

Mass Protests in Taipei, Opposition Imprisoned, War Preparations | Dr. Joanna Lei

Last week there were rather large protests in the capital Taipei against the ruling TPP party and President William Lai. This news got surprisingly little coverage in western media, which usually is so keen on showing all kinds of “people’s power” movements when they occur against governments the west doesn’t like. But this time, rather a wave of silence. To discuss this and more, today I’m talking again to Dr. Joanna Lei, a Taiwanese business woman, media executive and former law maker for the Kuomintang Party in the Republic of China (Taiwan). Links: Goods Shop: <https://neutralitystudies-shop.fourthwall.com>

#F1

Well, the protest was not even reported, right? Pascal, this is the same playbook. If you look at what the DPP has done, we have passed a law so that foreign nationals can now serve in our government. American advisors can work in our government departments. The United States has sent more military advisors to Taiwan, which has not happened since 1979, when they severed the relationship with us. In 1979, they severed diplomatic relations, withdrew all U.S. military forces, and also ended the Joint Defense Treaty. There were three conditions in 1979. But now, American advisors are coming back, advising our military. They are also potentially coming back into the government. And those things are happening right now.

#M2

Hello everybody, this is Pascal from Neutrality Studies, and today I’m talking again to Dr. Joanna Lei, a Taiwanese businesswoman, media executive, and former lawmaker for the Kuomintang Party in the Republic of China—that is, Taiwan, of course. Last week, there were rather large protests in the capital, Taipei, against the ruling DPP party and President William Lai. This news got surprisingly little coverage in Western media, which is usually so keen on showing all kinds of people power movements when they occur against governments the West doesn’t like. But this time, there was rather a wave of silence. That’s what we want to talk about today. So, Joanna, welcome back to the channel.

#F1

Thank you, Pascal. I’m so glad that you picked this news up, because there was almost no Western media coverage at all.

#M2

So, A, why is that? B, was it just a few dozen people on the street with flags? Can you describe what these protests looked like?

#F1

Well, I've been on the street in the same location many times. From the beginning of the stage to a major door at the back, usually people will claim to have 100,000 to 200,000. If you go further on the side to the other street, then people would claim to have 300,000 people or more. So this is like the traditional place for protests in Taiwan. This is an extremely large crowd. Initially, they expected about 50,000 people to turn up, but the final turnout was five to ten times the initial expectation. Okay, now, why was it never covered? In this particular instance, the Kuomintang and People's Party claimed that there was an illegal mass recall of all the existing lawmakers in the Legislative Yuan. Because the DPP doesn't have a majority—they have a minority in the Legislative Yuan—even though they have control of the executive branch, the judicial branch, and our two other branches. So they waged a massive recall to oust all the KMT and People's Party legislators.

#M2

What is a recall? What do you mean by that?

#F1

Okay, let me say a few words about recall. In our system, we have a single-district system, so you need to win pretty much a majority in order to win a seat. But you can have 1% of the constituents and 10% of the final number proposing to recall your seat and re-elect a different person. And this recall only requires a quarter of the people voting against you. So if you fight and win a seat in a constituency, you will need to win about 50%. But if people opposed to you—probably they will have 40%—if they use that 40% to recall you, then you will lose your seat. So that's a very strange system by design. Because the DPP didn't win a majority in the Congress, they waged a massive all-out recall to remove all KMT legislators.

So think about this. In any other country, if you want to do something like this, you dismiss your Congress, right? You dismiss your Congress like Singapore recently did. The new prime minister said, "I need a new mandate from the people. So let's dismiss the Congress and have a general reelection." That's the normal way of doing it. So whether you are from A party, B party, or C party, you all go back to the people and ask for another mandate. But a recall allows A party—in Taiwan's case, the DPP—to target B party's legislator without risking A party's seat at all. So this is a very asymmetrical system. Of course, if it were just a fair system, it wouldn't raise so much public protest and wouldn't call so many people to the street.

However, this time, we have two things happening simultaneously. One is the DPP using this as a political tool against the opposition party to recall just the opposition legislators. Second, they are using judicial tools to suppress the counter-recall, because the KMT also said, "Okay, you recall my people, I will recall your people." But the people who led the counter-recall were being investigated and incarcerated by the judicial system. So both the legislative arm and the executive branch moved against any political opposition in Taiwan. And that's a really, really big issue. It's causing our so-called democratic system to deteriorate to a state that you cannot believe, because you have a standing people's right for free elections and free expression.

