

On April 2, 1985 the Senate Foreign Relations Committee passed a Concurrent Resolution advocating democracy on Taiwan, with Jesse Helms (R-NC) as the only senator voting against it (Taiwan Communiqué April 1985). On April 16, the Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs approved the Senate resolution as House Concurrent Resolution 49, which called for an extradition agreement and cooperation between American and Taiwan authorities. This Concurrent Resolution passed the House as Concurrent Resolution no. 110 by a vote of 387 to 2 (Taiwan Communiqué June 1985). On July 31 the U.S. Senate passed an amendment to the Foreign Relations Authorization Act for fiscal year 1986. The amendment called for democracy on Taiwan. On August 1 the House passed the Act (Taiwan Communiqué August 1985). On August 17 President Reagan signed the bill into law (Taiwan Communiqué October 1985).

As the investigation continued, more revelations came out about the KMT targeting people for harassment. Chen Chi-li admitted to planning the killing with three top-officials of the Military Intelligence Bureau (*San Francisco Examiner*, February 24, 1985, cited in Taiwan Communiqué April 1985) On March 14, Representatives Mineta, Solarz and Leach requested Rep. Lee Hamilton (D-IN), chairman of the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence of the House of Representatives, to initiate a congressional investigation into the activities of foreign agents in the U.S. who harass and intimidate American citizens.

During a hearing in Taipei District Court on March 20, 1985, Chen Chi-li revealed that Vice-Admiral Wang Hsi-ling had told him to “teach Henry Liu a lesson” because Liu had written “bad things about our country and about President Chiang Ching-kuo.” Chen had received the order from Wang on August 14, 1984. For a month he received training at the Intelligence Bureau’s training school at Yanmingshan (“Grass Mountain” near Taipei). The Bureau gave him

materials, including Liu's home address and daily schedule. In the U.S., an associate of Chen's revealed that Chen had met with Chiang Hsiao-wu on three occasions. Chen recorded the conversation during one of these meetings. On a recording made October 17, 1984, Chen Chi-li had said:

Four years ago, government agencies of all levels came to see me, because I was originally the leader of the biggest gang in Taiwan. Moreover, I had great "hidden potential" all over Taiwan. Therefore the government wanted me to come back to the gang and reorganize the Bamboo Union Gang. The government wanted me to develop the Gang.... The main purpose was to deal with the non-KMT politicians and Taiwan Independence Movement members. (Taiwan Communiqué April 1985)

On April 9, 1985 Chen Chi-li and Wu Tun were both sentenced to life imprisonment. On April 12, 1985, Vice-Admiral Wang Hsi-ling, Major-General Hu Yi-ming, and Colonel Chen Hu-men were tried for the murder of Henry Liu. On April 19, Wang Hsi-ling was sentenced to life in prison and his codefendants received sentences of two-and-a-half-years in prison (Taiwan Communiqué April 1985).

Media reports indicated that Chen Chi-li had been part of the KMT's systematic crackdown on domestic and foreign dissidents following the Kaohsiung Incident. The KMT had asked Chen to reorganize the Bamboo Union Gang as an unofficial arm of the national security apparatus. Kaohsiung "convinced the government that it needed to enforce martial law without dirtying its hands.. In the ensuing years, according to Bamboo Gang members, the underworld syndicate grew from 1,000 members to 40,000, forming a pervasive intelligence network that spied on opposition leaders and dissidents in Taiwan and gathered sensitive information on China." (*Los Angeles Times*, March 3, 1985, cited in Taiwan Communiqué April 1985)

Underworld gangs were used in Taiwan during the 1970s to collect information on dissidents and disrupt election campaigns of opposition politicians (*Newsweek*, "The Gangs of Asia", April 1, 1985, cited in Taiwan Communiqué April 1985)

Following the actions by Congress and the Taiwan government in 1985, the Henry Liu murder case was mainly resolved through the American federal courts. Tung Kueisen, the third killer in the case, was arrested in Brazil in September 1985 and brought to the U.S. for trial. On March 16, 1988, he was convicted for his role in the Henry Liu murder and sentenced on May 11, 1988, to “27 years to life” in prison (Taiwan Communiqué May 1988). Despite prison terms for the killers and the officials at the Military Intelligence Bureau, Mrs. Liu sued the government of Taiwan for \$200 million in California district court in September 1987 to link the murder with Chiang Hsiao-wu and the KMT. The district court cited the “Act of State” doctrine to deny summary judgment to Mrs. Liu. U.S. District Court judge Eugene Lynch said he was bound to accept the finding of the KMT’s courts that the intelligence director, Admiral Wang Hsi-ling, had acted on his own and not in his official capacity. The “Act of State” doctrine is the judicial system’s reasoning that the executive branch is given the primary role in foreign affairs and that the American courts will refrain from overruling foreign court decisions or trying foreign governments for their actions (Alford 1989). The district court’s decision was reversed on December 29, 1989, by the U.S. Federal Appeals Court in San Francisco. The court ruled that the KMT could be held directly responsible. The appellate panel argued that Wang acted within “the scope of his employment.” (Taiwan Communiqué April 1990) The appellate court used the legal doctrine of *respondiat superior* (Scheven 1991), recognizing that the “Act of State” did not apply in cases of human rights violations. On May 14, 1990, the KMT appealed the appellate court’s decision to the U.S. Supreme Court (Taiwan Communiqué August 1990). The KMT settled with Mrs. Liu on October 25, 1990, paying her \$1.45 million (Taiwan Communiqué December 1990).

## **Applying the Model**

In the cases of Wen-cheng Chen and Henry Liu, we can see the elements of the model. First there were obvious international provocations: the KMT was linked to the deaths of two American citizens. Second, members of Congress received information about both the deaths and the links to the KMT through American media organizations and congressional hearings. In both cases the hearings revealed the existence of a spy network. In the case of Prof. Chen, the network consisted of students paid by the KMT to spy on students suspected of dissident activities. In the case of Henry Liu, the network consisted of a criminal gang paid by the KMT to disrupt dissident activities in Taiwan and in the United States. Third, members of Congress were deeply personally affected. Rep. Mineta spoke about his sense that Asian-Americans were being killed without bringing the killers to justice. Fourth, members of Congress took the path of least resistance. They knew the Reagan administration was unresponsive to these events, so they held hearings and passed non-binding concurrent congressional resolutions to signal to the KMT how they wished these cases to be resolved. If the Reagan Administration had been more vocal about the KMT's activities and active in resolving these criminal cases, members of Congress would likely not have held hearings or passed resolutions. Rep. Leach's office would likely not have been the official U.S. government custodians of the autopsy report, photographs, and files in Prof. Chen's case.

## **Congressional reactions to political oppression on Taiwan and Taiwan's response**

Congress responded to the deaths of Taiwanese-American citizens as a function of its investigative role. Congress is not obligated to respond to political oppression in other countries. Yet, in the case of Taiwan it did exactly that. Members of Congress responded to arbitrary

arrests, bad prison conditions, curtailment of press freedoms, persecution of the Presbyterian Church, and martial law. For example, the Taiwan Garrison Command arrested Mrs. Lee Ya-ping on September 17, 1985 while she was visiting Taiwan, for publishing the *International Daily News*, a Chinese-language newspaper in Los Angeles. The State Department immediately published a statement, saying, “Arresting a United States newspaper publisher for her professional activities in the United States must be seen as an act of intimidation and harassment directed against individuals in the United States. We are asking the Taiwan authorities to review the case immediately and to release Ms. Lee without further delay.” (Taiwan Communique October 1985) On September 19, Rep. Solarz, issued a statement, saying that the arrest of Lee Ya-ping was like the murder of Henry Liu, and “a frightening example of the long arm of Taiwan’s martial law tearing at the fabric of American democracy. The authorities of Taiwan are not content to destroy basic liberties on the island of Taiwan, but insist on violating the right to free speech of people in the United States as well. The Kuomintang needs to be reminded that the State of California is not a province of Taiwan.” (Taiwan Communique October 1985)

The imprisonment of Presbyterian ministers and confiscation of church property became a catalyst for congressional hearings. The KMT made repeated attempts to limit the influence of the Presbyterian Church. Information about religious persecution in Taiwan reached the House of Representatives through a hearing on “Religious Persecution as a Violation of Human Rights”, September 23, 1982, before the Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations, chaired by Rep. Don Bonker (D-WA). The subcommittee received testimony from Reverend Dr. Arie Brouwer, General Secretary of the Reformed Church in America, Dr. Shoki Coe, former director of Theological Education with the World Council of Churches in Geneva, and Mr. Tong Hwan Moon, pastor of the Capital Union Presbyterian Church. Their

testimony revealed that over the course of the 1980s, the KMT tried many ways to limit the influence of the Presbyterian Church, including preventing the church from being represented at international meetings and trying to infiltrate the church to control its governance. The KMT focused on the Presbyterian Church for persecution because it is the oldest Protestant Church in Taiwan, with over 170,000 members at that time, and was often the first organization to condemn bad prison conditions, violations of press freedoms, and other forms of political oppression.

Congress responded swiftly to any incidents on Taiwan intended to prevent opponents of the KMT from advocating democracy, especially their arrest under martial law. For example, on May 20, the Gang of Four – Rep. Solarz, Rep. Leach, Sen. Kennedy, Sen. Pell – held a press conference to urge Taiwan to end 33 years of martial law (“Congressmen Ask Reagan to Press for End to Martial Law in Taiwan,” *New York Times*, May 25, 1982). The Gang of Four repeated these press conferences every May 20 until 1987 (Taiwan Communiqué June 1983, August 1984, May 1986, May 1987, September 1987). That same day, May 20, 1982, the Asian and Pacific Affairs Subcommittee held a hearing on “Martial Law on Taiwan and United States Foreign Policy Interests.” The subcommittee passed Resolution 591, calling for the end of martial law in Taiwan.

On February 28, 1983, the United States Senate passed a resolution that called for Taiwan’s future to “be settled peacefully, free of coercion and in a manner acceptable to the people on Taiwan.” The same resolution was introduced in the House by Representatives Solarz and Leach the next day. To recognize 35 years of martial law on May 20, 1984, Sen. Pell urged Taiwan to lift martial law. On May 31 the Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs held a hearing and passed House Concurrent Resolution 344 “Expressing the sense of Congress

concerning the need to achieve full democracy in Taiwan”. On November 18, Solarz and Leach introduced House Concurrent Resolution 233 expressing concern about the lack of political freedom and freedom of expression in Taiwan (Taiwan Communiqué January 1986). On March 25, 1986, Senators Kennedy and Pell introduced Senate Concurrent Resolution 121 calling on the Taiwan authorities to allow the formation of genuine opposition parties, end censorship and guarantee freedom of speech, expression and assembly, and move towards full representative government (Taiwan Communiqué May 1986). In June, 1987, the House of Representatives passed an amendment to the State Department Authorization Bill calling for sustained progress “towards a fully democratic system of government on Taiwan.” In October 1987, the Senate approved a similar amendment urging democratization on Taiwan.

These efforts by members of Congress to pressure the KMT to liberalize began to produce results. After Congress passed resolutions in 1983 urging Taiwan to lift martial law and create a viable democracy, the KMT began to make some changes. They demoted General Wang Sheng, the internal security czar, after he was scolded by members of Congress for brutal police methods. The KMT allowed four non-KMT politicians to visit the U.S. and tour college campuses. The KMT also granted exit visas to the wives of two men imprisoned for the Kaohsiung incident (Eduardo Lachia, *Asian Wall Street Journal*, August 12, 1983, cited in Taiwan Communiqué June 1984).

On July 14, 1987, Taiwan ended martial law (Taiwan Communiqué September 1987). One explanation for Taiwan’s responsiveness to Congressional actions is that the original Gang of Four was building a following, including former Vice-President Walter Mondale, Senator Gary Hart (D-CO), Sen. Frank Murkowski (R-AK), Sen. Frank Lautenberg (D-NJ), Sen. John Glenn (D-OH), Sen. David Durenberger (R-MN), and Rep. Pease. These and other members of

Congress kept the pressure on Taiwan by repeatedly submitting congressional resolutions. This demonstrates two things. First, it shows the power of a coalition that is assembled by political entrepreneurs. Second, it shows the power of non-binding resolutions, subcommittee hearings, and press conferences to repeatedly send a signal for a country to change its domestic behavior.

### **Switching from a focus on political oppression to a focus on democracy**

Congress continued signaling to Taiwan the need to create a viable democracy. Congress and FAPA became partners in this process. FAPA took the lead by lighting a “torch for democracy” on October 31, 1987, at the Statue of Liberty in New York. Runners carried the torch to the steps of the U.S. Capitol on November 3<sup>rd</sup>, where members of Congress, opposition leaders from Taiwan, and hundreds of Taiwanese-Americans witnesses greeted FAPA Executive Director Trong Chai carrying the torch. In addition to the Gang of Four, speakers included Sen. Lautenberg and Rep. Pease, who called for general parliamentary elections in Taiwan. After this rally, the torch traveled to other American cities until November 14th, when Chang Chun-hung, an opposition politician who had recently been released from prison, tried to bring the torch into Taiwan, only to have the police confiscate it. Despite this setback, the “run for democracy” campaign continued until November 22 as mass rallies were held at 12 locations in Taiwan (Taiwan Communiqué December 1987)

Despite political liberalization, the KMT still cracked down on political opponents. On May 20, 1988, 4,000 Taiwanese farmers demonstrated against the agricultural policies of the KMT. The government sent riot troops to disperse the crowds, injuring and arresting more than 100 people. On June 10 a coalition of 14 Taiwanese-American organizations held a rally in front of the Capitol to protest the excessive use of force by the Taiwan police and call for a fully

democratic system. They were joined by the Gang of Four and Rep. Matthew Martinez (D-CA). Kennedy made a speech noting that “[a]lthough martial law is a thing of the past, other laws, such as the ‘National Security law’ and the ‘Assembly and Street March Law’, restrict freedom of assembly and association and of peaceful political expression. Individuals continue to be arrested for peaceful expression of their political views and Taiwanese citizens continue to be barred from returning to Taiwan because of their political beliefs. Restrictions on the press and curtailed access to the media by the opposition continue. The right to form labor unions and to strike remain restricted.” In addition, two opposition members of Taiwan’s parliament, Legislator Chu Kao-cheng and National Assembly-member Hung Chi-chang, were at the rally. It failed to have an immediate impact on the KMT regime. On June 16 the Taipei district prosecutor’s office indicted 93 people for violating the Assembly and Demonstration Law, and “committing the crimes of obstruction of official duty, and obstruction of freedom” (Taiwan Communiqué August 1988).

Another international provocation occurred on December 21, 1989, when Mr. Huang Hua, a member of the democratic opposition in Taiwan, was indicted for advocating Taiwan independence (Taiwan Communiqué January 1990). On December 8, 1990, Huang was sentenced to 10 years in prison (Taiwan Communiqué January 1991). In response, Senators Ted Kennedy, Claiborne Pell, Joseph Lieberman (D-CT), John Kerry (D-MA), and Paul Wellstone (D-MN) sent a letter on January 14, 1991, to President Lee Teng-hui:

Huang’s imprisonment is a serious set-back to the progress your country has made towards democracy in recent years. His detention clearly violates international human rights standards and contravenes the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights and Taiwan’s own constitution, both of which guarantee the right to freedom of speech. There is widespread public opposition in Taiwan to Huang’s imprisonment. ... We urge you to commute Huang Hua's sentence and grant his immediate and unconditional release. (Taiwan Communiqué April 1991)

Huang's arrest and sentence was part of a renewed KMT attempt to crack down on advocates of independence ("The KMT clamps down on Independence", Taiwan Communiqué January 1991).

A final international provocation was KMT's blacklist of any Taiwanese who engaged in political dissent against the regime, both in Taiwan and abroad. For those people who dissented in Taiwan, the government denied them exit visas; for those who dissented abroad, the government denied them entry visas. Eight hundred to one thousand people were on the blacklist by 1991 ("Blacklisting of overseas Taiwanese continues", Taiwan Communiqué June 1991). Between 1987 and 1992, many overseas dissidents were immediately deported once they entered Taiwan.

FAPA encouraged its members to communicate with their congressional representatives about this blacklist. FAPA also coordinated with the Gang of Four to help a press conference on May 20, 1992. FAPA argued that the blacklist denied Taiwanese-Americans legal equality and the human right to enter and leave Taiwan as they pleased, in that they could not freely leave or return to their homeland. Coen Blaauw, a FAPA employee, wrote a letter to President George H.W. Bush on May 7, 1991, stating the number of Taiwanese citizens in the United States who were on the blacklist, noting that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights declared that everyone has the right to travel in and out of the country. In response, Bush organized a briefing for ninety representatives of Taiwanese-Americans on March 5, 1992, which was the first such meeting (Chen 2007).

In Congress, Rep. Solarz introduced House Concurrent Resolution 248, stating the need to end the blacklist ("Solarz's Asian Affairs Committee condemns blacklist", Taiwan Communiqué December 1991). The Senate responded in kind when Senators Pell, Kennedy, and

Lieberman submitted Senate Concurrent Resolution 99, stating that the Taiwan authorities should permit Taiwan-born residents of the United States to return to their homeland (“Resolution on Taiwan Blacklisting in Senate”, Taiwan Communiqué April 1992). The Senate passed the bill on March 10, 1992. The House passed it on May 14. The KMT responded by phasing out the blacklist system. On May 15, 1992, the Legislative Yuan amendment Article 100 of the Republic of China’s criminal law so that political dissidence was no longer considered sedition (“Overseas Blacklist Disappears ... more or less”, Taiwan Communiqué June 1992; Chen 2007). This blacklist campaign had been going for ten years, since FAPA was first created, but initially FAPA did not have the resources to engage members of Congress. By 1991 FAPA had the resources (Chen 2007).

