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**REPORT ON ELECTIONS
IN THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA ON
DECEMBER 2, 1989**

**PREPARED FOR THE
INTERNATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR
ELECTORAL SYSTEMS**

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
I. INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW	
Presidency	2
Executive Yuan	3
Judicial Yuan.	3
Control Yuan.	4
National Assembly.	4
Examination Yuan.	4
Legislative Yuan.	4
PRC-ROC Relationship.	9
II. CONTEMPORARY POLITICAL SCENE	
Central Election Commission	9
Electoral Law	10
III. PRE-ELECTION OBSERVATIONS	
Primaries	11
Strategy & Issues.	11
Television & Radio	14
Newspapers & Other Publications	15
Observers	16

IV. ROLE AND STRUCTURE OF THE RELEVANT POLITICAL PARTIES AND SPECIAL INTEREST GROUPS

Major Parties.	16
Special Interest Groups	18
<i>The ROC Consumers Foundation</i>	18
<i>The New Society Union</i>	19
<i>Citizens Solidarity Against Urban Speculation (CSAUS)</i>	19
Labor.	19
o <i>Labor Party</i>	20
o <i>Taiwanese Association for Labor Rights</i>	20
o <i>Chinese Federation of Labor</i>	20
o <i>National Federation of Independent Trade Unions</i>	20
Environmental Groups.	20
Campaigning	21
Campaign Financing.	22
Religious Organizations	23

V. VOTING PROCEDURE

Registration.	24
Administration of Voting Sites	24
Ballots and Voting	24
Security	25
Vote-counting	26
Election Oversight	26

VI. RESULTS OF THE ELECTION

Legislative Yuan	28
County Magistrate & City Mayor	29
Provincial Assembly	29
Taipei City Council	29
Kaohsiung City Council	30

VII. CONCLUSION

I. INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

The Chinese Nationalist Movement, led by Dr. Sun, Yat-sen and later by Chiang Kai-shek, challenged imperial rule in China in the early 20th Century. Dr. Sun, Yat-sen formed the Kuomintang (KMT) Party in July, 1914, and after his death in March, 1925, Chiang, Kai-shek brought the party to a position of leadership in China by the late 1920's. The KMT was founded on the basis of Dr. Sun, Yat-sen's three principles of the people:

- o The principle of nationalism
- o The principle of democracy (People's Rights)
- o The principle of social well-being (People's Livelihood)

In the 1930's and 1940's the Nationalists attempted to consolidate effective control over the Mainland while simultaneously fighting the Japanese and Chinese Communists.

The Cairo Declaration of December 3, 1943, signed by General Chiang, Kai-shek, President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Prime Minister Winston Churchill, stipulated among other things, that Taiwan and Penghu territories were "stolen" by Japan from China and assured their final restoration. The Potsdam Declaration of July, 1945 following V-E Day, affirmed this. The Japanese surrender resulted in the return of Taiwan in 1945 after a 50-year occupation. In 1949, the Chinese Communists, supported by the Soviets, defeated the Nationalist Government on the Mainland, and the Nationalist government retreated to Taiwan. The Government of the Republic of China (ROC) was faced with an incredible challenge as it struggled to establish a Government in Taipei in the early 1950's. The newly arrived refugees placed a tremendous strain on industrial and agricultural capacity. Between 1946 and 1954, more than 1.5 million refugees escaped from the Mainland to Taiwan. Eventually, over 2 million Chinese escaped from the Mainland before the Communists cut off avenues of escape.

When, in the early 1950's, the KMT set about rehabilitating and reconstructing Taiwan, it inherited a battered economy. The anti-Japanese war and the civil war on the mainland had exacted a heavy toll on the island. Infrastructure was crumbling; inflation was rampant, as it had been on the mainland; foreign trade and investment had dried up; industrial and agricultural production were stagnant. The economy had suffered severe dislocation from the KMT's frantic attempt to turn it, in the late 1940's, from a basically monocultural plantation colony servicing Japanese requirements to a key logistical support in the civil war with the communists. Invasion was expected imminently, and defense soaked up most of the government income.