B, you have changed the basic judicial system in terms of its proportionality, due process, and burden of proof, because they have incarcerated opposition party chairman Ko Wen-je. They incarcerated people in the Taipei KMT headquarters—the general director of the Taipei KMT office. She's a 75-year-old woman. They incarcerated her. They also incarcerated young people who led the counter-recall from the KMT camp. So these are all done by using prosecutors and the judicial system. So the deterioration of democracy in Taiwan is beyond belief. And it called out so many people on April 26, the event you picked up and no Western media reported.

#M2

So just let me get this straight. In the US context, if we take the US as an example, this would mean that, let's say, the Republican Party attacks the Democrats because they don't have enough seats in Congress. They get enough—a quarter of the districts or the seats in the House of Representatives—to file this motion for a recall, and then all the Democrats lose their seats while the Republicans keep theirs. And this is just expected to go on, and if the other party does the same, then those people are being investigated and judicial methods are used against them. And that is currently the party that is hailed as the shining beacon of democracy and is also supported, naturally, by the United States. And if I'm not wrong, then Mr. Lai is also one of the people, of course, who supports a closer relationship with the United States, weapons imports from them, and the stationing of U.S. troops on Taiwanese soil, isn't it?

#F1

You're exactly right. There are just two small modifications. One is, in your example, the Republican Party can target the Democratic Party and start a recall process to have another election in a specific district. The second part is that they not only investigated the counter-recall leaders, they incarcerated them. They put them in jail without communication, before they had any proof of wrongdoing. They weren't being charged; they were being incarcerated before being charged. And this is our unique system.

#M2

How many days can they be incarcerated without being brought before a judge? Because this shouldn't be more than a day or two.

#F1

No, no, no. It's two months at a time, renewable for another two months—so, four months.

#M2

Without seeing a judge, without even being charged with anything.

#F1

They were incarcerated by the judge because the prosecutor asked the judge to put them in jail for fear of tampering with witnesses or whatever. But let me say one thing—I'll answer your question first. It's two months at a time, so twice is four months. Once it's put to the court, then it can be renewed continuously. Therefore, Ke Wenzhe, the leader of the People's Party, is now in jail for more than three terms—more than six months. Now, the reason this is a tampering with our entire judicial system is that if you lead a counter-recall, right? You ask people to sign the petition—you need 1% of the vote for the first time, and you need 10% of the signatures at the second stage. All of this will then be vetted by our central election committee. They will check whether these are real people, whether they really supported your motion.

This is a very small administrative process. Now, the government said that because you are recalling legislators, it involves national security. Therefore, they turn a very minor crime, a very small procedural issue, into a massive crime punishable by a five-year term. Because you need to have a severe crime to incarcerate people. So now you can see how terrible the use of the judicial system is, and how it may interrogate people and intimidate any opposition. Now, even the youngest leaders—there are some young people who decided to recall their legislator, waging the so-called counter-recall—were asked to post bail at a level that in Taiwan is usually reserved for major crimes. So you can see the overall cooperation from the judicial system, especially the prosecutor's side, with the current ruling DPP.

#M2

What is this for? I mean, the last large elections in Taiwan were just a year ago, right? The general election. So the current parliament still has three years left in its term. And now the DPP is eradicating the Kuomintang and other opposition forces because it cannot ram through its legislative changes. What are the changes that they want, that they can't get through, that they want to implement?

#F1

Well, there are two things. One is they claim that the fiscal budget was not approved, and therefore the government cannot run. So this is a little bit like Donald Trump's view on the opposition. However, if you look at it dollar for dollar, this year the Congress passed more of the fiscal budget than in previous years. But there were major problems. For example, a new project on building a submarine had a budget freeze, saying that you need to provide proof of concept before additional budget is allocated. However, that submarine is now reported as a major failure. There were tons of mistakes, and therefore the Congress was actually doing the right thing, saying that you cannot, just because of your political agenda, fast-track everything. You have to prove that you have proof of concept, you have proof of safety, then you move forward.