### **Applying the Model**

In each area of political oppression – the Kaohsiung Incident, imprisoning political opponents, censoring the press, persecuting the Presbyterian Church, arresting people under martial law, sentencing people to long prison terms, torturing people in prison – the oppression was reported by a variety of political institutions and organizations. Amnesty International produced reports on Taiwan, as did the United States Department of State. Information about political oppression also came to Congress through congressional hearings, as well as through congressional staff. The members of Congress who learned about political oppression were deeply personally affected. The Reagan Administration was silent, so members of Congress, including but not limited to the Gang of Four, used other means to communicate with the KMT. These methods included concurrent resolutions, press conferences, subcommittee hearings, amendments to biannual appropriations bills, rallies on the step of the Capitol, speeches in

Congress, and letters to both the executive branch and Taiwan's government. These activities constituted the path of least resistance for members of Congress.

The Taiwan independence activists communicated all of these events to members of Congress and their staff, if news of these events had not already reached them by other means. We again see bonding social capital as the members of Congress and their staff were deeply affected by these events and formed strong relationships with the independence activists. The activists helped to frame the events in terms of promoting democracy on Taiwan because the events were clearly attacks on democratic processes.

### **Path of least resistance: Small effort, big impact**

The Gang of Four became active primarily because Solarz chaired the Asian and Pacific Subcommittee and the Reagan administration was silent. Solarz told Lin that if he had not been chair of the Asian and Pacific Subcommittee, he would not have been as active. "I would feel my ability to have an impact would be much less." (Lin 2006) Fulton Armstrong expressed the frustration Rep. Leach's office had with a president from his own political party. Once the U.S. recognized the PRC instead of the ROC, the ROC stopped being a bastion of democracy from the Republican perspective. From the Democratic perspective, Taiwan's human rights abuses were no longer important. Thus, Leach's office decided to take the lead because it encountered resistance from the executive branch. "We tried to get meetings with the Assistant Secretary and even with the Deputy Assistant Secretary level of the State Department to talk with us, the lead people, and try to talk about what is this relationship, and what could we do to help. If you can't do it government to government, we can do it because we're Congress, and we had trouble doing this on occasion." (Armstrong, 2009)

In the context of this political resistance to acting on behalf of Taiwan after the TRA, the Gang of Four used hearings and press conferences to send congressional signals to Taiwan's government. Rep. Leach said that Congressional activities, notably hearings and press conferences have a symbolic power in foreign affairs that members use to advocate changes abroad. The American media tend to ignore announcements the reference foreign countries, but the media in those countries pay close attention.

The United States Congress is very symbolic to many countries in the world, and no place depended more on good relations with Congress than Taiwan. ... The Gang of Four symbolized Congress being an advocate of principles which were at direct variance with the KMT model - this was the great significance of it. ... at this time, the activism of just a few members of Congress made a very significant impact on a timetable of movement of Taiwan toward greater democracy. (Rep. Leach, interview with author, July 25, 2008)

Rep. Solarz explained that simply by holding hearings, Congress could send important signals to countries that would influence their behavior. "Many of the things we did in Washington that attracted scant attention in the U.S. media were often big news overseas. They were brought to the attention of people abroad through the VOA, the BBC, and the 'jungle telegraph' operated by exiles and Diaspora communities in the U.S. which closely followed events in Washington. For those suffering from oppression in foreign lands these manifestations of American concern were a source of tremendous encouragement." (Rep. Solarz, Excerpt from unpublished memoir)

From this perspective, even non-binding, concurrent resolutions that expressed the "sense of Congress" became valuable signaling devices for Congress to articulate its desires about a country's internal behavior. As the previous chapter demonstrated in the case of Uganda, non-binding "sense of Congress" resolutions send important signals to American corporations that do business with foreign countries and to their leaders and organized opposition. The signals communicate how Congress wishes a crisis to be resolved if the target regime wished to continue

good relationships with the United States. Congress is incapable of writing binding resolutions that have legal force on another country's behavior because acts of Congress are legally binding only on the United States. Yet, members of Congress do want to influence behavior in other countries. Passing concurrent resolutions through the House and Senate sends a message abroad, and Taiwan demonstrates that the intended audiences do change their behavior.

Another explanation for Taiwan's responsiveness to non-binding resolutions is the patron-client relationship between Taiwan and the U.S. In a patron-client relationship, a single powerful country provides security and economic assistance to a country that it thinks is strategically important. The United States has these relationships with Japan, South Korea and Taiwan (Bobrow and Chan 1986), Iran (Ghassemi 1988), Israel (Helman 2002), and Zaire (Pachter 1987). Within patron-client relationships, the patron exercises greater influence over the client than with other countries, and vice-versa. Therefore, individuals and organizations from patron and client states will likely have a greater impact on each other than individuals and organizations from states that are not part of that relationship. Solarz learned that his efforts were heeded by the KMT.

I've been told by Lee Teng-hui and [Chien-Jen] C.J. Ch'en [the unofficial ambassador to the United States from 2000 to 2004] and other senior KMT figures that, while they were very unhappy with what I was doing to focus attention on the absence of democracy and suppression of human rights in Taiwan at the time I did it, in retrospect they feel like I did them a favor by encouraging them to recognize the need of change if they were going to maintain healthy relationship with the U.S. One of the main themes of my speech to Tang-wai was the security of Taiwan which very much hinged on the support of the United States, and the support of the U.S. would be much more assured if Taiwan was a democracy than remaining a dictatorship. (Solarz quoted in Lin 2006)

The patron-client relationship between the U.S. and Taiwan helped the Gang of Four to have an impact on Taiwan's democratic transition.

An easy way a member of Congress could help an oppressed group in a foreign country was by making a strong statement. When Soderberg went to Taiwan as part of Kennedy's staff, the Taiwan democracy activists would arrange meetings with opposition groups and then work to get a strong statement from Kennedy.

What statements from Washington do...is give...credibility. It makes it a lot harder for the government to lock up the political prisoners. It gives a voice to those who are trying to change... it makes it harder ...for the government to ignore it. ...Kennedy ... worked very closely with his foundation for Robert Kennedy, which would give an annual human rights prize to various activists. So in China we were getting political prisoners out, and in South Korea we were getting political prisoners out. ... the minute he would give the Robert Kennedy Award to a political activist, that person got some moral authority. The government's not likely to execute them, they're not likely to keep them in jail forever, so they become a political force in their own right. (Nancy Soderberg, interview with author, February 10, 2010)

Kennedy made many statements and speeches on behalf of the Taiwan democracy activists.

Armstrong said the hearings and legislation that went through the Asian and Pacific Subcommittee were essentially signals sent by Congress, especially its Gang of Four, to the KMT, pushing the message that it had to change.

We kept trying to ... ask the ruling party and the opposition: What do you want to be? What do you want Taiwan to be? What is your party all about? And then we would say: How could Taiwan survive non-recognition... if this is what you want to be? Is this really your game? And the answer was always "no", and we like to think, it might be vain, but we like to think that us asking that, and having them answer the question themselves on both sides of the divide in Taiwan, was a useful thing for us to do and led to the changes that ... came later on. (Armstrong 2009)

Richard Bush emphasizes that the collective impact of the Gang of Four mattered more than any individual actions from a particular senator or representative.

What was important in bringing about the change that they all wanted - and they did all want it - was the fact that it was a significant albeit small group of prominent members. Their activities got reported in the Taiwan Press much more than they got reported in the U.S. Press. I don't think theirs was the major impact on Chiang Ching-kuo's decision. I think the major reasons were in Taiwan itself.

But what they did together and separately was not trivial. (Richard Bush, interview with author, August 4, 2009)

The transition from dictatorship to democracy on Taiwan was a dynamic that took place mainly on Taiwan, but the Gang of Four had input to this dynamic. Through joint press conferences, the Committee for Democracy on Taiwan, subcommittee hearings, speeches, and public statements, the Gang of Four and other members of Congress who followed their lead were able to send a clear message to the KMT about the way Congress wanted Taiwan to handle its democratic transition. This effort paid off.

### **Conclusion: The Global Congress**

Armstrong's description of the Gang of Four's activities reveals two important things about congressional action in the 1970s and 1980s. First, congressional actions, including press conferences, hearings, resolutions, and legislation, were motivated by events both at home and abroad. The events were newsworthy mainly to the people from the home country. Second, the intended audience was the ruling party and the opposition groups in foreign countries. Congressional hearings were held to send signals to other countries. Those signals were received by the intended audiences, and the audiences frequently reacted in a way that members of Congress intended. These two facts suggest that the formation of American foreign policy was a global affair. In this sense, Congress was becoming an internationally representative body.

Leach says the House of Representatives suddenly began to represent the entire world, with subcommittees devoting more attention to immigrant groups and exiles.

This became a new trend and a new element in American politics, and also a reflection of another trend. In American constitutional history, if you go back to the founders, one judgmental call that fit then that doesn't fit now is the assumption...that the executive would have dominance in foreign affairs, because among other things it would have a near monopoly on knowledge. As time has

gone on, you have the smallening of the world in this globalization sense, the communications of the world that have shifted. And you have constituents who have concerns. And they cannot reach the executive branch. They can [reach] their Congress. And so Congress is beginning to play a more active leadership role in foreign affairs in ways very different than they ever existed before. Of which, this issue, of Democracy in Taiwan, is an example. (Rep. Leach, interview with author, July 25, 2008)

Soderberg also echoes Leach's observation that Congress is better positioned to address these global human rights and democracy movements than the executive branch.

Congress tends to be a little ahead of the Administration on many of these issues. Because you're a member of Congress, you have a little bit more flexibility, you're one of 535 people as opposed to the Administration making official U.S. policy. (Nancy Soderberg, interview with author, February 10, 2010)

This openness of Congress provides many access points to any transnational movement. The movement must be both passionate enough about its missions to personally affect members of Congress and their staff. The movement must be sophisticated enough in its execution to build a coalition of members of Congress. TIM has both of these qualities.

The problem TIM faced was that it did not have these qualities before the 1980s. It was passionate, but it directed its passion at the American public, not at members of Congress and their staff. It lacked sophistication in its execution. It recruited inept independence activists and tried to assassinate Chiang Ching-kuo. However, suddenly in 1980 the same activists learned how to build long-lasting relationships in Congress that are based both on affective ties and rational electoral calculations. Moreover, before the 1980s Congress was not filled with people who were naturally sensitive to issues concerning Taiwan. Affective politics would not have worked in the 1960s and early 70s. The next chapter discusses how TIM learned to be effective through FAPA in the 1980s and to the present day.

## **Chapter 4**

### **The Formosan Association for Public Affairs: Organization, Strategies, Successes, and Failures**

The previous chapters demonstrated that Taiwan stands out in American foreign policy because of its human rights abuses on Taiwan and American soil, and because of the dedication of political entrepreneurs in Congress to Taiwan over the 1980s. These same political entrepreneurs – Senator Ted Kennedy and Representative Stephen Solarz for example – also dedicated their efforts in foreign policy toward other countries, including South Africa, but within Congress only Taiwan consistently maintains political support, second only to the political support the Israel has maintained over three decades. This consistent support, despite improvements in Taiwan since 1987, is based on the efforts of the Formosan Association of Public Affairs (FAPA). In the same way that the American-Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) develops a membership base of people devoted to Israel that in turn cultivates political loyalties in Congress, FAPA develops a wealthy, passionate and sophisticated membership base, spread throughout the United States, that cultivates political loyalties in Congress.

This is what makes Taiwan different. There is no Cambodia Caucus, South Africa Caucus, El Salvador Caucus, Russian Caucus, or Ugandan Caucus in the House or Senate. In many cases the members of Congress and staff members who became advocates of those countries over the four decades since 1970 have left the House and Senate. The ethnic lobbies still exist. For instance, a dedicated group of Armenian-Americans, especially in California, still annually submit a resolution to a House Subcommittee to recognize the Armenian genocide, but there is no Armenian Caucus in the House or Senate, and this resolution almost never makes it out of committee. Many scholars have studied AIPAC's influence to determine what accounts for its political support in Congress, but the same focus has not been placed on Taiwan except in

two studies (Lin 2006, Chen 2007). This chapter builds on the research done by Lin and Chen by first showing how FAPA built its political support in Congress. Next, this chapter demonstrates how FAPA sustains its political support in Congress, but with fewer resources than AIPIC and fewer resources even than TECRO, the official lobby associated with Taiwan's government. This political support does not always produce the results FAPA wants in terms of resolutions, legislation, and ultimately *de jure* independence for Taiwan, but the successes are based on consistent strategies, just as the failures are based on consistent mistakes. It is these strategies and mistakes that this chapter will discuss.

### **Shifting strategy: From independence to democracy**

Why has FAPA, as a representative of the Taiwan independence movement, been able to accomplish so much substantive congressional activity, as revealed in Chapter Three, while still being ostensibly for independence? The answer is that the independence movement shifted strategy by presenting itself to Congress as the Taiwan democracy movement.

The international and domestic changes during the 1970s provided a window of opportunity for activists, but those activists - specifically Trong Chai and Peng Ming-Min - had to recover from the stigma of violence associated with the TIM since the failed assassination of Chiang Ching-kuo. This recovery, or renunciation of violence, required two distinct steps. The first step was to identify more closely with the larger Taiwan democracy movement instead of the smaller Taiwan independence movement. This had to be done while still retaining the loyalty of the Taiwan independence activists who had been agitating for Taiwan's *de jure* independence since the 228 Incident. The second step was making the strategic transition from organizing just the Taiwan Diaspora to making political connections in the House and Senate.

Rep. Leach explained how, from the perspective of the Gang of Four, the independence activists began to identify with the democracy movement:

The word independence doesn't exactly fit this circumstance at that time. ... It would never fit me for example. I was never an advocate for independence. ... In world affairs, there are two concepts that are generally synonymous: One being the word independence, the other being self-determination. But Taiwan was the one place in the planet that these two concepts were juxtaposed. If Taiwan ever declared independence it would lose its self-determination. If it refused to walk down the independence route, it would have a lot of self-determination.

This became a movement that was not an independence movement that the Gang of Four was interested in. It was a pro-democracy movement ... so the group that I became quite active in, and basically established ... was pro-democracy where we pressed for the movement of Taiwan in a more democratic direction. ... And this movement was one aimed at getting people who were dissenting out of jail, and those who were jailed at the time were those who were seeking democracy. (Rep. Leach, interview with author, July 25, 2008)

Friedman said the Gang of Four was an alliance between liberal Democrats and progressive Republicans. “There is a natural relationship between the liberal Republicans, the moderate Republicans, and the more human-rights-oriented Democrats - which is how you’re going to get your Gang of Four - on the side of this kind of foreign policy.” (Edward Friedman, interview with author, February 5, 2010) Leach said one of the challenges the Gang of Four faced was translating the desires for independence, shared widely among Taiwan activists at that time, into more moderate policy that could be endorsed by the entire Congress.

Now in the United States in this particular era, the majority of Taiwanese activists were pro-independence. But that did not mean that that was the direction of those that were active in this Gang of Four, although I think if you had surveyed most members of Congress, they might say, “well, independence makes sense”. I don’t think most knew the repercussions that would follow, which would have been gigantic. ... with each passing year they become more gigantic. (Rep. Leach, interview with author, July 25, 2008)

This tension between *de jure* independence and *de facto* independence was an ongoing struggle in Congress during the 1980s. It was also reflected in Taiwanese-Americans at the same time.

Among Taiwanese-Americans and the larger Taiwan Diaspora that left Taiwan following the 228 Incident, there is significant disagreement about the virtues of *de jure* independence versus the *de facto* independence that Taiwan has enjoyed since the end of World War II. During the 10-year period from 1977 to 1987, advocates for democracy on Taiwan could find much more common ground amongst themselves than could advocates of Taiwan independence. The Taiwan democracy movement also found common ground with human rights and democracy activists in the United States and around the world because the need for democracy on Taiwan was obvious and because it connected with the larger human rights concerns that were prominent in the 1970s.

In order to acquire political viability in the American political system, Taiwan independence activists understood that advocating independence for Taiwan would violate the “One China” policy that had been established in the Shanghai Communique. Key activists advocated democracy for Taiwan when they communicated with the offices of Rep. Stephen Solarz, Rep. Jim Leach, Sen. Edward Kennedy and Sen. Claiborne Pell. The staff members from these offices said they would have avoided meetings with Taiwan independence activists. For example, Cindy Sprunger explained that the only possible way the Taiwan democracy movement could make an impact on U.S. policy toward Taiwan was by leaving “independence” out of its language so that the US could maintain critical ambiguity, or what Henry Kissinger called “constructive ambiguity” after the US signed the Shanghai Communique. Maintaining this ambiguity was a necessity for any group of Taiwanese-Americans that wanted to get a hearing in Congress. Pei-te Lien, Professor of Political Science at the University of California, Santa Barbara, said the independence activists were able to successfully morph into democracy activists when they approached Congress in the late 1970s because they understood by that time

that they had to take a step-by-step approach toward independence for Taiwan, and the first step was promoting democracy on Taiwan. She said there are at least three stages in this process.

“There was a ... liberalization stage... in order to push for independence you cannot just directly jump from authoritarian to this state that you want. There has to be something in between.