Of the population of about 8 million, roughly 20% were refugees from the mainland, and many of those were soldiers, bureaucrats and businessmen who had somehow to be absorbed into the economy. The indigenous population was young, growing fast, undereducated and poor. In 1952, 42% of the population were under 15, and the rate of natural increase was 3.7%. 42% of the population over the age of six were illiterate. Living standards were low -- per capita GDP was U.S. \$186 in 1952 -- and expenditure on food took up 58% of private consumption. Life expectancy at

birth was 58 years. Already Taiwan was quite crowded with a population density in 1952 of 235 persons per square kilometer.

The Nationalists maintained a 1947 constitution written on the Mainland, augmented with "Temporary Provisions Effective During the Period of Communist Rebellion," and sustained the Nationalist "Republic of China" on Taiwan. Both the Mainland and Taiwan Chinese regimes have insisted that the other is illegitimate and in rebellion, and they remain formally at war.

The Chiang family dominated politics in Taiwan since coming there in 1949, first by Generalissimo Chiang, Kai-shek (1948-1975 except for a brief period in the late 40s) Yen, Chia-Kan (1975-1978) and then by his son, Chiang, Ching-kuo (1978-1988).

The 1947 constitution established a democratic republic with seven major governmental institutions:

- o The Presidency
- o The Executive Yuan
- o The Legislative Yuan
- o The Control Yuan
- o The Examination Yuan
- o The Judicial Yuan
- o National Assembly

Presidency

The President and Vice-President are elected by the National Assembly and serve six-year terms. The constitution provides that the president shall be the chief of state and shall represent the nation in foreign relations. The president is commander-in-chief of the armed forces. The president also has the authority:

- o To promulgate laws and regulations with the counter-signature of the premier and in some instances the head of the relevant Ministry;
- o To impose martial law with the confirmation of the Legislative Yuan;
- o To conclude treaties, declare war, and make peace;
- o To convene the National Assembly;
- o To grant amnesty or commutation;
- o To appoint the president of the Executive Yuan and the auditor general of the Control Yuan with the consent of the Legislative Yuan;

- o To appoint the president and the vice president of the Judicial Yuan; the grand justices; and the president, vice president and members of the Examination Yuan with the consent of the Control Yuan;
- o To appoint and remove government officials and military officers;
- o To issue emergency orders to secure national security under temporary provisions effective during the period of communist rebellion;
- o To appoint a National Security Council of which he is the ex officio chairman;

The March, 1990, presidential election is probably the last one that will ever be decided by the National Assembly (electoral college). The majority of National Assembly members were elected in 1948. These elderly National Assemblymen are dying off fast, and by the time of the next presidential poll (1996), they will probably be replaced either by a Taiwan-elected National Assembly, or a more direct form of presidential polling.

Executive Yuan

The Executive Yuan is responsible for administering the laws of the ROC and is headed by a Premier, appointed by the President and confirmed by the Legislative Yuan.

The Executive Yuan is composed of cabinet ministers and other Premier-nominated and presidentially-appointed officials and exercises the administrative functions traditionally associated with the executive branch of government. Separated from those functions are matters affecting the disposition of civil servants, which are under the jurisdiction of the Examination Yuan.

There are five (5) categories of subordinate organizations under the Executive Yuan:

- o Policy making - the Executive Yuan Council
- o Executive - the Ministries and Commissions
- o Staff - the Secretariat
- o Accounting - directorate general of budget, accounting, and statistics
- o Information - government information office

Judicial Yuan

The Judicial Yuan is the supreme judicial authority, empowered to interpret the constitution and statutes, as well as handling all civil, criminal and administrative cases.

Control Yuan

The Control Yuan acts as the government's "watchdog" branch, with oversight and prosecution powers over the activities of the "administrative" Yuans--the Executive, Examination and Judicial Yuans. The Control Yuan is composed of members elected by Provincial and City Councils as well as certain other groups, but no election has been held since 1948.