So the Congress actually froze some of the budget proposals, saying that you need to come back to report to Congress and/or propose a revised budget. The legislature made such a reasonable request, but the administration decided not to put forth their revised budget until the general recall started building momentum. So after the general recall began gaining momentum, they finally submitted their revised budget to Congress. So you can see this is a bit of a dance—it's a tangle, it's back and forth. Secondly, I think what's more pertinent today is that after the tariff war, you know that Taiwan is on the short end. We were asked to move TSMC to the United States. We were asked to buy additional U.S. arms. We were asked to invest more in the United States and perhaps change our foreign exchange—which is a large amount, \$5, \$7, \$6 billion—into longer-term bonds.

So none of this was discussed by the current Lai Jingde government in Congress or in public forums. His main mandate to his people was four Chinese words: —delinking from China and moving to the north, meaning joining the northern countries, which is almost like Zelensky joining NATO. So his overall strategy is to move Taiwan away from China and into the United States, even by moving our high technology and other assets to the United States, with our foreign reserves largely moving into longer-term U.S. bonds. None of this is being discussed in Taiwan's public forums at all. Everybody is now talking about the general recall of the KMT legislator, and the counter-recall is now being stamped, and how the judicial system is deteriorating and dilapidated.

Let me just repeat one more time. The overall significance of the recent event, especially on April 26th, is, first, it shows Taiwan moving into an illiberal democracy at a faster speed than we had anticipated. Secondly, it's also moving Taiwan in a totalitarian direction by having the administrative arm oust the opposition in the legislative arm using the judicial arm. So all of these are moving toward a near-totalitarian state. All the while, the major issue confronting Taiwan's economy and future—which is the U.S. tariff war and Taiwan's counter-strategy—is not being discussed in the public forum. How terrible is that? And how wonderful is that for a democratic value partner like Lai Qingde to the United States?

#M2

This is quite incredible. Do you actually think that this is also a useful distraction—a way to divert the public eye from what actually matters, which is this decision, not just of a geopolitical realignment, but a decisive geopolitical moment when the leadership says, "Okay, we're going to throw our lot in with the Americans in this upcoming confrontation with China, and now we're going to shed all pretense of maybe maintaining a balance"?

#F1

Well, certainly, Lai Qingde has a very major speech coming up on May 20th. I suspect he will continue his approach of "Tuo zhong ru bei," delinking from China and moving into the northern camp. He will continue to provoke China, and he will continue to show the United States that Taiwan will increase its arms build-up, military build-up, in cooperation with the US strategy in the West Pacific. In fact, his first delegation to Washington has just come back reporting that the advance they made is that whatever Taiwan buys in terms of arms procurement from the United States will now be counted to offset the trade balance. So it's not just my imagination that Lai Qingde is doing this. He is doing this.

He is trying to further link up Taiwan with the military plan in the West Pacific led by the United States. And this trade tariff will be a timely move to also tell Taiwan that, hey, by doing this, we are increasing our security guarantee from the United States. We are more closely connected with U.S. policy. And this, by the way, helps us negotiate down our tariffs. So there are a lot of things going on. But locally, he is trying to use a totalitarian approach to stem the opposition, to increase their political power, and also, our local elections—from the city to city council level—will come in just a little bit over a year. So he will strengthen his position in the local elections.

#M2

And local elections are very important in the Taiwanese context, right? Because they are usually a bellwether for what's to be expected in the next two years. And it is a proportional system where you actually get a feeling for the political leanings of the people on the ground. Right.

#F1

There are two reasons. Let me just come back to you. Right now, in the local elections, the KMT actually won all the major cities. The mayors of all the major cities are from the DPP's opposition; the KMT runs them. Secondly, the local council is a multi-seat system, so you only need a certain number of seats to secure your position in the local council, and the People's Party may have a greater chance. So the White Party will have a pretty strong chance of winning the local elections, and that is why Ko Wen-je, the chairperson of the White Party, is now incarcerated. If you count Ko Wen-je's general election vote—because he also ran for president last time—if you count his vote, he would probably get 15 to 20% of all the local seats, just based on how many people supported him when he ran for the presidency. And that is why Lai Qingde is trying to stem all possible growth of

the White Party as early as possible. And Ko Wen-je is now in jail without solid proof, without being tried.

#M2

But this is really eerily similar to the process in Ukraine, where opposition politicians and others were thrown into jail, and media outlets started to be banned. And all of that was then—of course, Ukraine is still today hailed by Europeans and Americans as a beacon of democracy, the best democracy in Europe. I mean, I hope the Taiwanese are not as gullible as the Ukrainians. I mean, there were protests here as well now.