Liberalization first and democratization.” (Pei-te Lien, interview with author, March 13, 2009)

(See also Lien 2006).

The real issue for independence activists was thus not “what do we want?” but “how do we get what we want?” Analyzing the movement to independence as a three-step process, with liberalization coming first, helped the activists get access to appropriate members of Congress and their staffs. As these activists began to target Congress, they had to figure out how to connect with the American political system in a meaningful way. They learned that they had to share interests in the same outcomes with members of Congress and their staff in order to communicate. To sustain their shared interests, they had to tell a compelling and gripping human rights story that would capture the interests of members of Congress and their staff.

Robert Ross, Professor of Political Science at Boston College, said the reason the independence activists were able to become democracy activists is because they made a strategic political calculation, knowing that independence would not be supported by the U.S. Congress, but knowing that they could establish an “identity of interests” to build a coalition to promote democracy on Taiwan. “My sense is that FAPA as a political organization concealed their true intentions in order to have more influence on Capitol Hill. I have always understood them to be an independence group. They may say otherwise, but that’s what politicians do: in order to be influential they need to shape their reputation and their policies to maximize influence. ... They were genuinely interested in democracy as well, but once democracy was achieved they did not end

their lobbying. They continued to lobby.” (Robert Ross, interview with author, October 14, 2009)

By the time FAPA started to lobby members of Congress, democracy promotion through advocacy of human rights had become a common agenda. Robert Sutter said the primary concern in Congress during the 1980s was helping Taiwan to make a transition from authoritarian rule to democracy. “Most people who want Taiwan independence also want democracy for Taiwan... The people in Congress wanted democracy for Taiwan, too. ... I am sure there were hard-liners who wouldn’t want to do this type of cooperation on democracy, but they were pretty marginal I think in my judgment in the 1980s, and certainly in FAPA. FAPA’s approach was self-determination. Rights for the people of Taiwan was their focus.” (Robert Sutter, interview with author, October 7, 2009)

This strategic change begs the question: How were independence activists able to become politically savvy enough to start to build connections on Capitol Hill in the first place? After all, the key players remained. Trong Chai started WUFI, and he also served as the first president of FAPA. Peng Ming-Min served as president of WUFI in 1972 before resigning, then he returned as president of FAPA following Trong Chai. Yet, WUFI never developed political connections, whereas FAPA started building on political relationships that had already been established. What changed in that 10-year period, from 1972 to 1982? This question is especially relevant in Peng Ming-min’s case because he was older than Trong Chai and Mark Chen, and was brought on as president at both organizations because of his international prestige as an advocate of Taiwan independence. Yet, where in 1972 he proved inept as an organizer, in 1982 he became very adept at building FAPA’s Congressional presence and non-profit operations around the country.

Rep. Leach offers one explanation for the Taiwanese activists' success in the 1980s following their failures in the 1970s. He argues that it took about 30 years, from the organization of the first Taiwan groups in the late 1950s and early 1960s to the organization of FAPA in the 1980s, for Taiwan activists to learn how the American system works and take advantage of it appropriately. Leach refers to this process as the "maturization of citizenship" whereby new immigrants have to learn processes and "the limits of what can be said and how it should be said. And how to lead and how not to lead." (Rep. Jim Leach, interview with author, July 25, 2008)

Another possible explanation for the activists' rapid learning curve is that they were an informal extension of the official China Lobby, specifically the efforts of the government of Taiwan to build support in Congress for the ROC. In this sense, Congress had already been softened up by three decades of interaction with the Taiwanese government, and the democracy activists simply piggybacked on that earlier foundation.

Rep. Leach said the most important consideration for understanding the Taiwan democracy activists is that they were an updated version of the old "China Lobby" from the 1950s and 60s.

The Taiwan Lobby was one of the first major extraordinary lobbies from a foreign policy dimension in the modern-day 20th century. It became the model for virtually all of the others. And it was powerful in a cultural sense and in a financial sense. This is not a cheap lobby. What Taiwan did in American politics absolutely preceded any other country. *It is the model.* It strengthens your tale, it doesn't weaken it, and it makes it stunning. The influence of Madame Chiang Kai-shek and the Taiwanese lobby in the 50s was dramatic. And everything proceeded [from] that. ... I really want to emphasize to you how early and strong the Taiwanese Lobby was. ... And what's interesting in this regard is that Taiwan had already set an unprecedented model, and this was a subset of that model at variance with the direction that had historically been in place. ... part of your story is a break from the past, of Taiwanese lobbying of the US being all KMT, to an advocacy, not of the island, but of a group within the island, and precepts within the island. This is a phenomenal story. (Rep. Jim Leach, interview with author, July 25, 2008)

From Rep. Leach's perspective, especially from the Gang of Four, the groundwork had already been laid by the old "China Lobby" for the Taiwan democracy activists to start making political connections on Capitol Hill.

Ross offers another perspective that helps explain why the democracy activists were able to replace the official Taiwan Lobby. The China Lobby had become too oppressive, too willing to violate human rights, for members of Congress. The Taiwan democracy activists gave members of Congress a better story.

Taiwan has a nice story. You cannot help but like that story. And across the strait is a country with a story that is very hard to sell. Ideological support and sympathy for a little country dealing with big old nasty China. It's a good story. (Robert Ross, interview with author, October 14, 2009)

Leach was one of the few members of Congress who was very receptive to this story. As a former member of the foreign service and as a liberal Republican who was the ranking member of the Asian and Pacific Subcommittee, he had already made statements supporting human rights on Taiwan. Moreover, he refused out-of-state campaign contributions, and this gave him moral standing when acting on behalf of democracy in Taiwan. Leach specifically wanted to make Taiwan's government more legitimate for its own people, and democracy was the best way to do that. The democracy activists gave him the tools to accomplish this goal.

The strategic re-branding that independence activists undertook was very successful in a very short time because it occurred precisely when Congress faced a policy window on U.S. China policy. For 30 years U.S. China policy had been set by the president and the China Lobby in Congress. Recall that Congress passed a resolution asking President Carter to be informed of any changes in U.S. China policy. This was part of an effort to promote increasing transparency in the executive branch and greater collaboration between the two branches. When the Carter administration suddenly announced a new China policy without consulting Congress, members

became angry. The announcement symbolized not just a new policy toward China, but a return to the secrecy and deception used by the Nixon administration to get around Congress. Sutter argues that the timing was critical because the shifting alignments of Cold War politics gave members of Congress a foreboding sense that Taiwan would be sacrificed to the needs of détente with the PRC.

Congress had ... sort of a backlash against the [Carter] administration's policies toward Taiwan ... There was a broad, bipartisan concern that Taiwan hadn't been treated fairly ... So there was a lot of support for Taiwan... (Robert Sutter, interview with author, October 7, 2009)

This sparked moral outrage and pushed many members of Congress to seek resources to seize control of U.S. China policy from the Carter administration. "Sen. Ted Kennedy, who was quite critical in the handling of normalization, ... went out of his way to promote the Taiwan Relations Act." (Robert Ross, interview with author, October 14, 2009). (See Gwertzman 1979). The Taiwan Relations Act (TRA) was the legislative product of that effort. The political opening for democracy activist can be seen as the political product of that effort. The TRA did everything for Taiwan except create a separate immigration quota, and that issue provided the political window the activists needed.

### **Window Opens on U.S. China Policy: Taiwan democracy movement enters Congress**

When the United States officially recognized the PRC in 1979, the withdrawal of support from the ROC was devastating to the KMT government. The KMT suddenly faced an environment in which it was no longer guaranteed help from the United States. The only thing the United States promised was aid in Taiwan's defense in the case of a PRC attack. However, a PRC attack seem likely only if Taiwan declared independence, and the KMT had no intention of doing that. What the KMT did do was release its claims to authority over Mainland China. It

recognized that the US would no longer provide it with military assistance to retake the Mainland from the Communist government. Consequently, the KMT had to come to terms with the reality of its representative system of government. Nearly all the representatives had been elected from the Mainland, and they were dying. In addition, non-KMT representatives were being elected. Thus, the KMT faced pressure to make its government more representative of the population born on Taiwan, and it gave into this pressure during the 1980s.

The Taiwanese-American exiles faced a window of opportunity. While they understood that America's rapprochement with the PRC meant that it would not recognize Taiwan's independence, they also understood that the shift from security issues to economic and human rights issues, facilitated by the rapprochement, gave them the ability to focus on changing Taiwan's undemocratic government and improving its human rights record.

All that was required was finding sympathetic members of Congress who would champion these causes.

During the 1979 debate on the Taiwan Relations Act, Lester Wolff, Chair of the Asian and Pacific Subcommittee, traveled to Taiwan in the first Congressional visit since normalization, and returned with a vow to help the government and people of Taiwan. (Lee 1987). Rep. Leach demonstrated his commitment to Taiwan by putting an amendment into the TRA that called for greater democracy on Taiwan. The passage of the TRA was a key development in Congress because it compelled House members and their staff to articulate a clearer relationship between the United States and Taiwan. Fulton Armstrong, who worked on Rep. Leach's staff, notes how important the TRA was in focusing the attention of Rep. Leach on Taiwan issues. "We felt that the Taiwan Relations Act was a brilliant piece of legislation, but it was sterile. It didn't have feeling. It didn't really say what we were going to be, how our

relationship was going to be. It was quite technical, and I know that certainly in the Leach office, we felt that the relationship needed more feeling.” (Armstrong 2009)

During the debate in the House on the Taiwan Relations Act, Taiwanese advocates of democracy on Taiwan began communicating frequently with House members to educate them about human rights abuses by the KMT, arrests of peaceful demonstrators, and other anti-democratic practices. This education convinced many representatives that the United States government could no longer continue supporting an authoritarian Taiwan against the PRC if Taiwan maintained its anti-democratic practices, especially considering their widespread concerns about democracy and human rights around the world since the end of the Vietnam War.

Taiwanese-American activists used the common concern for human rights and Taiwan to establish a rapport with members of Congress known to be engaged by such issues. For example, Kenjohn Wang was a successful businessman in Taiwan and Brazil before immigrating to the United States. He participated in many community charity events, especially in the Taiwanese-American community. Local politicians always approached him for help. The passage of the TRA, coupled with the Kaohsiung Incident in December 1979, prompted Wang to combine forces with Trong Chai, Peng Ming-Min and Mark Chen to organize a letter-writing campaign to send 8,000 letters to Senator Edward Kennedy to show their concern over Taiwan’s arrest of the opposition activists on Taiwan. Kennedy responded in March 1980 by issuing a proclamation regarding Taiwanese civil rights, “vehemently reprimanding the KMT for its violation of human rights, freedom and democracy.” (Shu 2005) Trong Chai, Kenjohn Wang and other enthusiastic fellow Taiwanese-Americans showed appreciation for Kennedy’s help by holding a fundraiser banquet with one thousand participants for Kennedy to help him win the Democratic presidential candidate nomination.

The impact of the fundraiser on Senator Kennedy was profound. Wang said: “In addition to showing the consolidated power of the Taiwanese Americans, what hit Kennedy between the eyes were the achievements the Taiwanese have attained in all walks of life in America. He lavished praises on the Taiwanese repeatedly: the Taiwanese immigrants are the most outstanding among the minorities in America” (Kenjohn Wang 1999, 270, cited in Shu 2005, 441). Kennedy’s praise for the Taiwanese immigrants convinced Wang, Trong, and Peng to lobby Kennedy and Solarz to give Taiwan a separate 20,000 quota from China. The US Immigration Act of 1965 had set the quota for the ROC at 20,000 annually. After 1979 the quota applied to both Taiwan and the PRC. This outraged the Taiwanese-American community, which wanted a separate quota (Lin 2006, 142). This effort proved successful at the end of 1981.

Based on their success in changing the quota, Wang helped Trong, Peng, and Mark Chen start FAPA in Los Angeles in February 1982. He contributed to FAPA’s funding and bought the first office buildings (Lin, 2006, 145, footnote 62). They moved FAPA’s headquarters from New York to Washington, D.C., and started providing critical information to the Gang of Four and other politicians on Capital Hill. Mark Chen formed a close friendship with Senator Claiborne Pell (D-RI), while Trong Chai became very active in Rep. Solarz’s office and Peng Ming-min worked closely with Rep. Leach’s office.

Fonte said a key element in FAPA’s interaction with the Gang of Four was the presence of Taiwanese-American citizens in their districts or states.

Solarz is from New York. There are a lot of Taiwanese-Americans in the greater New York area. ... And Kennedy, in the Boston area a lot of Taiwanese Americans. Boston has its clutch of great schools, so a lot of Taiwanese went there. Same with Connecticut. Rhode Island had Brown and other schools. In Iowa there was a son of a famous dissident who was killed in the 228 incident. This man was a well-known scholar. He was the first Taiwanese to get a Ph.D. I think at Columbia. [He] was in Taiwan during the famous incident in 1947. He led, or was one of the leaders in the group that tried to get together and provide a

comprehensive list of their concerns to the government. And what the government did of course was wait to get more soldiers and then picked all those people up and killed them all. So both his sons were very active, and one son is in Iowa. His name is Prof. TK Lin. (Michael Fonte, interview with author, October 22, 2008)

Just as important is the time period. Many members of Congress, Fonte maintains, felt guilty about American support for authoritarian regimes after the Vietnam War ended, and this drove their support for Taiwan.

I think that by the time you got to the 80s, people like Leach [felt guilty] ... about US foreign policy...It's not like Jim Leach felt personally responsible for the murder of X, Y, or Z person, but our policy had been such to support that, so in that sense of guilt, yes. The Vietnam war had heightened the general public interest in the oppressive nature of U.S. Foreign policy, and this softened the congressional members who were active in foreign policy arenas to be more sensitive to guilt-type associations vs. African issues or European issues – just like Jewish lobby was able to capitalize on the guilt feelings associated with the Holocaust. (Michael Fonte, interview with author, October 22, 2008)

Edward Friedman makes a similar point about the period of time following Vietnam.

As a result of the American defeat in Vietnam, there grew a concern... that the U.S. should not be supporting authoritarian regimes and should care about human rights. ... Then you have the issues of the Shah of Iran leading on to Khomeini in Iran, and Somoza in Nicaragua leading on to Sandinistas in Nicaragua, all happening at the end the 1970s. And at the same time you get going in Eastern Europe Charter 77 and the beginning of Solidarity. And a context gets set in which there grows within liberal democrats a concern that part of American foreign policy should be supporting democratization. That, not to do so leads you to be involved with the Diems of Vietnam and the Shahs in Iran and the Somozas in Nicaragua, and the consequences are not good for the United States. (Edward Friedman, interview with author, February 5, 2010)

FAPA took advantage of this general environment to build up its political support in Congress.

The Gang of Four were the most active, but many other members of Congress contributed for the same reason.

Richard Bush notes that the relationship between FAPA and Congress had strategic advantages, including rational electoral considerations. He describes the relationship between

FAPA and the Gang of Four as a marriage of convenience that served its purpose until Taiwan liberalized politically.

Solarz was interested in developing as many fundraising bases as possible, and he saw this as an attractive one. ... The reason they were able to break through is the nature of campaign fundraising under the rules at that time made it impossible for a member of congress or anyone running for office relying on a small number of large contributions. That was prohibited by law. So you needed to create fundraising bases made up of a large number of small contributors. There are thousands of these little fundraising bases around the country defined by group interest or policy interest, ideological interest. The Taiwanese-Americans just happened to be one of them.

Solarz over time was able to create, was able to tap into, various Asian-American groups, none of which provided a lot of money in the big scheme of things, but to which he felt obligated to do something to show his agreement with some of their goals. There was a kind of marriage of convenience or like-mindedness between the Taiwanese and the members that they supported. ... On a recurring basis, the Taiwanese donors were willing to pony up money. ... In every two-year election cycle, which is when the fundraising occurs, members of the community would make their own individual judgments about how well this was working out. This was a relationship and understanding that was renewed incrementally. (Richard Bush, interview with author, August 4, 2009)

An article in the Washington Post (“Solarz Raises Travel to New Heights; Foreign Policy Specialist Uses Trips to Solicit Campaign Funds”, July 13, 1989) revealed Solarz’s fundraising methods with Asian-Americans.

Although he has more than \$ 1 million in leftover campaign funds and faced only token opposition in recent elections, Solarz has mounted a wide-ranging fundraising campaign among ethnic American groups from the Philippines, Taiwan and India over the past few years. ... Robert M. Hathaway, a Solarz spokesman, said the flow of funds in small amounts from the American-Asian community started unexpectedly several years ago when Solarz was approached by one of the groups, which offered to raise money for him because it liked his pro-democracy stand against authoritarian rulers in the region. ... Why does Solarz need to raise money so vigorously, given his \$ 1 million campaign bankroll? Hathaway cited Solarz's concern that redistricting after the 1990 census could force him to run against an incumbent in the expensive New York City media market.”