National Assembly

The National Assembly's primary functions are to elect the president and vice-president and amend the constitution. (The first National Assembly was elected in 1947 and had 2,961 members; there are now approximately 800, with 94 elected from Taiwan constituencies serving six-year terms.) The National Assembly is the vehicle for the people to maintain political power over their Government.

Examination Yuan

This branch of government is responsible for holding Civil Service examinations for public officials, professionals and technicians.

Legislative Yuan

The Legislative Yuan is Taiwan's principal legislative and parliamentary body. Members of the Legislative Yuan are elected on a proportional representation basis from the geographical areas of Mainland China as well as from certain groups, such as overseas Chinese, several occupations and ethnic groups. Each serves 3 year terms except for those elected from the Mainland in 1948 who have not stood for election since that time because they cannot return to the Mainland. In the original elections in May, 1948, 773 seats were authorized but the Ministry of Interior reported that only 760 people had been elected. About 320 are filled now, with approximately 163 of those held by elderly politicians elected on the Mainland in 1948.

The National Assembly and the Legislative Yuan are, in principle, representative bodies whose members are directly elected by the people. In practice, however, their representative nature is sharply limited by the fact that neither body has stood for general election since 1948. Both institutions are dominated by aging majorities who theoretically represent Mainland constituencies from which they were elected in 1948. They have never faced re-election.

After the December 2, 1989, elections, the Legislative Yuan consists of five (5) categories of legislators:

- o Members elected on the Mainland in 1948, who are not subject to re-election (approximately 163 members - This changes constantly due to deaths and retirements.)
- o Members elected in Taiwan for permanent tenure in the 1969 supplementary elections (7 members)
- o Members appointed by the President to represent Overseas Chinese communities for three-year terms (29 members)

- o Members popularly elected to represent area-based, multi-member constituencies on Taiwan, Quemoy and Matsu for three-year terms (79 members)
- o Members elected to represent certain occupational or ethnic sectors: farming, fishing, teaching, industry, business and aborigines (22 members).

In the December 2, 1989 elections, 130 of the approximately 320 members of the Legislative Yuan stood for election or appointment, with 101, or 31%, of the current membership to be elected by the people on Taiwan:

SEATS OPEN IN DECEMBER 2, 1989 ELECTIONS

By Appointment	29 seats	Representing Overseas Chinese
By Election	79 seats	Representing Geographic Areas in Taiwan
By Election	<u>22 seats</u>	Representing Occupational and Ethnic Sectors
Total	130 seats	

In 1992, the KMT hopes to have a total of 150 appointed or elected lawmakers, its target for the restructured legislature. Old life-term lawmakers who die or retire will not be replaced, and the membership should eventually dwindle down to 150. Even if the opposition captures 100% of the popular vote on December 2, it will still be a minority in the Legislative Yuan. The real battleground is in the mayoral and county executive races, where victories by the opposition Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) could translate into true power.

The KMT's parliamentary program will not be applied to the National Assembly, which votes to re-elect Taiwan's president every six years, until 1992.

The following branches of Government in the ROC are also elected directly by the people:

- o County Councilmen for each of the 16 County Governments and City Councilmen for each of the 5 cities under the jurisdiction of the Taiwan provincial government.
- o Chiefs of each city (Shih), Town (Chen), and Township (Hsiang) under the jurisdiction of County governments.
- o Representatives for the cities (Shih), Towns (Chen), and Townships (Hsiang) under the jurisdiction of County governments.

- o Chiefs of boroughs (Li) and villages (Tsun) which are at the lowest administrative levels of (1) the city and county governments under the jurisdiction of the Taiwan Provincial Government and (2) the special municipalities of Taipei and Kaohsiung under the jurisdiction of the Executive Yuan.

The Chiefs of Districts (Chu) are appointed by City governments, and the Chiefs of Neighborhoods (Lin) are also appointed positions.

Local self rule began in 1950, when all the chief executives and representative bodies below the provincial level were elected directly by the people. The Provincial Assemblymen have all been elected directly since 1954.