#F1

Well, the protest was not even reported, right? Pascal, this is the same playbook. If you look at what the DPP has done, they have passed a law so that foreign nationals can now serve in our government. American advisors can work in our government departments. The United States has sent more military advisers to Taiwan, which has not happened since 1979, when they severed the relationship with us. In 1979, they severed diplomatic relations, withdrew all U.S. military forces, and also ended the Joint Defense Treaty. There were three conditions in 1979. But now, American advisors are coming back, advising our military. They are also potentially coming back into the government. And those things are happening right now.

#M2

Jesus Christ, that is very scary. That is very frightening, because this is like an internal buildup in order to then justify extreme positions. Because, I mean, the question is, of course, the only thing that China has said is an absolute red line is a declaration of independence or foreign intervention. But do you think there's a buildup towards this, to create momentum for Lai actually standing in front of the cameras and just declaring that from today on, it's going to be the Democratic Republic of Taiwan and not the Republic of China anymore that's ruling the government?

#F1

It will probably be more gradual, and that is why I think May 20th, his one-year anniversary speech, will be very, very critical. If he continues to provoke, what we've seen is that China's attitude has been extremely strong. After March 11th, they've declared the Taiwan Strait as internal waters. So the aerial denial line is now drawn to the east of Taiwan, right? So the Taiwan Strait is internal waters. The denial district is to the east of Taiwan. So if Lai Ching-te does something more provocative on May 20th, it will be against the backdrop of a potential trade and oil confrontation between the United States and China. So that particular stance, that position, may be used by either side, and that will not benefit Taiwan at all.

#M2

But Taiwan is economically very dependent on China. I mean, it's your largest trading partner. The U. S. is actually only number two. If China ever did to Taiwan what the United States just did—such as threatening tariffs—what would that do to your economy?

#F1

Oh, that would be disastrous because your top technology, like TSMC, and about 85 companies that work in the supply chain of TSMC—the most valuable part—will be taken to the United States, which is the stated purpose of both Trump and supported by Lai Ching-te's overall strategy. So our top-notch technology will move to the United States, and that is his "Tuozhong Rubei," moving into the North. But our middle part is actually the largest trading part with China. The parts, the computer, information technology, LED, all kinds of components, precision components—Taiwan exports to China. And if we don't have the export from TSMC to the United States, then if you lose your middle-level technology export to China, what do you have left?

You have a service industry, an agricultural base, a local economy. You have no other link with international trade. So it will be disastrous for Taiwan. And that strategy is like cutting off one arm, sending your most beautiful girl to the United States, and cutting up your second son and letting him die. I don't understand what Lai Ching-te is doing in terms of helping the people of Taiwan. But I do understand he's advancing his ideology and what he hopes to make—a pro-Japanese, independent Taiwan. He's never truly Taiwan independent. He is a pro-Japanese Taiwan independence movement proponent.

#M2

I don't understand that one because, you know, Japan has, of course, no claims whatsoever—I mean, not even rhetorically, nothing—over Taiwan. The most important thing for Japan is to not have a war over Taiwan because that would automatically draw in Okinawa, right? They are this close, this close. So why would you have this pro-Japanese, Taiwanese approach by Lai?

#F1

Well, for a long, long time, Taiwan independence has had two main branches. One is asking for freedom and democracy, mostly from the United States. That is why they are very close to the Democratic Party, because they were the opposition at the time. So that branch is asking for a generally more open democratic system—that's from the Americans. The second branch of Taiwan independence is to continue the glory of the Japanese ruling era. To them, Japan is their motherland, both in their imagination and their aspiration. So from about 1995, starting with Lee Teng-hui, you began to see a lot more portrayal of Japan and how that era was glorious, with the Japanese ruling time seen as the heyday of Taiwan. Lai Ching-te belongs to the second camp. His

general idea—if you recall, Japanese politicians at one point said, "If something happens to Taiwan, it happens to Japan," indicating Japan will support Taiwan in the unlikely event of whatever China may do to Taiwan.