When I sent Solarz this article, he replied that it was “a snide and cynical description of the facts.” (Rep. Stephen Solarz, email to author, May 10, 2010)

### **Spreading Information through FAPA: Access and timing**

The reason FAPA became so influential as “the voice” of the Taiwan democracy movement, despite a great diversity of voices within the movement, and human rights activists in general, is because FAPA monopolized access to Congress and became a useful tool for Congress. Once FAPA arrived, it became the de facto path for all Taiwanese-Americans to interact with members of Congress. “If ... they monopolize ... access to ... members of Congress, then they have the power to represent back to the group their description of what those events are. And that becomes a tremendous resource for them in their organization. ... We wanted the U.S.-China normalization to work well.” (Edward Friedman, interview with author, February 5, 2010) The timing helped FAPA become a critical tool for Congress to deal with U.S.-China normalization. “The timing is so extraordinarily important. It really is that post-Vietnam War period, added to by the fall of the Shah and the fall of Somoza, and the Kaohsiung incident and what followed it... it’s really that set of events which makes sort of the conditions right, makes the soil right for things to be done at that moment in time.” (Edward Friedman, interview with author, February 5, 2010)

Another element of FAPA’s success was providing important information to key members of Congress. These included allies across the ideological spectrum. “In order to get [resolutions] through... the most important thing is to come out of the subcommittee unanimously [so that] .... even your most extreme hawk is on board on what you’re doing. [This] makes it more likely that the full committee will rubberstamp it.” (Edward Friedman, interview

with author, February 5, 2010) Friedman visited the staff of Senators Helms and Hayakawa because they were hawks. The appropriate tactic to implement this strategy is to have the moderates be the spark for resolutions, then have the extremists approve it. “If you don’t get [the extremists] on board, you are going to have a fight at every level of the game.” (Edward Friedman, interview with author, February 5, 2010)

Once FAPA identified the appropriate member of Congress to target, the organization started to tell the member about the human rights abuses on Taiwan. Michael Fonte was a Senior Policy Analyst at FAPA. He had connections with Peng Ming-Min at the University of Michigan and had lived in Taiwan during the late 1970s. Fonte explains that the human rights abuses by the KMT were obvious, so it was “relatively easy to get liberal Democratic congressmen involved because of democracy, human rights concerns. It also was relatively easy to get conservative members of congress, mostly Republicans, to support Taiwan because of anti-communism ... It was an ‘easy sell’ for people who were concerned about democracy and human rights to support the Taiwanese democracy movement, or FAPA.” (Michael Fonte, interview with author, October 22, 2008)

Nancy Soderberg was the contact for FAPA in Senator Kennedy’s office. She explains that FAPA quickly established itself as a credible source of information. “FAPA established its credibility pretty early on and it worked with a lot of the other human rights groups in D.C., the Asian groups that knew the issues...they were responsible... they were the most credible interlocutor out there.” (Nancy Soderberg, interview with author, February 10, 2010) Kennedy had a specific pro-democracy agenda with FAPA that included processes of political liberalization. “We always focused on the issue of democracy: You have the right to run, have the right to form a political party... civic rights, healthy ...checks and balances among the

various parts of government, a healthy press, the right to organize ... international observers, free and fair elections, that's what the international community was pushing." (Nancy Soderberg, interview with author, February 10, 2010)

Once FAPA was able to successfully ensconce itself in the halls of Congress as a recognized lobby on behalf of Taiwan, it faced a dilemma. As the official voice of the Taiwan independence movement it spoke on behalf of independence activists, but it could not advocate independence to Congress. If it drifted too far from independence, however, it would lose the support of activists. On the other side, if the group went too far toward independence it would lose the support of Congress. Yet FAPA has been able to balance this tension ever since its founding.

Fonte offers two explanations for this balancing act. First, despite being a grassroots organization, FAPA represents a small number of people in absolute numbers compared to other ethnic lobbies, such as AIPAC and Cuban-American National Foundation. This works to its advantage because it does not have to worry about pleasing a base that does not exist. Instead, it can rely on individuals with high social and economic status to approach members of Congress, in the same way that the Jewish community interacted with the government in the 1930s and 1940s (Silverman 1996). Fonte said FAPA learned from AIPAC's example. "AIPAC's ability to get local communities of Jewish-American citizens to work with their local congresspeople was I think the key element. ... AIPAC is everywhere, and where Taiwanese would be they would be as well. Because so many of the people who were activists were out of the New York and Washington area, and AIPAC is such a formidable force, anyone who works in Washington knows that. It clearly was an example to use." (Michael Fonte, interview with author, October 22, 2008)

Second, FAPA takes advantage of geographical dispersal: it claims a member with high social and economic status is in every congressional district. This enables FAPA to call on members to place pressure on their congressional representatives when necessary.

So what you had then was a very fertile pool of Taiwanese-Americans, very well-educated, very dedicated to seeing change come in Taiwan, People who are my age, in their 60s... who had seen the worst of KMT abuses, were really adamant that there had to be change in Taiwan. [They were] spread around the country, many of them stayed within the university spheres ... many of them stayed as professors. They were scattered around the country because of their professional interests.... They were very well educated... they communicated well. [This] made for a mix out of which they could get congressional support. (Michael Fonte, interview with author, October 22, 2008)

Thus, professional success and their geographic dispersion allowed Taiwanese-Americans to tap into geographic representation and get the attention of Congress. “Geographic dispersal was very, very important. Most Taiwanese-Americans are not rich ... but they are professional people, and they were able to work hard and make enough money to be influential people in their communities even if they were not rich...So they had connections in their local communities. They were known in the communities as people who were of some substance.” (Michael Fonte, interview with author, October 22, 2008)

### **Maintaining influence in Congress**

There are two key strategies, one at the congressional level, and one at the organizational level, that FAPA staff point to as generating successful outcomes. At the congressional level, FAPA cultivates tightly-bonded friendships with members of Congress and their staff, especially their staff. At the organizational level, FAPA is run by staff who are essentially a tightly-bonded family, which brings issues to members who get very passionate about anything involving Taiwan, no matter how apparently mundane it may seem to an outside observer. This passion

springs from love for Taiwan, dedication to improving Taiwan's condition, and intense loyalties toward each other. The staff members have been involved with Taiwan issues since before FAPA was founded, and they are often married to each other. By extension, they are often married to Taiwan. The staffs bring this intense passion and dedication to Congress. They share their love for Taiwan with congressional staff and members of Congress and thus build enduring political support in Congress. All of this is an example of bonding social capital, both within FAPA and in Congress.

### **Married to Taiwan**

The employees at FAPA are often married both to Taiwan and to each other, demonstrating the importance of affective relationships both in their concern for Taiwan and their work on behalf of it. For example, Michael Fonte, the Senior Policy Analyst at FAPA from 1986 to 2002, came to Washington in late 1984 and started volunteering. "I had known Dr. Peng when I came back from Taiwan. In 1970 I went to the University of Michigan. Dr. Peng had just escaped from Taiwan. He was under house arrest there and Michigan gave him a place to stay. So I got to know him there. ... I helped him do an English-language newsletter.... I've been connected with Taiwan for 42 years now [in 2008]." (Michael Fonte, interview with author, October 22, 2008)

Coen Blaauw, the Public Relations Executive Director for FAPA, has been working at FAPA for 21 years. He met his wife, Iris Ho, by working with her. They married in 2004. He graduated from law school in the Netherlands and decided to study the legal status of Taiwan because he wanted to distinguish himself from most other legal scholars who studied Japan.

Moreover, he wanted to avoid the more mundane activities of being a Dutch lawyer. His initial interest in Taiwan's independence has become a love affair to which he has dedicated his life.

When I graduated from law school I think in 1988, Japan was very popular. Everybody studied international law, so everybody wanted to do something about Japan. And I just wanted to stand out, and I just wanted to do something else, and nobody did something about Taiwan. That's why I picked Taiwan. I could have done Japan, but I picked Taiwan because I wanted to be different from all the others. But then the moment I got involved I got to know the people, got to know the issue, the more, I think it's an important issue. ... I could be a lawyer in Holland and taking care of international, car crash litigation and pick up a new issue every three days. But I think the Taiwan issue is one very important issue. I always feel that no matter what, the problems that we face ... ultimately Taiwan will be a full, independent country... every day we get a little bit closer to the ultimate goal. ... I want to be there when it happens...I've invested 20 years of my life into Taiwan and I don't want to step out now suddenly.... It's something emotionally... my in-laws live in Taiwan... I'm riding on the tiger and I can't get off. (Coen Blaauw, interview with author, April 4, 2010)

Blaauw says nearly everyone working at FAPA has been involved with Taiwan issues for at least a decade. "It's one big family. It's a mission really. It's a passion...It's not a regular job.... It's a cause I want to dedicate my life to." Gerrit van Der Wies, another employee at FAPA and also of Dutch descent, has been writing on Taiwan issues since the late 1970s. Like Blaauw, he is married to a Taiwanese woman.

In the late 1980s, when Blaauw started to learn about Taiwan, Europe was experiencing a wave of political liberalization. He assumed Taiwan would quickly follow. However, he learned that Taiwan is a tough issue in Asia because of its connection with Chinese identity. "Taiwan is so ingrained in the psyche of the Chinese as being part of China." Blaauw thinks Taiwan will become independent only when China democratizes or the U.S.-PRC relationship ends. Until that point, Taiwan will remain a "pawn in the hands of the big powers... like it has been for the past 400 years."

## **Congressional strategy**

Blaauw works with Ho on building relationships in the House. Gerrit Van Der Wies works on building relationships in the Senate. Blaauw and Ho develop an idea of an issue they care about, then together they draft a non-binding concurrent resolution. They identify House members who will likely introduce the resolution as well as original co-sponsors. Once the resolution is introduced, they recruit co-sponsors and then gradually find a markup in the subcommittee. They see the resolution from the subcommittee to the full committee and then, as Blaauw says, ultimately coach “the whole thing to the floor. So whatever it takes from beginning to end, that’s what I do. I come up with the idea, and I’m not resting until it’s passed by both houses of Congress, or especially the House, of course.” (Coen Blaauw, interview with author, April 4, 2010) Blaauw also writes speeches for members of Congress and press releases.

Blaauw identifies which members of Congress will be willing to champion causes for Taiwan. He says Taiwan issues are seldom taken up by members of Congress if FAPA and other Taiwanese organizations do not ask them. “Sherrod Brown, Congressman Andrews, Ros-Lehtinen...are the people we’ve befriended, like we did with Solarz, Leach, and like we did with Kennedy. We befriended these people on the grassroots level or here [in Congress]. We helped them a little bit with their campaigns.” (Coen Blaauw, interview with author, April 4, 2010) Blaauw said that, in the 1980s, when Taiwan still had martial law, it was easy to get members of Congress to care about Taiwan. It was an “easy sell.” In contrast, “the issues we campaign now are relatively -- to these members of Congress -- a little more luxury items... Taiwan trying to be [in the] UN. Some of our members [of Congress] say, ‘We don’t like the UN. We want us to get out of the UN. Why do you want to get into the UN?’ ... in a way, our issues are a little bit less severe at the moment and less on the human rights front. So it’s our challenge to make these

members of Congress still interested in our issues.” (Coen Blaauw, interview with author, April 4, 2010)

One challenge FAPA faces every day is figuring out which of the 535 members of Congress will be most willing to act on behalf of Taiwan. FAPA has few staff, so the staff must use guiding principles to select their target members.

Who do we pick? ... The people who we know well, who we are friends with ... The first line of defense is the members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. ... They have foreign affairs aides who know the difference between Taiwan and Thailand... So these are the people who really have been to Taiwan, they know the issues. (Coen Blaauw, interview with author, April 4, 2010)

Blaauw emphasized that any member of Congress who is willing to work on behalf of Taiwan issues is welcome, regardless of committee assignment. He cited as one example Congressman Andrews of New Jersey, who is on the Armed Services Committee, and advocated many issues for Taiwan, but not all related to the military. Nevertheless, the priority is to keep the members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee very informed.

Three more considerations help Blaauw identify a likely champion of Taiwan issues. The first is seniority on a committee or seniority in Congress. Blaauw does not want to target the most senior member, the chair of the committee or subcommittee, but he also does not want to target a person who is new and has no seniority. The reason is because championing Taiwan issues must help the member advance politically in Congress. Blaauw has observed that members with lots of seniority and a leading institutional position, such as Whip or Chair, tend to be more silent about Taiwan than members with less seniority because there is a higher political price to pay from the leadership. Speaking out on Taiwan becomes too risky. In contrast, members with some seniority, especially those who are ranking members or next in line to chair a committee, will likely seize on Taiwan to amplify their voice in Congress. It is very easy to be

ignored in an institution with 535 members, so Blaauw sees Taiwan as helping a member with some seniority attract attention without the risk.

We think members of Congress who are really up in the leadership have to be a little more careful... in sticking out their necks for issues like Taiwan because [of] ... the fact that they're so senior. ... a ranking member and the chairman will have their positions. When they were not chairmen of the committees, they were a little bit more willing to be outspoken. Now, whatever they say will be used and challenged by everybody... so these chairs of committees are a little bit more careful, and also the Speaker, the Minority Leader, the Majority Leader  
(Coen Blaauw, interview with author, April 4, 2010)

The second consideration is whether the member of Congress is in the party that is not occupying the White House. A member of the opposition party will have more incentive to challenge the president on issues like human rights and democracy than a member of the president's party.

At the moment, we have a Democrat in the White House, the Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee is also a Democrat, and the ranking member Congresswoman Ros-Lehtinen is a Republican. So she doesn't mind to challenge the Chairman. She also doesn't mind to challenge the White House. If there would have been a Republican in the White House, with Berman, a Democrat, chairing the committee, then I would predict that Ros-Lehtinen, who is the ranking Republican member on the committee, would be a little bit more careful challenging or supporting Taiwan issues because she doesn't want to get into trouble with a Republican in the White House. (Coen Blaauw, interview with author, April 4, 2010)

Blaauw admits that FAPA benefits from divided government, when at least one house of Congress is held by the opposition party. He remembers when Bill Clinton was president and Rep. Tom Delay (R-TX), the House Majority Leader, became an outspoken supporter of Taiwan. This changed when George W. Bush entered the White House. Suddenly Delay, whose party still controlled the House, became quiet about Taiwan. (See also Javits 1970, Tower 1981)

Thus, Blaauw advocates divided government. It is not just Taiwan that benefits from a divided government. Blaauw said that Tibet and other countries with causes that require

members of Congress to go the “extra mile” and “put themselves a little bit on display to support these issues” also benefit from divided government. “The effectiveness of FAPA on all issues ultimately depends on the power relations between the White House and Congress and within Congress itself. For example, during the 1980s, because there was a Republican president in the White House, it was easier for Democratic members of Congress to criticize an opposition president. Republican members of Congress can also criticize a Democratic president’s human rights or security record. If FAPA continues to be sophisticated in aligning their issues according to the power relations in American politics, they can continue to assert an impact.” (Lin 2006)

The third consideration is whether the member of Congress has a safe seat. In districts that are closely divided between Republicans and Democrats, Blaauw knows it will be hard to get members to support Taiwan issues because the voters may think the member is not working for them. For a lot of members “foreign affairs is not something sexy. It looks bad to their constituents. They don’t travel. ... If you care about foreign affairs... that means you care about people on the other side of the world. So foreign affairs is not really an attractive and a sexy thing for members of Congress to be too proud of, to be outspoken about.” (Coen Blaauw, interview with author, April 4, 2010) However, some members have safe seats. “If you’re a Dana Rohrabacher from California and you have 99% Republicans in your district, you’re a safe district. You can do whatever you want to. If you’re a Steve Chabot in Ohio’s first district, which district is 50% Democrats, 50% Republicans, you have to be a little bit more extra careful to stick out your neck for a foreign issue because it means that your constituents will not be amused.” (Coen Blaauw, interview with author, April 4, 2010).

## **Building relationships with congressional staff**

Another challenge FAPA faces every day is figuring out which staff to target for cultivating close relationships. The member staff stay at most for a few years, then they move on to another office, to the executive branch, or to the private sector. Blaauw says he deals with both challenges by building friendships that last for years after the members of Congress leave Capitol Hill.

The staffers are really the number one person to talk to because they're the specialist. ... members of Congress you take a photo with and you shake hands, and with staffers, you sit down and you brainstorm, you get stuff done. [It] is relatively easy to meet up with staffers instead of members of Congress. (Coen Blaauw, interview with author, April 4, 2010)

Blaauw said staff exits are difficult to deal with after building up a relationship with staff that have expertise on Taiwan. "The staffer that's best is the one who's likely to leave the office first." (Coen Blaauw, interview with author, April 4, 2010) Blaauw copes with staff departures by building relationships with committee staff, who tend to stay longer. "The committee staff tends to ... stick around longer and be a little bit more senior...so it's key for us, of course, to know these people." (Coen Blaauw, interview with author, April 4, 2010) But even in committee staff, there are problems associated with having too little seniority.

The problem is the members of Congress who are not on the House Foreign Affairs Committee or who are at the bottom of the Foreign Affairs Committee. They have junior staffers who also do foreign affairs, so it means he does armed services issues, he does foreign affairs, he does tax and health...because the Congressman has five staffers, and he just has to distribute all these 50 issues he has to deal with every day amongst his staffers. So these guys it's hard to keep up with because they move around all the time and just go from one job to the next. (Coen Blaauw, interview with author, April 4, 2010)

Despite these challenges with staff exits, Blaauw still finds a way to make turnover work for the benefit of FAPA.

Sometimes what works out is that somebody ...works for a Congressman in Arizona, and he becomes the LD [Legislative Director] for a Congresswoman in Minnesota...he was my pal in the Arizona Congressman's office. He will still be my pal when he's being the LD for Minnesota. ... [This] happened to me just a few days ago. We gain a new friend because my friend, my pal, went to the other office, and I'm going to ask him to see if he can help me there too. Sometimes it works out well, but most of the time, we just lose these guys, or they go off the Hill. It's critical to know these staffers, it's relatively easy to get to know them, but there's too much overturn...you cannot be friends with all these 435 offices, it's too tough, there's just too much. (Coen Blaauw, interview with author, April 4, 2010)

Time constraints, then, limit the relationships that Taiwanese activists can form with congressional staff. Blaauw, Ho, and Van Der Wies are just three people.. However, within these limits they build strong connections.