At the provincial and local levels, voters in the December 2 elections will elect:

- o Taiwan Provincial Assembly--all 77 members
- o Taipei City Council--all 51 members
- o Kaohsiung City Council--all 43 members
- o 21 city mayors and county magistrates

The city mayors of Taipei and Kaohsiung, and the Governor of Taiwan are appointed by the president. The mayoralties of Taipei and Kaohsiung have been presidential appointments since 1967 and 1979, respectively.

In 1969, elections were held for supplementary members of the Legislative Yuan and the National Assembly and indirectly for the Control Yuan. These new members increased the number of representatives for the Taiwan area, an action taken in response to the growing population of Taiwan and the fact that the Mainland was still under the control of the Communist regime based in Beijing. Although the Mainland representatives elected in 1947 continued to hold a majority of the seats in the national representative bodies housed in Taipei, the newly elected members have been very active and have gradually become the major players in these three (3) representative bodies.

In the 1950's and 1960's, the KMT established a one-party state, in which the KMT controlled all the island's major political and social institutions. The Government also undertook an aggressive economic development program, with significant U.S. assistance, that succeeded in transforming Taiwan from a rural society to an industrial economy in the span of one generation.

Beginning in the late 1960's, a political change began to occur in Taiwan. Rapid economic development produced a growing, educated middle class that demanded political representation. In 1969, the authorities decided to permit "supplementary" elections for representatives from Taiwan to the Legislative Yuan, and to the National Assembly in 1972. At the same time, the KMT instituted a process of "Taiwanisation" within the ruling party, recruiting native Taiwanese into the lower and middle levels of the party. This integration was designed to develop both a popular base of support on the island and a generation of leaders that would eventually replace the aging Mainlanders that dominated the party.

President, Lee Teng-hui, is a native Taiwanese. Of Taiwan's eight cabinet ministers, only Economics Minister Chen Lian and Education Minister Mao Kao-wen are second-generation Mainlanders. Mr. Chen, 52, is one of the select handful of foreign-educated Mainland sons being groomed by the KMT before Taiwanisation and who now hold high office. Others include Frederick F. Chien, 54, Chairman of the Council for Economic Planning and Development, and seen as a potential Premier, KMT General-Secretary James Soong, 47, John Kuan, 49, the party's top election strategist, and John Chang, former Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs and recently appointed as Director General, Department of Overseas Affairs, Central Committee, Kuomintang Party.

In 1975, the year of President Chiang, Kai-shek's death, the "Dangwai" (meaning "outside the party") opposition movement began to take shape, with the establishment of several prominent opposition journals, serving as catalysts.

In 1977, the "Dangwai" fared well in local elections, gaining considerable momentum for the 1978 national elections. Although no true opposition party was permitted to organize, a number of independents ran and were elected. In 1978, however, the elections were cancelled, in the wake of U.S. withdrawal of recognition from the Republic of China and the establishment of diplomatic ties with the PRC. The U.S. move was a profound shock to the government and probably the most severe blow to its legitimacy, both internationally and internally, since 1949.

In 1979, the government carried out a crackdown against the opposition. In the Kaohsiung incident of December, 1979, a peaceful opposition demonstration became violent. The government arrested, tried and imprisoned dozens of prominent opposition figures.

Elements of the opposition began to reconsolidate in the early 1980s and participated in the 1983 local and national elections. The opposition, realizing that martial law would soon be lifted seized the initiative in September, 1986, and announced the formation of the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP). The DPP participated actively in the December, 1986, legislative elections; the government tolerated the DPP's activities, and the political campaign was one of unprecedented openness in Taiwan's history. The DPP won 23% of the vote, which translated into 15% of the contested seats in the Legislative Yuan and the National Assembly.

Since then, the process of liberalization has accelerated. After nearly 40 years, the authorities lifted the martial law decree in July, 1987. However, the old martial law was immediately replaced by a National Security Law, which, while allowing for a wider range of political and civil rights than before, nonetheless placed clear limits on the political debate in Taiwan by prohibiting the advocacy of Taiwan independence, a major issue of interest to some elements of the opposition and a faction of the KMT. In January, 1988, Chiang, Ching-kuo died and Lee, Teng-hui assumed the presidency. The emergence of a native Taiwanese president signaled a new era in Taiwan's political life.