So that is Lai Ching-te's sort of spiritual and aspirational homeland. He has also changed our cultural fabric in recent years. Usually, for example, in entertainment and commercials, you don't use foreign languages. But now, only Japanese language commercials can be aired on public TV, broadcast TV, in their entirety. No English commercial can be aired in its entirety, but Japanese commercials can. The Japanese ruling era is being broadcast on the public broadcast station with lots of glorified human stories, wonderful lawyers, great systems, and so on and so forth. So there is a very strong underpinning of leaning towards Japan and the "glorious time" of Japanese rule in the Lai Ching-te camp. In fact, all of them do underscore this.

#M2

But this is really bizarre because, again, there are no claims and there's no appetite in Japan at all to, in any way, shape, or form, come to the help of Taiwan. I mean, "dying for Taipei" is definitely not a slogan—nobody would support that over here in Japan. You would really only get some really crazy nuts who would say, "Yes, we need to do that." And apart from that, Japan has self-defense forces and has a clause in its constitution that forbids its military from being deployed abroad. And of course, Taiwan is classified as abroad. So there is no question about that inside Japan. But what you're saying is that inside this ruling government party, there are people who have this fantasy of Japan?

#F1

And it continues to tell people that Japan will come to our aid. If you go back to about 2002, the U.S.-Japan treaty was extended to the islands in Okinawa and the west—what should be called the west-south islands of Okinawa. So they have extended the defense territories to an area very close to Taiwan. Yonaguni Island, near the east side of Taiwan, before you enter the Okinawa Trench, is an area where the U.S. has put X-band radar and other things to militarize that area. During Abe's time, Abe showed very strong support for Taiwan, especially to the DPP, in particular Lai Ching-te.

So he has the ability to show that they have a very strong relationship with the political leadership in Japan, even though the stated constitution doesn't allow Japan to come out and support Taiwan. But there is a very strong—if not "solid as a rock," because this is the term the US used—there is a very strong underlying support for Taiwan. This has been the DPP playbook for a long, long time. They've told people in Taiwan that the United States and Japan will come and support their position. So, like you and I have talked about, neutrality and how you have to manage tension so that you avoid war—these are, I think, very dangerous rhetorics that give people the wrong illusion. And we should watch very carefully what he may say on May 20th.

#M2

Yes, yes, I absolutely agree. And, you know, if it is indeed the same playbook, then looking to Ukraine for hints of what's going to happen is very important, because the thing is that NATO has been supporting Ukraine with everything except the one thing that actually could have made a difference, which is actual troops, right? So, no, you're going to be used as cannon fodder. You're going to be used as implementation partners for a kinetic war. So it would be a very bad illusion if Taiwan thought that the US or Japan would actually come to help. They give everything to fight something that they... Japan doesn't want this to be fought, but maybe the United States would.

#F1

I think the current leadership in Japan is a lot more careful than during the Abe era. They are a lot more careful because the war is pacing, it's threatening—it's more like a reality that's going to happen. So they are a lot more careful in both their language and their actions.

#M2

Yeah, luckily—I would say luckily in this case—they're also trying to build new connections with China and South Korea as well. So why do you think it is that these protests were so systematically ignored? Is there—because you said, I mean, Reuters and Bloomberg and so on, they didn't report on it. And CNN—they all have local reporters, right?

#F1

Exactly. They have local reporters on the ground. And typically, they would report protests. I think CNN is a particular case. The CNN correspondent moved from China to Taiwan, so he has a very strong position to tout Taiwan as a beacon of democracy. I've seen his reports, and every time there's something good, he has a very happy face touting Taiwan as a model democracy. I think the overall US strategy, in terms of their mass media, is to treat the KMT as a very archaic, old ruling party that's losing the people's support and losing, quote-unquote, the independence movement in Taiwan. But they neglect the fact that, as I said in your program before, 70% of the people voted last time.

40% voted for the DPP. So if you count it, 28% of the people voted for the president's line. And of the 24%, not all supported his Taiwan independence movement, let alone this extremely pro-Japanese illusion or pro-US military build-up. So these do not fit their playbook. So they do not report anything that's against the playbook, especially when we're moving from a liberal democracy, like we're moving into a totalitarian police state. All of these things—typically, you would say this is a human rights violation. If it happens in Hong Kong, happens in Shanghai, even 10,000 people would be a huge thing. No, actually, 1,000 people would be a huge thing. But this is 200,000, 300,000 people on the streets, and Western media said nothing. They turned a blind eye. They were silent.