Blaauw prefers to start a relationship with a staff member who has very little knowledge about Taiwan because he knows that staff who are experts on Taiwan will likely have their own specific ideas about what do to on Taiwan's behalf, and these ideas may not match FAPA's goals.

It's more beneficial to me if I walk into an office and somebody doesn't know anything about Taiwan, because if I go to somebody and talk to him about Taiwan and he's completely a blank slate, then whatever we tell them, then they will take that as a basis for their... future action. ... it's easier to have an empty canvas. So somebody who's a specialist usually has his mind set in stuff which is hard to apply. (Coen Blaauw, interview with author, April 4, 2010)

Blaauw admits that for every staffer who leaves a member of Congress, the blank slate of the new staffer offers an opportunity to develop an advocate for Taiwan. This simple human connection seems to be the best way Blaauw builds friendships in Congress.

Blaauw spends the majority of his time keeping Congressional aides informed about Taiwan and saving them the trouble of having to gather the information for themselves. He provides information to 140 members of the Taiwan Caucus because "these are members of Congress who have already shown a little bit of their colors." This caucus is "a big chunk of

potential support.” When we spoke, Blaauw was trying to get a resolution introduced about the U.S.-Taiwan free trade agreement. He drafted the resolution and looked for someone in the Taiwan Caucus to introduce it. If a member of Congress introduced a resolution in the past, that member is likely to introduce resolutions in the future. He looks for members on the relevant committees. In this case, he was looking at members on the Ways and Means Committee. He was also seeking out support from a Taiwan Caucus co-chair. His basic task is

to identify the right person for the right job. I don’t want to go to the Chairman of the committee because I think that that will ... probably not ... work. Also I don’t want to go to somebody who is too at the bottom of the committee because then the resolution is not going to go anywhere. I want to find somebody who has been outspoken for Taiwan who has a track record ... in all modesty, I’m pretty good at that sort of thing. (Coen Blaauw, interview with author, April 4, 2010)

In the case of free trade Blaauw had to convince Democrats first to be taken seriously because the Democrats did not generally support free trade agreements. The Democrats added credibility to the resolution. Once he obtained support from a Democrat, Blaauw planned to get support from a Republican, such as Ros-Lehtinen, who was, at the time the ranking member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, “because she has some gravitas. She’s senior on the committee, so she will lend a lot of credibility for lower Republicans on the committee for sure.” (Coen Blaauw, interview with author, April 4, 2010)

### **Cultivating relationships with substance and grassroots passion**

Blaauw must approach Taiwan issues with two things in mind. The first is that Taiwan issues must always be considered in the context of the People’s Republic of China (PRC). He compares Taiwan-PRC issues with Israel-Palestine issues in terms of the context of every discussion. Most members of Congress care about the PRC first and Taiwan second, if at all, so

Blaauw focuses on bringing Taiwan back into the discussion of any issue related to the PRC. “If China wouldn’t be there, we wouldn’t be having this campaign, we wouldn’t even be lobbying today.” (Coen Blaauw, interview with author, April 4, 2010)

The second thing to which Blaauw pays attention is the moral element of Taiwan issues, because he knows, from past experience, that members of Congress and their staff want to deal with issues that have feeling, not just with highly-paid lobbyists.

A couple years ago, we did the Taiwan Security Enhancement Act... a follow-up of the Taiwan Relations Act initiated by Republicans in the Senate. ... we had a meeting with several lobby officers and ... the lobby officers said, “This thing is never going to go through the Senate. Why don’t you just forget about the whole thing” ... These lobbyists were hired by Taiwan’s government. ... after the meeting, the staffers for Jesse Helms, who was the Chairman at the time, said he was so disgusted by the fact that these lobbyists ...were being paid for. We were the only ones who really cared about the substance... So he said, “From now on, I am only going to listen to you guys, the grassroots FAPA. Forget about these guys who were paid by the hour to get something tangible to show to their bosses in Taiwan, to show that at least they did something.” (Coen Blaauw, interview with author, April 4, 2010)

Blaauw said FAPA’s strength comes from the substance behind its advocacy. Members of Congress are more savvy about who they meet with. “I even know some members of Congress who say ... ‘don’t set appointments for me with lobbyists who can bill their clients by the hour.’ ... Members of Congress are getting smarter about it nowadays.” (Coen Blaauw, interview with author, April 4, 2010)

Blaauw gets lots of help from the grassroots organization that FAPA has built since 1982. FAPA has 55 chapters across the United States. This organizational capacity helps members go to the district offices of congressional representatives to ask for favors and talk. “If it were just me here in Washington, D.C., and with Iris and Gerrit ... I think we could get something done because we are an established lobby efficacy organization, but having that capacity at the grassroots level makes a huge difference.” This grassroots organization helps FAPA do with

three or four staff what it takes TECRO twelve staff to accomplish. Blaauw told me what a legislator from Taiwan explained to him.

He was talking to TECRO and he said, “How do you explain FAPA’s success? They only have three staffers... You guys have 12 staffers, and FAPA is equally successful and gets as much support from Capitol Hill as you do, maybe even more.” ... The [TECRO] representative said, “No, FAPA doesn’t have only three staffers. They have over 2,000, 3,000 staffers all over the United States.” That’s true. That’s why we get so much stuff done, because we are everywhere. (Coen Blaauw, interview with author, April 4, 2010)

This grassroots support is useful because the members are so passionate about any issue that affects Taiwan. Taiwanese-Americans were, understandably, very passionate about ending martial law, the White Terror, and human rights in the 1980s. Over the past 20 years conditions have dramatically improved, but the passion remains.

Our members have been in the United States for 30 to 40 years. Their children were born here. They are Americans. They have been Americans for the past decades. But they still care about their homeland... about their family and their friends. I’m always surprised how much Taiwanese-Americans care still about Taiwan. I’m from Holland and I don’t really care much about Holland...there’s a depth in their concern and their passion, and they cry all the time...when we have meetings. (Coen Blaauw, interview with author, April 4, 2010)

With this high level of passion FAPA has never lost members, but instead gained them over the past 20 years, Blaauw says. The members constitute families from all over the United States. They were very disturbed about martial law in the 1980s, and they are just as passionate today about issues that are not obviously about human rights abuses.

Even today the little things, the relatively smaller things compared to martial law and white terror, like the ... free trade agreement ... with China that is currently being promoted by the Obama administration... [the members are] probably as passionate as [they were] under martial law. For the members, they just want to see Taiwan become a normal country and they can be outraged about the fact that President Chen cannot come to Washington, D.C. ... they can be outraged about the fact that... Taiwan only had week-long observership at the World Health Assembly [in 2009] in Geneva under the name Chinese Taipei and they were not allowed to vote. They are outraged about these things in an equal way as... when Taiwan was in really ... bad shape where people were thrown in jail all the time.

So passion and the concern is still there. (Coen Blaauw, interview with author, April 4, 2010)

This passion does not always translate into congressional support because members of Congress do not always share the same level of interest as Taiwanese-Americans. Blaauw admits that FAPA's job is tougher "at the moment" because members of Congress will say that, with martial law over, there is no longer a compelling reason for Congress to come to Taiwan's aid. Members of Congress will point to bigger problems around the world than what is currently happening in Taiwan or to Taiwan.

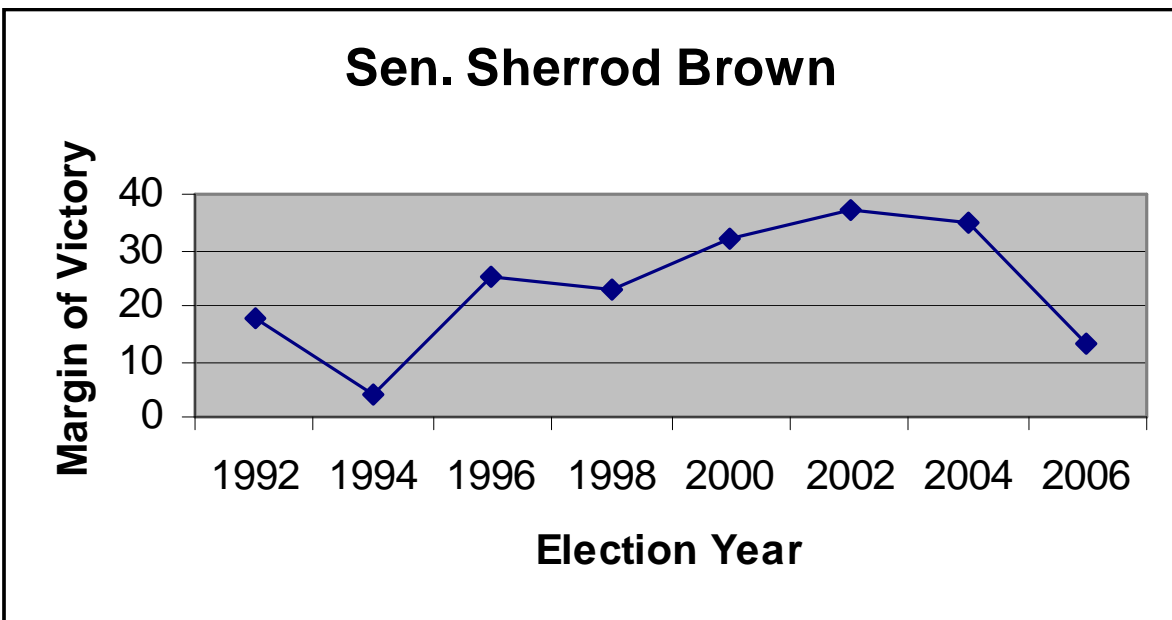
Still, despite the differences in passion, Taiwanese-Americans still get the attention of members of Congress and their staff because of their high status and willingness to contribute money. Blaauw said FAPA seeks out any Taiwanese-Americans who are willing to do something. Fortunately, many Taiwanese-Americans have high social and economic status as doctors, business professionals, lawyers, engineers, professors, and investors. This status gives them an extra voice with members of Congress. They volunteer for congressional campaigns and donate money to fund those campaigns. "Congressmen Steve Rothman from New Jersey at one point a couple years ago in a... meeting with our members, said, you know, 'If there's anyplace I want to have a heart attack, it's here and it's right now because I've never seen so many doctors in one room'.... our members are all doctors, scholars and professors." (Coen Blaauw, interview with author, April 4, 2010)

To compensate for the lack of official representation, grassroots members of FAPA start building relationships with members of Congress at a very early stage. Unlike Jewish voters who elect members of Congress, such as Rep. Stephen Solarz, to represent their concerns about Israel or Cuban-Americans who elect members of Congress from Florida and New Jersey to represent their concerns about Cuba, Taiwanese-Americans do not have the voting power to elect their

own members of Congress. Occasionally a Taiwanese-American gets elected to Congress, such as in the case of former Rep. David Wu (D-OR), but that is rare. FAPA encourages its grassroots members to cultivate relationships with politicians who are at the very early stages of their careers so that these politicians become personal friends and loyal supporters of Taiwan in Congress. An example is Senator Sherrod Brown (D-OH).

He used to be a House member... elected in 1990. ... in 1989 we were already talking to him in Ohio, in his district of Elyria close to Cleveland, where we sat down with him... he had never really done anything Taiwan-related, didn't know much. ... he became our number one supporter in the House of Representatives and later in the Senate. ... we just sent people who knew him, who were anxious to meet with him, who could take him for dinner... educated him from day one, and that's how we planted the seed for bigger Taiwan support... 20 years later. (Coen Blaauw, interview with author, April 4, 2010)

As the chart below shows, Sen. Brown has always had the luxury of a safe seat. In the House his margin of victory fell below ten points only in 1994 during the Republican sweep of Congress. In the Senate he was elected with a 13-point margin.



(Source: Statistics of the Congressional Election, 1992 through 2006)

FAPA is a registered under 501(c)(3), so it cannot give money to members of Congress.

However, members frequently give lots of money. The money provides extra support, but the real support is the relationship, the friendship, that develops over decades. “I always say that the secret to success is to make friends with members of Congress. You don’t say no to a friend. And so we’re very smart .... honest and true. I think it’s just human nature, human interaction.”

(Coen Blaauw, interview with author, April 4, 2010)

Michael Fonte echoes this point about seeking out congressional support at the very early stage of a politician’s career. In the case of Sherrod Brown, a key member of FAPA helped Brown understand Taiwan issues.

There is a man there – Masal Yu – who worked with Senator Brown before he was even a congressman, helped him understand about what it was about Taiwan, helped organize people in the district, I think west of Cleveland, and from that beginning kept in constant contact with Sherrod Brown. And, you know, people don’t forget the fact that you helped them when they were nothing. Same with a congressman from Ohio named Steve Chabot, and the stories go on like that.

[There are] a number of people who are strong supporters of Taiwan in the Taiwan Caucus in the Congress who were early on helped by Taiwanese-Americans. ... Robert Wexler, from Florida. Iliana Ross-Lichtenen from Florida. Dana Robacher is one of the key people in the Taiwan caucus. He’s just an old-time Republican conservative who’s anti-Communist and loves Taiwan because it’s not China, shall we say. It’s different people, but the strongest supporters I would say come from people who are touched by the Taiwanese story as told by Taiwanese Americans. (Michael Fonte, interview with author, October 22, 2008)

Going to a member of Congress early pays dividends in political support for the duration of the member’s career. FAPA members do not have to go to Congress to share information. FAPA members can go to people who are running for Congress, when the politicians barely have any support outside of a few close friends, and educate them, fund their campaigns, help them understand the nature of Taiwan’s issues, to achieve a deep personal impact that will produce political support in Congress. We can conclude that FAPA, recognizing its limited resources,

pursues a long-term investment strategy. It invests early, when its limited resources mean much more than they would to a well-established politician.

### **Explaining FAPA's continuing congressional influence**

Blaauw attributes FAPA's success in Congress to its careful cultivation of relationships among members and their staff. These relationships start by persuading members of Congress that Taiwan's issues represent "an American package of freedom, democracy, and human rights. It's an American piece of wrapping paper." Blaauw says members of Congress and their staff know American history, so they can easily recognize the American story in Taiwan's story, making it hard to say no to resolutions that represent Taiwan's issues. Blaauw uses the language of self-determination, freedom, human rights, democracy, safety, and security.

Blaauw drew a parallel between the American experience and Taiwan. When John Adams was representing the American colonies to the French during the Revolutionary War, Adams worked with French Foreign Minister Comte de Vergennes. Adams articulated Vergennes's American policy: "He means... to keep his hand under our chin to prevent us from drowning, but not to lift our heads out of water." (John Adams, David McCullough, 2001, 233) Blaauw believes the United States plays the same role with Taiwan today, and he is, in effect, playing John Adams' role.

Blaauw calls Taiwan a "good product", whereas the Chinese have a "very bad product" in Tibet, Taiwan, East Turkistan, and prison camps. The Chinese can throw money at Congress, but the money will not go far. Yet, while the issues have nearly unanimous support, the challenge is to connect the general issues with specific resolutions. Blaauw's job is to make this connection explicit every day. "We don't get rich from this, we don't make money, it's not for

our own self-interest. It's because we care about our brothers, sisters, families in Taiwan. It's an unselfish campaign that we're involved in." (Coen Blaauw, interview with author, April 4, 2010)

This emphasis on self-determination, freedom, human rights, democracy, safety and security does not mention independence. That is a very strategic decision by Blaauw and FAPA. Blaauw said the focus on self-determination helps shift the discussion to procedural issues instead of outcomes.

The philosophy there... is it's not up to us to determine someone's future, it's not up to FAPA or to me Coen Blaauw being from the Netherlands in the first place ... So we believe it's an American value, self-determination. Let the majority of the people in Taiwan determine Taiwan's future, whether that means unification, whether that means independence, that's only up to the people of Taiwan to decide. So we believe that is a better way to sell our product, and ultimately, you know, we believe that the people of Taiwan will vote for independence or will choose independence, whether it's through a referendum or any democratic mechanism. ... The current policy of the United States is that the future of Taiwan should be determined with the express consent of the people of Taiwan. (Coen Blaauw, interview with author, April 4, 2010)

Blaauw said the people at FAPA believe the United States is the only entity that can work with the PRC to help Taiwan determine its own future.

In addition, the American political system, with its institutional separation, is ideal for addressing these issues. FAPA focuses on Congress instead of the White House or the State Department because the White House has few access points while Congress has many, and the State Department represents foreign interests while Congress represents domestic interests. Congress is the best place to put pressure on the White House, the State Department, and the government of Taiwan. "We have the grassroots capacity, so we build up momentum in Congress, and the bills we write and do, they usually authorize... the State Department to do [something]." (Coen Blaauw, interview with author, April 4, 2010)

## Conclusion

In her study of FAPA's successes and failures, Chen (2007) asks whether FAPA's success depends on "the nature of the campaign issues or the domestic structure of the United States." Chen examines five campaigns, including the blacklist campaign (1982-92), when FAPA tried successfully to get the KMT to abolish its blacklist of citizens and non-citizens; the birthplace campaign (1992-94,) when it tried successfully to let Taiwanese-Americans to state "Taiwan" as their birthplace on their U.S. passports; the U.N. campaign (1992-present), when FAPA promoted Taiwan's bid for participation in the United Nations; the WHO campaign (1997-present), when FAPA campaigned for Taiwan's full membership of the WHO; and the Taiwan Security Enhancement Act (1999-2000), when FAPA campaign for passage of legislation to improve Taiwan's military arms. Chen concludes that FAPA's success depends on its ability to find champions in Congress and on the nature of the causes it advocates. (DeGregorio, 1997, reaches the same conclusion, noting that a "network of champions" is critical.) Causes that depart from human rights and self-determination concerns encounter obstacles in Congress. This chapter has revealed why human rights and self-determination matter so much. Moreover, this chapter reveals that both the nature of FAPA's issues and the domestic political structure of the United States are important.