Throughout 1987 and 1988, political demonstrations became an increasingly common form of expression; almost 2,000 demonstrations occurred in 1987 alone. In addition to demanding greater political reform, Taiwan's citizens took to the streets to express their views on trade policies, environmental concerns, and other quality of life issues that had rarely been openly discussed, let alone challenged. Protests contributed to the January 1988 passage of the Assemblies and Street Demonstrations

Law. Relations with the Mainland were also liberalized somewhat in 1987 and 1988. Although government officials were still barred from travelling to the Mainland (even this changed in 1989, when Shirley Kuo, the Minister of Finance, led an ROC delegation to Beijing for an Asian Development Bank international conference), private travel was permitted, prompting a wave of Taiwanese visitors abroad. Similarly, the authorities began taking a more flexible diplomatic approach to the Mainland, as Taiwan dropped the policy of mutual exclusion and began to court countries willing to recognize Taiwan and the PRC simultaneously. In January, 1988, restrictions on newspapers were eased, leading to an explosion of politically diverse newspapers and a qualitative increase in the openness of political debate. The stage for the next round of national, provincial and local elections was set in early 1989, when the KMT-dominated legislature enacted several new laws relating to the electoral process and the structure of the government:

- o First, the revised Civic Organizations Law legalized the formation and activity of multiple political parties for the first time in the history of China. (ROC or PRC)
- o Second, the public officials Election and Recall Law was amended to establish, among other things, more specific rules on campaign funding, including a system of public campaign financing. It also established, for the first time, the rules of the game for electoral competition between different political parties.
- o Third, a parliamentary reform bill was enacted to provide retirement incentives for the pre-1949 members of the Legislative Yuan and the National Assembly.

The KMT, in February of 1989, drew up a 10-year parliamentary reform program along with the revamped election system. The program aims to gradually phase out the many elderly parliamentarians who represent pre-1949 Mainland constituencies and partly allow the government to maintain its claim of representing all of China. In place of this largely ceremonial body, the KMT wants to build a streamlined parliament of Taiwan-elected representatives that would become a functional part of government. The dilemma of how such a representative government can be established without declaring de facto independence from The Mainland is the central question over the future of Taiwan's politics.

Like the other "Asian tigers," Taiwan is achieving a place in the international economic order that naturally attracts attention to the political developments that will determine its future. Economic power and diplomatic flexibility will make Taiwan a strong competitor with the People's Republic in the battle for international recognition. Coming in the wake of the June, 1989, Tiananmen Square massacre, the December 2, 1989, election had added significance. It represented a chance for Taiwan not only to demonstrate the viability of its democratic processes, but also to highlight the contrast between politics in the People's Republic and Taiwan.

PRC-ROC Relationship

Taiwan's (ROC) relations with the People's Republic of China (PRC) have settled into an entrenched pattern of hostility. The PRC has repeatedly threatened to invade Taiwan in the event of any one of four conditions:

- o If Taiwan established a military alliance with any of the PRC's historic enemies (i.e., Soviet Union);
- o declared independence;
- o developed a nuclear capacity;
- o or fell into political instability.

Taiwan (ROC) responded with what became known as its policy of the "three no's" towards the PRC:

- o No contact
- o No negotiations
- o No compromise

The PRC believes that, slowly, Taiwan (ROC) will come to realize that in the long run, it has no option. Sooner or later, Taiwan will come back into the fold. This might well be true, were it not for the developments in Taiwan itself. The process of democratization set in motion there cannot now be stopped, and it can only lead to the growth of the independence movement. Representative government depends on dropping the pretense of representation for all of China. Independence, however, may also force the PRC to take some form of action.

II. CONTEMPORARY POLITICAL SCENE

The KMT is the dominant party, with the DPP forming into the major opposition party. The Constitution gives the people the right to elect the Legislative Yuan and National Assembly, but this had been suspended until recently.