#M2

It's just this narrative creation, right? And this narrative control that you need to maintain in order to keep a simplistic, black-and-white idea of what a conflict is about alive. And we are actually, you know, in a sad sense, Taiwan is just following what the "Free West" is doing at the moment. Because right now, we have elections in Romania without the major contender, who was barred by the judicial branch from running simply because the judicial branch said he's not compatible—I mean, his ideology is not compatible with what's good for the country—which is absolutely insane. I've talked with colleagues from Poland who said Poland is cracking down on the opposition. We're seeing that in Germany, the AfD is now branded officially as a right-wing extremist group and is on the way to being banned. I mean, this current crackdown in the West on democracy is also extending to Taiwan, isn't it?

#F1

Exactly. I think starting from the United States, democracy is deteriorating. If you look at what has happened to their system—checks and balances, human rights, First Amendment rights—they are all being challenged. Universities are being challenged. So, starting from the United States and extending to all the younger democracies, we're seeing an overall change in what democracy really means. And a lot of the foundations that the system ought to have in order to make it work are being challenged everywhere. But also in Taiwan, I think our use of the judicial system is extremely cruel.

Our incarceration without communication—meaning you are being put in an extremely small cell, unable to communicate with anybody. So all of the political leaders I just cited were held—they were incarcerated incommunicado, without communication. You create an extremely strong police state atmosphere to tell people, "Don't you challenge me. If you do, you can be subject to such cruelty without even having solid evidence that you did anything wrong against the law, without doing anything major against the law." So we are in a terrible state. It's a combination of the dilapidation of democracy as well as the increase of a police state.

#M2

So what do these protests indicate? Do you see more protests coming? Because, you know, Taiwan, in a sense—you fought for this democracy. And, you know, the KMT was the uniparty of the past, the ruling party that came out of previous dictatorships, right? And then you democratized over the last 25, 30 years—very well democratized—and now this. So do you think people inside Taiwan are sharing your assessment, and that's what's driving the protests?

#F1

I think, unfortunately, there are generation gaps in the analysis. Most of the people who understand that this current DPP government is not democratic—because we fought for 30 years to make it more open—are the ones with that historical knowledge. But the younger people, who have no idea what democracy was evolving from, how many things were gradually opened up and gradually reformed, these younger people will not have that historical memory or understanding. Then they don't see anything wrong with what the government is doing or what the government is telling them. So I see this generation gap not from an ideological point of view, but from historical experience.

The zeitgeist of different cohorts is very, very different. Luckily, this time in the April 26th protest, we saw a lot of younger people who came out and said, "Look, we don't understand everything, but we understand that this is not what true democracy is about." So there were more younger people coming out on April 26th. So I'm an optimist. I believe that systems should have an ability to self-correct, even though you may need to pay a high price. But you also need to have strong political leaders who say, "OK, you may do whatever to me, but I am not afraid. I will not budge." And now we're gradually seeing people coming out—not all within the KMT. A lot of them are outside of the KMT.

#M2

Are there dissidents in the DPP who say, "Look, this is not how we should do this?"

#F1

No, because they are in power. Once they are in power, power is a very sweet thing. Power comes with status, even potential reward. The DPP is now very closely tied, even if some people believe that Tsai Ing-wen's faction did not fully agree with Lai Ching-te's faction. But Tsai Ing-wen is extremely silent. She's not saying anything.

#M2

That's very sad. That's very sad. So where should people go who actually want to read about Taiwan? What news sources do you recommend that have the most objective reporting?

#F1

Well, unfortunately, I can't think of any English source. So perhaps a program like yours would be the source. You have to go beyond the major media and their playbook, or their lenses. They have a particular lens through which they look at the world.

#M2

What's your assessment of the Taipei Times? Is that something you would recommend using as a source for what's happening, even if it has an ideological bias?

#F1

Taipei Times has some streamers, some reporters who are good. So I would recommend people follow individual reporters rather than just the newspaper. Taipei Times still has some good reporters.

#M2

All right. And we will have you back on the program. Please do let me know when things are happening, because again, it's actually difficult to know that something is happening because of the... I am so glad you picked this up.

#F1

Nobody has asked me this question. You are the only one.

#M2

We're going to spread this. We'll spread it. Dr. Joanna Lei, thank you very much for your time today.

#F1

Thank you, Pascal.