FAPA's strategy has become more sophisticated. Not only does FAPA "find champions in Congress", FAPA *creates* champions in Congress before they get to Congress. FAPA gains access not only to the policy-making apparatus in the United States (Risse-Kappen 1999), FAPA gains access to the political process that provides the input for the policy making apparatus. The political process includes the uses of primary and general elections to select congressional representatives. This is a key finding of this chapter. Congress will pass a concurrent resolution

expressing the “sense of Congress” on a given issue, but that resolution starts with a human being – a member of Congress, a staffer, a FAPA employee, a FAPA member – and FAPA devotes its resources to the human being, both in Congress and on the campaign trail that turns candidates into policy-makers (Lowery and Brasher 2004) Money becomes an important component of this process (Kollman 1998). FAPA cannot contribute money to Congressional candidates, but its members often contribute time and money (Lin 2006).

FAPA’s strategy from one campaign to the next reveals how it became more effective. With the blacklist campaign, FAPA expanded its focus from Congress to the White House when Blaauw wrote a letter to President George H. W. Bush in 1992.<sup>8</sup> With the birthplace issue, FAPA expanded its congressional efforts from resolutions to legislation. This was successful because it amended an annual bill instead of creating stand-alone legislation (Chen 2007). The UN campaign failed because it was too political and had no connection to human rights or self-determination. The WHO campaign made explicit connection to human rights. The 1999 Earthquake and SARS epidemic turned the issue into affective politics so that members of Congress were deeply personally affected. Congress passed the law and Clinton signed it. The TSEA had a too obviously political agenda and it was an issue that was difficult to portray as involving bodily harm to vulnerable individuals or legal equality of opportunity (Chen 2007). With these lessons in mind, FAPA is focusing more on making the human rights issue explicit to members of Congress, and putting those issues into non-binding resolutions instead of legislation.

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<sup>8</sup>[http://bushlibrary.tamu.edu/research/china/1999\\_0182\\_F/c0034\\_01/c0034\\_01\\_238921/c0034\\_01\\_238921.pdf.s](http://bushlibrary.tamu.edu/research/china/1999_0182_F/c0034_01/c0034_01_238921/c0034_01_238921.pdf.s)

## Chapter 5

### Conclusion: Using the Power Game in Reverse to Change the Home Country

This study has attempted to make ten contributions to the literature. First, with regard to Congress, this study aims to improve on Mayhew's (1974) approach to studying Congress. Mayhew argued that getting re-elected is the proximate goal for every member of Congress, and that defeat is always a possibility. The findings of this study corroborate Mayhew's argument, but also give the other half of the story. There are obvious cases when members of Congress have become so involved in foreign policy issues that they lose their bids for re-election. Prominent examples include Senator J. William Fulbright (D-AR), who lost his re-election bid in the 1970s after his constituents decided he focused too much on foreign policy and not enough on Arkansas, and Representative Lester Wolff (D-NY), who lost his re-election bid in 1980 after his opponent argued that Wolff cared more about foreign policy than his district. This study finds that, for members of Congress who have safe seats, they have the luxury to focus on foreign policy issues. Sen. Edward Kennedy, Sen. Claiborne Pell, Rep. Stephen Solarz and Rep. James Leach all had safe seats, rarely getting less than 70% in an election cycle, and often having no opponent. This was the case for many other members of Congress who got involved with Cambodia, El Salvador, South Africa, the Soviet Union, Taiwan and Uganda.<sup>9</sup> Thus, these political entrepreneurs could afford to absorb the transaction costs that are normally associated with getting heavily involved in foreign policy issues (Epstein and O'Halloran 1999).

Rep. Solarz, as the most active political entrepreneur in this study, is the perfect example of the benefit of a safe seat. Friedman explains Solarz

felt that he was in a uniquely fortunate position, for essentially as long as he delivered on the issue of most concern to his constituency having to do with Israel, he was a free agent on almost all other international issues to vote his

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<sup>9</sup> See Appendix B

conscience, and he really had a conscience. ... You did not want to get America involved in ways that led to the quagmire in Vietnam, but you wanted to do what you could to promote democracy and human rights and to fight against authoritarianism. So he did have that as a global vision. He had that as a thrust from his earliest time in politics.” (Edward Friedman, interview with author, February 5, 2010)

Solarz may be an extreme version of a foreign policy entrepreneur, but any member of Congress who has both a safe seat and strong moral convictions is likely to become a foreign policy entrepreneur if he or she meets the requirements of the model outlined in chapter two. If a member learns about human rights abuses in another country and is deeply personally affected by it, s/he is likely to use whatever resources are available to end the abuses.

Second, this study develops the concept of political entrepreneurship by showing the conditions under which it is most likely to happen, both in a formal political context, such as the U.S. Congress, and in informal political life, in the cases of citizens and congressional staff. Political entrepreneurs organize diverse coalitions of supporters to achieve goals that they cannot achieve based solely on their own roles. The conditions include: the humanistic values of the political entrepreneurs and their supporters; the appropriate historical moment or sequence of events that makes entrepreneurship desirable despite risks; and the ability to assemble supporters based on both rational and affective political considerations. Humanistic values are essential in this study because a political entrepreneur is not just a politician who wants to win an election with a bigger margin of victory, or a citizen who wants to help pass legislation. Political entrepreneurs have specific targets that include human rights and democratic processes, both in the United States and around the world. The appropriate historical moment or sequence of events is important because the political entrepreneur responds to events and problems that are important right now. As in business entrepreneurship, good timing often means the difference between success and failure because good timing helps the political entrepreneur assemble the

right coalition of supporters to accomplish desired goals. A political entrepreneur uses both rational and affective politics because he or she understands that supporters want to solve problems and sustain affective relationships with the entrepreneur. A political entrepreneur uses his or her affective relationships as leverage to solve problems.

The idea of good timing raises an important question: are we likely to find political entrepreneurs today and in the future instead of during the specific historical time period from the 1970s to the 1980s? To answer this question we need to consider what was important about the 1970s and 1980s. We already know that many of the political entrepreneurs in the study used their careers in Congress as an extension of their experiences in the social movements of the 1960s and 1970s. We could logically deduce that, once the people with those experiences left Congress, the amount of political entrepreneurs would decrease. We also know that many political entrepreneurs responded to human rights abuses in the 1970s and 1980s. We could logically deduce that fewer human rights abuses in the present and future would lead to a decrease in political entrepreneurs.

Writing in 2011, we can attempt to answer these questions: Who are the political entrepreneurs today? Are there still human rights abuses around the world? The answer to both questions is yes. One political entrepreneur today is Senator Kirsten Gillibrand (D-NY), who was appointed to the Senate in 2008 to replace Sen. Hillary Clinton. Sen. Gillibrand was the organizing force behind the repeal of “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell”, the law that prohibited gay and lesbian soldiers from serving openly in the U.S. armed forces. She saw the law as a violation of the human rights of gays and lesbians. She had important friendships with gays and lesbians. These friendships motivated her to take this issue on as new senator. The issue had been dormant

since 1993 when the Clinton administration first adopted it. Sen. Gillibrand became a champion of gay rights and convinced the Senate to repeal the law in 2010.

Another political entrepreneur today is President Barack Obama. During a wave of political revolutions in the Middle East and Africa, Pres. Obama used the U.S. military and an international coalition to prevent Libyan President Colonel Muammar Qaddafi from killing residents in Libya. Pres. Obama has also made public statements supporting dissidents in Egypt, Syria, Bahrain, and other countries in the Middle East that are currently experiencing political crackdowns.

Pres. Obama and Sen. Gillibrand demonstrate that political entrepreneurs still exist. However, there seems to be a decline in political entrepreneurs since the 1990s for three reasons. First, the people who were the most active political entrepreneurs, such as Rep. Solarz, left Congress. Solarz was a representative of the humanistic values expressed by his generation of politicians. Since the 1990s, many people who had formative experiences in the social movements of the 1960s and 70s have left public life. They have been replaced by people who have more narrow and rational considerations in public life, including a focus on staying in office. Second, the conditions for getting elected and staying in Congress have changed since the 1990s. Congress has experienced three wave elections since 1990 that produced a change in control of Congress: 1994, 2006, 2010. In the 1970s and 1980s Congress was controlled by Democrats by large numbers. Thus, Congress has become more competitive, and this competition has forced more members to focus on fundraising and maintaining their bases of political support instead of addressing human rights problems in the United States and around the world. Third, the world has liberalized and stabilized politically since the 1990s, with two exceptions. The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 revealed ethnic tensions in Yugoslavia that

produced human rights violations, with Serbs fighting Croats in Bosnia and Kosovo. No members of Congress responded to these events, but President Clinton ordered a military intervention in Kosovo in 1999 to stop Serbia's human rights abuses. In Africa, Rwanda and Somalia both experienced genocide and famine in the early 1990s. President George H. W. Bush responded to the famine in Somalia with Operation Restore Hope. However, no members of Congress responded to these events. Despite these exceptions, human rights abuses seem to have decreased since the 1990s, meaning there are fewer events that create political entrepreneurs.

Third, this study demonstrates that members of Congress respond with their hearts as well as their minds to issues involving other countries. As a result, ethnic interest groups do not need votes or money. However, presence in a district is essential so that they can go to their representatives and tell a powerful story that affects the member of Congress and/or the staff on a deeply personal level. In this vein, this study also challenges the rational choice approach to political science in general and U.S.-Taiwan relations in particular. Two such studies of U.S.-Taiwan relations examine electoral support in a district, financial contributions, and presence of U.S.-Taiwan trade in a district (Kastner and Grob 2009, Wu 2009). This study demonstrates that the rational choice approach provides at best a partial understanding.

Fourth, this study reveals what is inside the "black box" of a member of Congress. Most political scientists (see Hall 1996) take personal motivation as a given, as a function of ambition and district interests, but this study reveals that personal motivation can depend heavily on a member's interaction with ethnic interest groups. This finding requires an inclusive approach for scholars of American politics and Congress. In addition to studying only members of Congress and their staff, scholars should study how members of Congress interact with different ethnic groups in their communities and through their extended families. More immigrant groups are

moving into congressional districts, making districts more representative of the world. More people are marrying citizens from other parts of the world, creating global families. A member of Congress who interacts with Indian-Americans, Nigerian-Americans, Asian-Americans, Brazilian-Americans, etc., in his or her district or extended family will likely be exposed to a global list of issues as these people communicate concerns about their home countries. It is important for scholars to understand exactly which interactions become long-term affective relationships that motivate members of Congress to take action.

Fifth, shifting focus from Congress to interest groups, this study reveals that ethnic interest groups take advantage of what Smith (1988) called “the power game”. Politicians in Washington bring a fight to the public and thus change the nature of the fight, an insight that Schattschneider (1961) discovered when studying how crowds respond to street fights. The crowd becomes the “semi-sovereign people”, and if a politician can get the crowd on his/her side, he can win the power game. This study finds that FAPA, like other ethnic lobbies, gets the crowd on its side of a political fight and thus changes the nature of the fight. Yet, unlike members of Congress, FAPA does not “go public”. Instead, it mobilizes its passionate crowd to place pressure on access points in government. To be precise, not only do the grassroots Taiwanese-Americans play a decisive role, but their passion over every issue turns everything into a fight. Since they are dispersed geographically, small groups in every member’s district can bring the fight to any member of Congress. FAPA is just the organizer of the crowd, sending it signals about where to direct its volunteer activity, its money, and its passion.

Sixth, this study demonstrates the intertwined nature of international, transnational, and domestic politics. The cases of the Soviet Union, Uganda and Taiwan demonstrate that countries with flagrant and sustained human rights abuses will prompt their citizens to seek refuge in host

countries that provide political liberties and economic resources. Diaspora groups will settle in host countries for decades, learning the political system and acquiring political power. This political education and influence will likely translate into the host country's foreign policy toward the home country. This has already been studied in the case of Ukraine and Canada (Schreyer 1994). Similar studies will likely demonstrate how international-transnational-domestic politics work in other politically open, economically rich countries that attract refugees and exiles from countries with oppressive regimes. In the case of Taiwan, Taiwanese-American activists organized within an open, geographically-dispersed political system and put pressure on Congress to tell Taiwan's government to liberalize while the Reagan administration said nothing (Cohen 1988, Chi 2002, Fu 1990).

Seventh, based on this interaction between international, transnational, and domestic politics, this study helps international relations theorists to recognize the importance of non-state actors in the international system. Moreover, the fact that non-state actors can have such an impact casts the autonomy of the system as an independent force in doubt, making it more reflective of countries' foreign policies vis-à-vis their domestic politics than anything inherent in the system itself (Cleveland 1979).

International relations theorists generally rely on three sets of ideas to explain international relations and the foreign policies of countries. One intuitive idea is that international relations can be reduced to each country's foreign policy, which reflects its domestic politics as a mirror or "Second Image" (Lowi 1967; Milbrath 1967; Rosenau 1961, 1963, 1968; Waltz 1959, 1979). A more radical idea is that international relations constitute a system that is a causal force, with countries' foreign policies and domestic politics reflecting the international system as a "second image reversed" (Gourevitch 1978). A compromise between

these two ideas is that foreign policy actors operate on the international and domestic levels simultaneously as a two-level game (Putnam 1988) by linking domestic politics and international relations through specific foreign policies (Rosenau 1969, 1973). These theories are inadequate because they focus solely on state actors and international institutions that facilitate interactions between state actors. They ignore non-state actors, including Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and transnational actors who campaign for causes that cross national borders. A brief examination of how these theories explain U.S.-Taiwan policy, from 1972 to 1979, will demonstrate why they are limited if they do not include transnational activists.

If we view foreign policy as driven by the international system (“second image reversed”), international relations scholars have three ways to explain America’s abandonment of Taiwan: Realism, which includes Classical Realism, Systemic Realism, and Offensive Realism; Liberalism; and Constructivism. Classical Realists explain that we must understand U.S.-Taiwan relations as a victim of balance-of-power politics between the United States, the Soviet Union, and the People’s Republic of China (PRC). The United States had withdrawn its military forces from Vietnam and feared increased Soviet influence in Asia and Africa. Recognizing the PRC was a way to counter this influence by using “the China Card” against the Soviet Union (Sutter and Baron 1979), especially as Soviet-American relations soured with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Systemic Realists take a similar approach, explaining that as the United States withdrew from Asia it needed an emerging superpower to manage the region by placing pressure on such states as North Korea and Vietnam. Offensive Realists explain that the United States wanted to match its declining post-Vietnam military strength with PRC’s emerging military strength to force the Soviet Union to worry more about potential conflict with the PRC than about potential conflict with the United States in Europe. The PRC’s emerging military and

economic power provided a critical distraction for the Soviet Union. Within this dynamic, therefore, the United States was forced to sever its ties with Taiwan.

Liberal scholars shift the focus from the international system to the domestic conditions in the United States and Taiwan to explain why American politicians thought a renewed relationship with the PRC was beneficial for the United States even if it hurt America's relationship with Taiwan. The United States was facing enormous domestic political pressures during the 1970s, and so an improved relationship with the PRC gave political capital to American leaders in Congress and the executive branch (Kirby, et al. 2005). Congress and the president (from the Nixon administration through the Carter administration) were vying for control over American foreign policy as a reaction to the Vietnam War. Taiwan became a political weapon for the executive branch against Congress. Congress wanted to be informed about any changes in policy toward Taiwan, but the president refused to satisfactorily inform Congress, instead keeping the negotiations completely secret (Sutter 1980).

Constructivists shift the focus from the international system to what was called "the China Lobby" (Chao 1990; Koen 1974) in the United States: a collection of individuals and politicians who helped the United States maintain ties with Taiwan. The United States had maintained military, economic and cultural ties with the Nationalist government and the people of Taiwan for 30 years after the KMT was forced to move from the Mainland to Taiwan. Many individuals in "the China Lobby" had helped maintain these connections and worried about the United States abandoning a friend and simultaneously sending a message to other countries that the United States could no longer be trusted as a loyal ally. They interpreted the recognition of the PRC as another signal after the end of the Vietnam War that American power in Asia was

declining. They feared that America's allies in Europe and the Middle East would no longer consider America a reliable partner in maintaining peace and economic prosperity.

The different variants of Realism offer explanations for why the United States was willing to sacrifice Taiwan to recognize the PRC. Liberalism offers an explanation for how the recognition process took place, with a surprise announcement from President Carter without bothering to consult with Congress. Constructivism offers an explanation for the Taiwan Relations Act (TRA), which maintained unofficial American military, economic and cultural ties with Taiwan after official ties ended. Thus, the period of time from Nixon's visit to the PRC in 1972 until the passage of the TRA in April 1979 can be sufficiently explained by International Relations theories. However, after April 1979 the theories lose their explanatory power to account for changes in American policy toward Taiwan in the 1980s.