Central Election Commission

Elections for Taiwan's directly-elected bodies are administered by a Central Election Commission (CEC) and its subordinate bodies at the provincial and local level. The CEC is under the jurisdiction of the Executive Yuan, and its members are appointed by the President of the Republic upon recommendation of the president of the Executive Yuan. The Commission formerly consisted of 9 to 15 members, but the 1989 amendments to the electoral law removed that numerical limitation. The Commission presently has 15 members. The DPP was invited to submit names for the CEC, but refused apparently so they would be in a better position to complain about the fairness of the CEC if the necessity arose.

The membership of the Commission, which is dominated by the KMT, includes government officials, party officials (from the KMT and the two small parties long associated with the KMT) and impartial members who are prominent professionals. The Ministers of Justice and the Interior serve ex officio.

The CEC designates civil servants and teachers to administer the voting day procedures. Additionally, it is also empowered to appoint "impartial persons" as "inspectors at large" to monitor the campaign and election process for violations.

The Central Election Commission oversees the election itself. This body is appointed much as the Federal Election Commission (FEC) is in the U.S. The Commission is an administrative body, and much like the FEC and Secretary of State offices in the U.S., it does not have much judicial authority. Serious infractions of the law and punishment must be determined in a judicial proceeding before a court.

Electoral Law

Taiwan's elections are governed by the Public Officials Election and Recall Law promulgated in 1980 and amended in 1983 and 1989. The electoral law establishes the length of time allotted for political campaigns and the range of permissible campaign activities. The law also sets out the administrative structure for the elections, rules regarding campaign financing, voting procedures, and procedures for handling complaints and challenges regarding the integrity of the electoral process.

On December 2, 1989 Taiwan's 10 million voters elected:

- o 101 members of the Legislative Yuan, the law-making body (79 from geographic areas in Taiwan and 22 from occupational and ethnic groups)
- o 5 mayors
- o 16 county executives
- o 77 Provincial Assemblymen
- o 51 Taipei City Councilmen
- o 43 Taipei/Kaohsiung City Councilmen

Sixteen (16) parties in the campaign fielded a total of 722 candidates for all the contests. But it was mostly a two-party contest, with 346 of the candidates claiming KMT affiliation, 163 carrying the endorsement of the main opposition party, the Democratic Progressive Party, and 171 independents, most of whom were aligned with the DPP. The remaining 42 candidates were from other small political parties.

III. PRE-ELECTION OBSERVATIONS

With the lifting of martial law in July 1987 and the end of newspaper restrictions in January, 1988, limits on free expression were virtually eliminated for this election.

Primaries

The KMT and DPP held primaries on July 23, 1989 (for the first time in the 94 year history of the KMT), to select their respective party candidates. The other parties did not hold primaries. Voter turnout was 46% which is higher than the 30+% average voter turnout in states holding primaries in the United States. The primaries were another indication of Taiwan's movement toward Democracy.

Strategy & Issues

The DPP's pre-election strategy was to focus on the elections of the five big city mayors (Keelung, Taichung, Tainan, Hsinchu, and Chiayi) and the magistrates of Taiwan's 16 counties.

To many observers, the DPP was much too preoccupied with issues that ordinary voters found relatively unimportant. The DPP employed mass street demonstrations more than the KMT to enhance their prestige and achieve more public exposure. Many ROC observers commented that frequent use of such disruptive tactics to build political careers is viewed as a less than responsible attitude toward both society and the political process.

Capitalizing on law and order fears, KMT cabinet conservatives pushed through a tough anti-crime bill barely two weeks before the election. The new law included stiff penalties for labor strikes, interference with government officials and aiding the entry of exiled dissidents.

Article 2 of the National Security Law, passed in 1987 prohibits the advocacy of "the division of the national territory" -- which precludes the advocacy of Taiwan independence.

In the context of the December 2, 1989 elections, the authorities spoke of drawing a line between discussing independence and advocating it, or alternatively, between proposing the issue and using it to incite people to action.