As I argued in the introduction, major international relations theories do not recognize the value of non-state actors. Yet, as this study has demonstrated, non-state actors can be very valuable in helping to direct the foreign policy of a country, in this case U.S. policy toward Taiwan. Realism would ignore the presence of the Taiwan independence movement in the United States. Liberalism would acknowledge Taiwanese-Americans as just another ethnic interest group placing pressure on Congress, but it would ignore the transnational nature of that pressure. Constructivism would acknowledge the relationship between "the China Lobby" and the official representatives of the KMT, but it would ignore the relationships between the members of the Gang of Four and the Taiwan independence activists. This study builds on Constructivism, but improves it so that we understand why relationships matter.

Eighth, this study makes a contribution to International Relations theory by improving our understanding of Constructivism. Specifically, this study adds bonding social capital,

through affective relationships, to the study of international relations and foreign policy. Scholars of international relations understand that international relations have an emotional component when it comes to waging war (Femenia 2000). This study has demonstrated that international relations have emotional components for everything else when the subject connects in any way with human rights. When foreign policy makers learn about human rights abuses, they often use their emotional desire to see the abuses stopped to change an aspect of their country's foreign policy. Foreign policy actors keep plugging away until the human rights abuses stop or until the actors run out of tools to use. In the cases of members of Congress who changed U.S. foreign policy toward Cambodia, El Salvador, South Africa, the Soviet Union, Taiwan and Uganda, the only country that did not stop its abuses was the Soviet Union. For those countries that did stop, it took many years of activity by the foreign policy maker. Bonding social capital becomes an essential concept for explaining why foreign policy makers persist in trying different tools, despite evidence that their efforts do not produce immediate results. The relationships that foreign policy makers create with each other in Congress, in their offices, and with ethnic interest groups, provide them with energy and staying power.

Ninth, this study gives scholars of U.S. human rights policy a more effective method to study foreign policy legislation. Instead of merely studying the laws themselves and the political processes that shaped those laws (Forsythe 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991; Forsythe and Welch 1986), scholars can use the model developed in chapter two to identify the causal chain that ultimately produces a specific foreign policy. The first element of the model is international provocations: a country must do something that violates the internationally recognized human rights of its citizens. Second, a member of Congress must receive information about this violation. Third, a member of Congress must be deeply personally affected. Fourth, a member of

Congress must be positioned in such a way that the effort of eliminating the violation is easy. The second and third elements of this model can point scholars to productive areas of research. International human rights violations are easy to find, but NGOs that report on them, and refugees who flee from them, present great opportunities for scholarship. Researchers can examine the personal lives of members of Congress, including their formative years before entering Congress, their relatives, and their interaction with staff. The third element demonstrates that a member of Congress is deeply personally affected by a human rights abuse because of his or her human relationships. Scholars can learn a great deal about American foreign policy by tracing these human relationships.

Tenth, this study helps us resolve some debates about the proper roles of the presidency and Congress in foreign policy. Frank and Weisband characterized the shift of foreign policy control, from the presidency to Congress, as a revolution. The institutional and behavioral changes in the House and the Senate made a difference in American domestic and foreign policy, but there is much disagreement among scholars and critics about whether the changes are in the best interests of the United States. On the one hand, critics claim that the Congress has become too powerful, constraining the executive branch (Crovitz 1990; Jones and Marini 1988). On the other, supporters of Congress argue that it is merely the servant of the executive branch in foreign policy (Koh 1988; Hinckley 1994; Weissman 1995). Yet, in order to truly appreciate the shift of influence from the executive branch to Congress, we must understand all the ways Congress influences American foreign policy, with legislation constituting just one mechanism. Others include simple and concurrent resolutions, informal advice, consultation, direct dealings with foreign governments, public appeals through the press, hearings, floor statements, letters, and lawsuits against the president (Burgin 1993). “Congress is a player in the foreign policy

arena and can influence policy. Sometimes legislation achieves intended results; sometimes legislation succeeds in unexpected ways; sometimes the threat of legislation generates desired actions; and sometimes nonlegislative mechanisms accomplish members' goals." (Burgin 1993, 350)

The shift from the executive branch to the legislative branch in foreign policy presented mixed results, Franck and Weisband argue, because the executive branch is inherently better at some activities than Congress, while conversely Congress is inherently better at some activities than the executive branch. They note that congressional legislation has virtues that the executive branch cannot match: publicity, legitimacy, immutability, comprehensiveness, and universality. Unlike the executive branch, congressional activity is publicly debated. When Congress passes legislation and the president signs it, the law acquires a legitimacy that is unmatched by a bureaucrat or a cabinet secretary. The huge effort to pass legislation renders change very difficult, except in extraordinary circumstances, thus giving a measure of order and predictability to foreign policy. Given this immutability, legislators try to foresee all possible contingencies and account for them in the law, thus making law comprehensive. Finally, the comprehensive reach of the law makes the application of the law universal. The executive branch, in contrast, is much more suited to interacting with countries outside of the public eye because of the sensitivity of negotiations at high levels. This secrecy gives the executive branch flexibility for rapid responses, and these responses are necessarily particular to special circumstances.

Fundamentally, Franck and Weisband argue that congressional legislation is appropriate when American foreign policy requires a framework for dealing with all countries, but not when a specific country temporarily presents a unique foreign policy challenge to the United States. "A rule of thumb might be that legislation should not be used to prohibit Presidential initiatives in

unforeseeable circumstances. ... Similarly, the legislative quality of comprehensiveness can be useful in advancing a policy where the contingencies are essentially foreseeable: economic assistance, nuclear exports, trade.” (Franck and Weisband 1979, 161) The rise of Congress in controlling American foreign policy was, the authors say, a necessary corrective to the de facto bifurcation of the Constitution, in which there was “one set of principles governing the distribution of power over domestic affairs, another for foreign relations” (Franck and Weisband 1979, 156). Yet, Congress should still recognize the limitations of legislative power in the foreign policy arena. The *Washington Post* criticized the activities of “435 Secretaries of State” in the House, and Harvard Professor Stanley Hoffmann wrote in the *New York Times* that individual members of Congress insisted on having their own policy on every foreign issue (Franck and Weisband 1979, 211).

This study has presented six cases of congressional activity in foreign policy targeted at specific countries: Cambodia, El Salvador, South Africa, the Soviet Union, Taiwan, and Uganda, starting in the late 1970s and continuing to the present day. These cases help us evaluate the concerns about Congress that Franck and Weisband express. They present a persuasive argument that congressional legislation has the virtues of publicity, legitimacy, immutability, comprehensiveness, and universality. They recommended that congressional legislation is appropriate when American foreign policy requires a framework for dealing with all countries, but not when a specific country temporarily presents a unique foreign policy challenge to the United States. Yet, in the cases presented in this study, each case presented a unique foreign policy challenge to the United States that was successfully addressed by congressional legislation.

For Cambodia, Rep. Solarz (D-NY) worked with Senator Robert Dole (R-KS) to change the refugee laws so that 15,000 Cambodians could enter the United States immediately as a group. Next, Solarz worked with Senator Chuck Robb (D-VA) to pass legislation authorizing \$5 million in economic aid and lethal aid to the Non-Communist Resistance (NCR) in Cambodia. Solarz created the UN Interim Trusteeship Perm Five Plan that, with the Senate's endorsement, helped the UN administer democratic elections in Cambodia. Finally, the Senate provided covert lethal to the NCR and overt economic aid to the children of Cambodia.

For El Salvador, Congress provided Temporary Protected Status (TPS) to Salvadorans in the Immigration Act of 1990. Congress has extended TPS for El Salvador and used TPS for other countries experiencing civil unrest. Congress also passed legislation in November 1990 that used military assistance to El Salvador to pressure the government to investigate human rights abuses and reach a peace agreement with the FMLN. Rep. Moakley (D-MA) sponsored legislation to shut down the School of the Americas (SOA) that had trained the military police who killed Jesuit priests in El Salvador. This legislation failed to become law, but it started a dialogue with the Pentagon that ultimately changed the leadership and culture at the SOA.

For South Africa, Congress passed Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act (CAAA) over President Reagan's veto. The CAAA became the catalyst for President F. W. De Klerk to release Nelson Mandela from prison and end Apartheid. By 1991 President George H. W. Bush lifted sanctions. South Africa ended its state of emergency and allowed opposition political parties. For the Soviet Union, Rep. Millicent Fenwick (R-NJ) and Sen. Clifford Case (R-NJ) helped create the U.S. Helsinki Commission to the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), also known as the Helsinki Accords, which was an international alliance that monitored human rights abuses in the Soviet Union. Representative Thomas Vanik (D-OH) and

Senator Henry “Scoop” Jackson (D-WA) helped pass the Jackson-Vanik Amendment to the 1974 Trade Act, which made American-Soviet trade policy contingent on Jewish citizens being allowed to leave the Soviet Union. The Helsinki Accords helped changed global norms on human rights, thus speeding up the demise of Communism (Thomas 1997).

For Taiwan, Congress passed the Taiwan Relations Act in 1979, which recognized the importance of human rights and democracy in Taiwan. In 1982, in response to the killing of Prof. Wen-Cheng Chen, Congress passed an amendment to the Arms Export Control Act which denied arms to any country engaged in a “consistent pattern of acts of intimidation or harassment directed against individuals in the United States.” In 1983 Congress passed a resolution calling for Taiwan’s future to “be settled peacefully, free of coercion and in a manner acceptable to the people on Taiwan.” In 1985, in response to the assassination of Henry Liu, Congress passed a resolution calling for an extradition agreement and cooperation between American and Taiwan authorities to solve the murder. Congress passed an amendment to the Foreign Relations Authorization Act for fiscal year 1986, calling for democracy on Taiwan. Also in 1986 Congress passed a resolution calling on the Taiwan authorities to allow the formation of genuine opposition parties, end censorship and guarantee freedom of speech, expression and assembly, and move towards full representative government. In 1987 Congress passed an amendment to the State Department Authorization Bill calling for sustained progress “towards a fully democratic system of government on Taiwan.” Taiwan ended martial law in July 1987. In 1992 Congress passed a resolution stating the need to end the blacklist so that Taiwan-born residents of the United States could return to their homeland. The KMT phased out the blacklist system that year.

For Uganda, Congress passed a resolution condemning Uganda after the murder of an archbishop. Congress successfully placed pressure on the State Department to stop issuing visas

to Uganda citizens who worked for President Idi Amin. Congress also successfully placed pressure on the FAA to deny certification to Amin's pilots after they trained in Texas. Congress passed a resolution urging the president to support and implement measures to discourage United States support of Uganda. In response to this resolution, the coffee industry started a boycott to deprive Idi Amin of coffee revenues, which provided a majority of Uganda's export income. This resolution also sent a signal to Tanzania to send a military force after Amin, which caused him to flee Uganda.

These six cases demonstrate that congressional legislation and resolutions that are specifically targeted to a country can have a big, and sometimes immediate, impact on the target country's domestic politics and international relations. In the case of binding legislation this is to be expected. In the case of non-binding congressional resolutions, this is both puzzling and surprising. Since non-binding congressional resolutions lack the force of law, we should expect them to have less impact than binding legislation signed into law by the president. Yet, in the cases of Taiwan and Uganda, non-binding resolutions that advocated specific processes or results in the target country had just as much, if not greater impact, than binding legislation. One explanation is that a non-binding resolution communicates congressional intent more clearly than binding legislation because a resolution has broader scope while binding legislation has a narrow, technical focus. Another explanation is that binding legislation is necessarily rare because it is difficult both to pass and to get signed into law. In contrast, a non-binding resolution is easy to pass and does not require a presidential signature, meaning that Congress can pass many resolutions about a variety of topics regarding a target country. If many members of Congress submit resolutions over a period of months or years, this sends the target country

messages that accumulate and place pressure on the government. Countries that depend heavily on the United States for trade and military assistance will likely respond to this constant pressure.

One final point closes this study. From an analytical perspective, it is important to understand the role of political entrepreneurs in the United States, both in public life, such as the U.S. Congress, and in private life as citizens. From a normative perspective, the influence of citizens and congressional staff has increased since the 1970s. Scholars assume that members of Congress lead their staff, but, as Smith (1988) notes, the staff often have much more power than members of Congress. This can be both good and bad for members of Congress. It is good when members of Congress have expert staff who can write great legislation. Members of Congress can take the credit when the political process works, and blame their staff when the political process fails. Staffs become the scapegoats when they do things that show members of Congress in a bad light. Yet, it is worth thinking about whether staff should have this much power and influence. The only way to reduce the power of congressional staffs is to increase the number of members of Congress. The Senate is fixed constitutionally at two senators per state. That leaves the House as a potential growth area. The size of the House has remained fixed at 435 since 1910 for no legal or constitutional reason, even though the population of the United States tripled. Scholars should explore the impact of increasing the size of the House so that it is more representative of the population of the United States.

## **Appendix A: Methodology**

### *Research Design*

The United States served as the focal point of the transnational activity of TIM in this dissertation. Even though TIM established a presence in several countries where its members had immigrated and organized, including Japan, the Philippines, Canada, Sweden, and other European countries, the largest concentration of Taiwanese is in the United States.

### *Data collection*

Interviews were done with key FAPA employees. Interviews with key congressional figures, included former Rep. Solarz, former Rep. Leach. Interviews with congressional staff included Nancy Soderberg, former aide to Sen. Kennedy, and Edward Friedman, former aide to Rep. Solarz. Public interviews included Fulton Armstrong, former aide to Rep. Leach, and Thomas Hughes, former aide to Sen. Pell. Interviews were also done with scholars of U.S.-Taiwan-China relations, including Robert Ross, Robert Sutter, and Pei-Te Lien.

Every interviewee answered the following questions.

*I am doing this research because I want to explain why American interest groups, especially those with limited resources and members who frequently travel across national borders, manage to have much greater influence than would otherwise be expected. The Taiwan Democracy Movement and its grassroots lobby, FAPA, are perfect examples of this because the key activists traveled between Taiwan, Japan, Europe and the U.S. to promote democracy in Taiwan, specifically an end to martial law. I want to know how FAPA went from nothing to the 2nd most powerful lobby on Capitol Hill in only 10 years.*

Questions:

1. What information, if any, did you provide TIM activists about the best way to develop the organization and resources of FAPA?
2. What explains congressional support for the legislative agenda of FAPA?
3. How did the Taiwan Democracy Movement make Congress aware of its existence?
4. How did the Formosan Association for Public Affairs (FAPA) make Congress aware of its existence?
5. In your opinion, who were the most effective activists in the Taiwan Democracy Movement or in FAPA?
6. In your opinion, do you believe the Taiwanese Democracy Activists learned anything from other ethnic interest groups, including but not limited to the Cuban-American Lobby and the Israeli-American Lobby?
7. In your opinion, how did FAPA become an effective lobby?

## Appendix B: Safe seats

Member of Congress	Election Year	Vote totals	percentage	Margin
Rep. Don Bonker	1974	93980	0.609192	22
		58774	0.380981	
		1516		
	Total	154270		
	1976	145198	0.708034	42
		57517	0.280472	
		2357		
	Total	205072		
	1978	82616	0.586403	17
		58270	0.413597	
Total	140886			
1980	155906	0.626687	25	
	92872	0.373313		
Total	248778			
1982	97323	0.600544	24	
	59686	0.3683		
	5049			
Total	162058			
1984	150432	0.710755	43	
	61219	0.289245		
Total	211651			
1986	114775	0.735501	47	
	41275	0.264499		
Total	156050			
Rep. Sherrod Brown	1992	134486	0.533129	18
		88889	0.352373	
		20320		
		4719		
		3844		
	Total	252258		
	1994	93147	0.490826	4
		86422	0.45539	
		7777		
		2430		
	Total	189776		

<b>Member of Congress</b>	<b>Election Year</b>	<b>Vote totals</b>	<b>percentage</b>	<b>Margin</b>
Rep. Sherrod Brown	1996	148690	0.608127	25
		87108	0.356263	
		8707		
	Total	244505		
	1998	116309	0.615473	23
		72666	0.384527	
	Total	188975		
	2000	170058	0.645877	32
		84295	0.320151	
		5837		
		3108		
	Total	263298		
	2002	123025	0.689672	37
		55357	0.310328	
	Total	178382		
	2004	201004	0.674297	35
		97090	0.325703	
	Total	298094		
Sen. Sherrod Brown	2006	2257369	0.561641	13
		1761037	0.438152	
		830		
	Total	4019236		
Sen. Frank Church	1956	149096	0.562007	18
		102781	0.387426	
		13415		
	Total	265292		
	1962	141657	0.547391	9
		117129	0.452609	
	Total	258786		
	1968	173482	0.602628	21
		114394	0.397372	
	Total	287876		

<b>Member of Congress</b>	<b>Election Year</b>	<b>Vote totals</b>	<b>percentage</b>	<b>Margin</b>
Sen. Frank Church	1974	145140	0.560717	14
		109072	0.421376	
		4635		
	Total	258847		
	1980	214439	0.487753	-1
		218701	0.497447	
		6507		
	Total	439647		
Rep. Charles Diggs	1954	64,716	0.658205	<b>32</b>
		33,127	0.336924	
		359		
		120		
	Total	98,322		
	1956	87,353	0.697635	39
		37,860	0.302365	
	Total	125,213		
	1958	57,354	0.727178	46
		21,280	0.269804	
		238		
	Total	78,872		
	1960	76,812	0.71374	43
		30,369	0.28219	
		124		
		74		
		144		
		96		
	Total	107,619		
	1962	59,688	0.71208	43
		24,134	0.28792	
	Total	83,822		
	1964	102,413	0.85814	72
		16,585	0.138969	
		345		
	Total	119,343		

<b>Member of Congress</b>	<b>Election Year</b>	<b>Vote totals</b>	<b>percentage</b>	<b>Margin</b>
Rep. Charles Diggs	1966	60,660	0.830322	67
		12,393	0.169637	
		3		
	Total	73,056		
	1968	81,951	0.864243	73
		12,873	0.135757	
	Total	94,824		
	1970	56,872	0.861488	73
		9,141	0.138466	
		3		
	Total	66,016		
	1972	97,562	0.856348	72
		15,180	0.133242	
		501		
		685		
	Total	113,928		
	1974	63,246	0.873527	76
		8,036	0.11099	
		832		
		289		
	Total	72,403		
	1976	83,387	0.890059	80
		9,002	0.096086	
		449		
		366		
		285		
		198		
	Total	93,687		
	1978	44,771	0.791804	59
		11,749	0.207789	
		23		
	Total	56,543		
Rep. Millicent Fenwick	1974	81,498	0.533511	10
		66,380	0.434544	
		3,102		
		1,778		
	Total	152,758		

<b>Member of Congress</b>	<b>Election Year</b>	<b>Vote totals</b>	<b>percentage</b>	<b>Margin</b>
Rep. Millicent Fenwick	1976	137,803	0.668603	35
		64,598	0.313421	
		499		
		1,723		
		1,483		
	Total	206,106		
	1978	100,739	0.72554	45
		38,108	0.27446	
	Total	138,847		
	1980	156,016	0.775046	57
		41,269	0.205013	
		2,465		
		1,549		
	Total	201,299		
Rep. Donald Fraser	1962	87002	0.51651	3
		80865	0.480076	
		575		
	Total	168442		
	1964	127963	0.618986	23
		78767	0.381014	
	Total	206730		
	1966	86953	0.596512	19
		58816	0.403488	
	Total	145769		
	1968	108588	0.575435	16
		78819	0.417681	
		747		
		552		
	Total	188706		
	1970	83207	0.571194	15
		61682	0.423431	
		783		
	Total	145672		

<b>Member of Congress</b>	<b>Election Year</b>	<b>Vote totals</b>	<b>percentage</b>	<b>Margin</b>
Rep. Donald Fraser	1972	135108	0.658421	41
		50014	0.243733	
		15845		
		4233		
	Total	205200		
	1974	90012	0.737531	49
		30146	0.247007	
		1887		
	Total	122045		
	1976	138213	0.706625	45
		50764	0.259535	
		1824		
		1070		
		536		
		3189		
	Total	195596		
Sen. J. William Fulbright	1944	182,499	0.851045	71
		31,942	0.148955	
	Total	214,441		
	1950	Unopposed		100
	1956	331,689	0.829835	65
		68,016	0.170165	
	Total	399,705		
	1962	214,867	0.686739	37
		98,013	0.313261	
	Total	312,880		
	1968	349,965	0.591461	19
		241,731	0.408539	
	Total	591,696		
Rep. William Gray III	1978	132,594	0.819701	66
		25,785	0.159404	
		2,321		
		1,059		
	Total	161,759		

<b>Member of Congress</b>	<b>Election Year</b>	<b>Vote totals</b>	<b>percentage</b>	<b>Margin</b>
Rep. William Gray III	1980	127,106	0.964181	95
		2,396	0.018175	
		2,326		
	Total	131,828		
	1982	120,744	0.760952	54
		35,205	0.221869	
		2,726		
	Total	158,675		
	1984	200,484	0.910071	83
		18,224	0.082725	
		1,587		
	Total	220,295		
	1986	128,399	0.983938	97
		2,096	0.016062	
	Total	130,495		
	1988	184,322	0.937134	87
		12,365	0.062866	
	Total	196,687		
	1990	94,584	0.920956	85
		8,118	0.079044	
	Total	102,702		
Rep. Michael Harrington	1970	114276	0.616938	23
		70955	0.383062	
	Total	185231		
	1972	139697	0.640583	29
		78381	0.359417	
	Total	218078		
	1974	199278	100	100
	Total			
	1976	121562	0.548056	13
		91655	0.413221	
		8589		
	Total	221806		

<b>Member of Congress</b>	<b>Election Year</b>	<b>Vote totals</b>	<b>percentage</b>	<b>Margin</b>
Sen. Mark Hatfield	1966	354,391	0.517537	3
		330374	0.482463	
	Total	684,765		
	1972	494671	0.537857	7
		425036	0.462143	
	Total	919707		
	1978	550165	0.616928	23
		341616	0.383072	
	Total	891781		
	1984	808152	0.665543	33
		406122	0.334457	
	Total	1214274		
	1990	590095	0.537506	7
		507743	0.462494	
	Total	1097838		
Sen. Henry "Scoop" Jackson	1952	595,288	0.562263	13
		460,884	0.435316	
		1,912		
		651		
	Total	1,058,735		
	1958	597,040	0.673235	36
		278,271	0.313785	
		7,592		
		2,257		
		1,662		
	Total	886,822		
	1964	875,950	0.722083	45
		337,138	0.277917	
	Total	1,213,088		
	1970	879,385	0.824315	66
		170,790	0.160095	
		9,255		
		7,377		
	Total	1,066,807		

<b>Member of Congress</b>	<b>Election Year</b>	<b>Vote totals</b>	<b>percentage</b>	<b>Margin</b>
Sen. Henry "Scoop" Jackson	1976	1,071,219	0.718403	47
		361,546	0.242468	
		3,389		
		19,373		
		28,182		
		7,402		
	Total	1,491,111		
	1982	943,665	0.689569	44
		332,273	0.242803	
		72,297		
		20,251		
	Total	1,368,486		
Sen. Edward Kennedy	1962	1,162,611	0.554394	14
		877,669	0.418519	
		50,013		
		5,330		
		1,439		
		23		
	Total	2,097,085		
	1964	1,716,907	0.742598	49
		587,663	0.254176	
		4,745		
		2,700		
		13		
	Total	2,312,028		
	1970	1,202,856	0.621436	26
		715,978	0.369898	
		10,378		
		5,944		
		451		
	Total	1,935,607		
	1976	1,726,657	0.693087	40
		722,641	0.290071	
		26,283		
		15,517		
		157		
	Total	2,491,255		

<b>Member of Congress</b>	<b>Election Year</b>	<b>Vote totals</b>	<b>percentage</b>	<b>Margin</b>	
Sen. Edward Kennedy	1982	1,247,084	0.608106	22	
		784,602	0.382589		
		18,878			
		205			
		Total	2,050,769		
	1988	1,693,344	0.649731	31	
		884,267	0.33929		
		15,208			
		13,199			
		Total	2,606,225		
	1994	1,265,997	0.580747	17	
		894,000	0.410102		
		14,484			
		4,776			
		Total	2,179,945		
	2000	1,889,494	0.726891	60	
		334,341	0.128621		
		308,860			
		42,113			
		Total	2,599,420		
	2006	1,500,738	0.693025	39	
		661,532	0.305488		
		3,220			
		Total	2,165,490		
		Rep. James Leach	1976		109,694
101,024	0.478324				
486					
Total	211,204				
	1978	79,940	0.634671	28	
		45,037	0.357564		
		978			
		Total	125,955		

<b>Member of Congress</b>	<b>Election Year</b>	<b>Vote totals</b>	<b>percentage</b>	<b>Margin</b>
Rep. James Leach	1980	133,349	0.640759	30
		72,602	0.348862	
		1,374		
		786		
	Total	208,111		
	1982	89,595	0.592004	19
		61,734	0.407911	
		13		
	Total	151,342		
	1984	131,182	0.667678	33
		65,293	0.332322	
	Total	196,475		
	1986	86,834	0.663742	33
		43,985	0.336212	
		6		
	Total	130,825		
	1988	112,746	0.607088	22
		71,280	0.383812	
		1,670		
		20		
	Total	185,716		
	1990	90,042	0.998326	100
		151		
	Total	90,193		
	1992	178,042	0.681347	37
		81,600	0.312274	
		1,667		
	Total	261,309		
	1994	110,448	0.602024	23
		69,461	0.378615	
		1,213		
		2,264		
		75		
	Total	183,461		
	1996	129,242	0.52839	7
		111,595	0.456242	
		1,394		
		2,277		
		88		
	Total	244,596		

<b>Member of Congress</b>	<b>Election Year</b>	<b>Vote totals</b>	<b>percentage</b>	<b>Margin</b>
Rep. James Leach	1998	106,419	0.565433	14
		79,529	0.422559	
		932		
		1,252		
		76		
	Total	188,208		
	2000	164,972	0.617896	25
		96,283	0.360624	
		5,564		
		171		
	Total	266,990		
	2002	108,130	0.521936	7
		94,767	0.457434	
		4,178		
		96		
	Total	207,171		
	2004	176,684	0.58918	19
		117,405	0.391505	
		5,586		
		206		
	Total	299,881		
	2006	101,707	0.48573	-3
		107,683	0.51427	
	Total	209,390		
Rep. John Joseph Moakley	1972	70,571	0.432187	2
		67,143	0.411194	
		23,177		
		2,397		
	Total	163,288		
	1974	94,804	0.893046	79
		11,344	0.10686	
		10		
	Total	106,158		
	1976	103,901	0.69559	46
		34,547	0.231283	
		7,862		
		3,058		
		3		
	Total	149,371		

<b>Member of Congress</b>	<b>Election Year</b>	<b>Vote totals</b>	<b>percentage</b>	<b>Margin</b>
Rep. John Joseph Moakley	1978	106,805	0.918058	86
		6,794	0.058399	
		2,709		
		30		
	Total	116,338		
	1980	104,010	0.999654	100
		36		
	Total	104,046		
	1982	102,665	0.640755	30
		55,030	0.343455	
		2,527		
		3		
	Total	160,225		
	1984	153,132	Unopposed	100
		120		
	Total	153,252		
	1986	110,026	0.737089	59
		21,292	0.14264	
		17,953		
	Total	149,271		
	1988	160,799	Unopposed	100
		243		
	Total	161,042		
	1990	124,534	0.619581	35
		52,660	0.261994	
		23,803		
	Total	200,997		
	1992	175,550	0.692139	58
		54,291	0.214053	
		15,637		
		8,084		
		72		
	Total	253,634		
	1994	146,287	0.697608	39
		63,369	0.302192	
		42		
	Total	209,698		

<b>Member of Congress</b>	<b>Election Year</b>	<b>Vote totals</b>	<b>percentage</b>	<b>Margin</b>	
Rep. John Joseph Moakley	1996	172,009	0.722266	45	
		66,079	0.277466		
		64			
	Total	238,152			
1998	1998	150,667	Unopposed	100	
		888			
	Total	151,555			
2000	2000	193,020	0.775941	58	
		48,672	0.195662		
		6,998			
		66			
	Total	248,756			
Rep. Donald Pease	1976	108061	0.660185	36	
		49828	0.304418		
		5794			
	Total	163683			
	1978	1978	80875	0.651461	31
			43269	0.348539	
		Total	124144		
	1980	1980	113439	0.638248	27
			64296	0.361752	
		Total	177735		
	1982	1982	92296	0.612347	26
			53376	0.354128	
		5053			
Total		150725			
1984	1984	131923	0.663743	37	
		59610	0.299915		
		7223			
	Total	198756			
1986	1986	88612	0.628169	25	
		52452	0.371831		
	Total	141064			

<b>Member of Congress</b>	<b>Election Year</b>	<b>Vote totals</b>	<b>percentage</b>	<b>Margin</b>
Rep. Donald Pease	1988	137074	0.698071	39
		59287	0.301929	
	Total	196361		
	1990	93431	0.566722	20
		60925	0.369552	
		10506		
	Total	164862		
Sen. Claiborne Pell	1960	275,575	0.688967	37
		124,408	0.311033	
	Total	399,983		
	1966	219,331	0.676595	35
		104,838	0.323405	
	Total	324,169		
	1972	221,942	0.53683	8
		188,990	0.457126	
		2,041		
		458		
	Total	413,431		
	1978	229,557	0.751124	51
		76,061	0.248876	
	Total	305,618		
	1984	285,811	0.726596	45
		107,545	0.273404	
	Total	393,356		
	1990	225,105	0.618315	23
		138,947	0.381658	
		10		
	Total	364,062		
Rep. Stephen Solarz	1974	80,828	0.726629	59
		14,838	0.133391	
		10,180		
		5,391		
	Total	111,237		

<b>Member of Congress</b>	<b>Election Year</b>	<b>Vote totals</b>	<b>percentage</b>	<b>Margin</b>
Rep. Stephen Solarz	1976	110,624	0.836641	67
		21,600	0.163359	
	Total	132,224		
	1978	64,514	0.760429	62
		12,524	0.147621	
		4,323		
		3,478		
	Total	84,839		
	1980	77,704	0.753267	59
		16,813	0.162986	
		4,250		
		2,723		
		1,666		
	Total	103,156		
	1982	65,390	0.768119	61
		13,392	0.157312	
		2,324		
		865		
		3,159		
	Total	85,130		
	1984	78,455	0.625902	33
		37,408	0.298436	
		3,939		
		4,155		
		1,390		
	Total	125,347		
	1986	57,704	0.778353	63
		10,941	0.14758	
		2,106		
		3,385		
	Total	74,136		
	1988	77,988	0.716531	50
		23,926	0.219825	
		3,610		
		3,317		
	Total	108,841		
	1990	45,412	0.769656	63
		7,954	0.134807	
		2,034		
		3,603		
	Total	59,003		

<b>Member of Congress</b>	<b>Election Year</b>	<b>Vote totals</b>	<b>percentage</b>	<b>Margin</b>
Rep. Charles Vanik	1954	76,201	0.759905	51
		24,076	0.240095	
	Total	100,277		
	1956	96,106	0.716322	43
		38,060	0.283678	
	Total	134,166		
	1958	93,987	0.803699	21
		22,956	0.196301	
	Total	116,943		
	1960	103,460	0.729691	45
		38,326	0.270309	
	Total	141,786		
	1962	79,514	0.798807	59
		20,027	0.201193	
	Total	99,541		
	1964	113,157	0.901125	81
		12,416	0.098875	
	Total	125,573		
	1966	81,210	0.816879	63
		18,205	0.183121	
	Total	99,415		
	1968	102,656	0.547116	9
		84,975	0.452884	
	Total	187,631		
	1970	114,790	0.715439	43
		45,657	0.284561	
	Total	160,447		
	1972	126,462	0.639201	31
		64,577	0.326404	
		3,463		
		3,342		
	Total	197,844		
	1974	112,671	0.786501	57
		30,585	0.213499	
	Total	143,256		

<b>Member of Congress</b>	<b>Election Year</b>	<b>Vote totals</b>	<b>percentage</b>	<b>Margin</b>
Rep. Charles Vanik	1976	128,535	0.727325	48
		42,727	0.241774	
		5,461		
	Total	176,723		
	1978	87,551	0.660403	43
		30,930	0.233307	
		6,966		
		7,125		
	Total	132,572		
Sen. Lowell Weicker	1970	454721	0.417432	8
		368111	0.337925	
		266497		
	Total	1089329		
	1976	785683	0.577238	16
		561018	0.412177	
		14407		
	Total	1361108		
	1982	545987	0.503907	4
		499146	0.460676	
		30212		
		8163		
	Total	1083508		
	1988	678454	0.490384	-0.7
		688499	0.497644	
		12409		
		4154		
	Total	1383516		
Rep. Lester Wolff	1964	96,503	0.506881	1
		93,883	0.493119	
	Total	190,386		
	1966	81,959	0.502566	1
		81,122	0.497434	
		163,081		
	Total			
	1968	98,226	0.520563	12
		75,910	0.402296	
		14,556		
	Total	188,692		

<b>Member of Congress</b>	<b>Election Year</b>	<b>Vote totals</b>	<b>percentage</b>	<b>Margin</b>
Rep. Lester Wolff	1970	94,414	0.544063	16
		66,196	0.381456	
		12,925		
	Total	173,535		
	1972	109,620	0.515476	3
		103,038	0.484524	
	Total	212,658		
	1974	101,247	0.66713	33
		50,528	0.332936	
	Total	151,765		
	1976	112,422	0.617883	28
		60,567	0.332883	
		8,958		
	Total	181,947		
	1978	80799	0.600263	28
		44304	0.329138	
		9,503		
	Total	134606		
	1980	80209	0.471898	-5
		89762	0.528102	
	Total	169971		
Rep. Howard Wolpe	1978	83,932	0.513314	3
		79,572	0.486649	
		6		
	Total	163,510		
	1980	113,080	0.520114	5
		102,591	0.471869	
		891		
		843		
		9		
	Total	217,414		
	1982	96,842	0.563163	14
		73,315	0.426347	
		1,111		
		693		
	Total	171,961		

<b>Member of Congress</b>	<b>Election Year</b>	<b>Vote totals</b>	<b>percentage</b>	<b>Margin</b>
Rep. Howard Wolpe	1984	106,505	0.529286	5
		94,714	0.470689	
		5		
	Total	201,224		
	1986	78,720	0.603681	21
		51,678	0.396304	
		2		
	Total	130,400		
	1988	112,605	0.573418	15
		83,769	0.426577	
		1		
	Total	196,375		
	1990	82,376	0.578524	15
		60,007	0.421427	
		7		
	Total	142,390		

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