It is seditious under Taiwan law to discuss independence, because it would mean the division of national territory. Nevertheless, a coalition of 38 DPP candidates formed the "New Country Alliance" and pledged to make independence a fundamental tenet of their campaign platform. The DPP "New Country Alliance" advocated adopting a new constitution and proclaiming Taiwan an independent republic. The mainstream DPP candidates believed that more electoral mileage could be gained from such "pocket-book" issues as:

- o Taiwan's speculation-fueled real estate inflation
- o precariously over-valued stock market
- o abysmal environmental conditions
- o gridlocked traffic
- o widening income gaps

o rampant corruption

Such issues were by no means a DPP monopoly, and ruling party candidates were, if anything, better placed to formulate and implement effective policies on those issues.

The issue of whether Taiwan should declare itself independent of the mainland and reconstitute itself as a sovereign nation was one of the more controversial, although not necessarily the most pressing, issue of the campaign.

While some ethnic Taiwanese were vocally advocating independence, second-generation Mainlanders within the KMT formed the "New Kuomintang Alliance" and sought to increase their power and work out an accommodation with China. This group was led by Jaw, Shao-kong, a 39-year-old U.S.-educated engineer. He is one of only three second-generation Mainland Chinese among the current 52 legislators elected in one of the 1986 "supplementary polls."

Mr. Jaw's "New KMT Alliance" is trying to fight independence sentiment among native Taiwanese by seeking a way for Taiwan and China to co-exist. One idea is for the two to remain separate countries joined under an ethnic Chinese commonwealth. The first step in this direction was taken in August, 1989, when a group of Taiwan's scholars aligned with Mr. Jaw went to Beijing for unofficial talks aimed at erecting a legal framework under which Taiwan and China could begin dealing with each other.

Candidates from all parties agreed that the most pressing issues in the campaign were local issues, primarily pollution, crime, social stability and, in Taipei, traffic. The political parties did not stake out clearly contrasting positions with respect to solutions to these problems and remedies appear to be left to the individual candidates. In general, ruling party candidates argued the KMT had successfully presided over a period of tremendous economic growth, was starting to address these local problems and was more capable of solving them than the opposition. The DPP candidates, on the other hand, accused the KMT of having allowed these problems to fester, doing too little about them or having vested interests in the forces that oppose reforms.

There was some speculation that if the KMT won much more than 67%, President Lee would emerge strong enough to declare his independence from the party's septuagenarian Mainlander powerbrokers. A lukewarm victory would oblige Lee to balance his ticket with a senior Mainlander running-mate, such as Premier Lee, Huan or former Premier Yu, Kuo-hwa. A KMT defeat--a narrower margin in the popular vote and upsets in the counties--could weaken President Lee enough to open the way for alternative presidential candidates in March, 1990. Challengers could come from the party's right-wing--such as General Chiang, Wei-kuo, the late president's half brother, or soon-to-retire Chief of General Staff, Hau, Pei-tsun. A KMT defeat could also be read as a mandate for accelerating Taiwanisation and cause the party to turn to a native-born standard-bearer with a somewhat higher profile than President Lee--someone like Judicial Yuan President Lin, Yang-kang.

Many in Taiwan were talking about the "five firsts" that characterized this election:

- o It was Taiwan's most extensive election since the repeal of martial law in 1987.
- o It was the first time legislation authorizing opposition parties had been in effect during an election.
- o It coincided with Taiwan's first cautious openings up to Mainland China.
- o It was the first poll since the demise of the Mainlander-dominated Chiang family dynasty.
- o The election was an important milestone on Taiwan's road to becoming the first Chinese-dominated polity ever to achieve full democracy

The government, as is usually the case with an incumbent, announced so-called "good news" policies prior to the election, which included the following:

- o Reductions in the prime lending rates of the three provincial government-run commercial banks
- o The offering of lower-interest housing loans
- o A simplified income-tax calculation method
- o Larger tax deductions
- o Cuts in cargo tax rates on cosmetics and other items
- o Paid vacations to female high-school teachers after giving birth
- o Extending compulsory education to twelve years
- o Ending military instructors' rating of student conduct
- o Announcing a new Taipei-Ilan highway
- o A new interchange to link Hsinchu County in Northern Taiwan to the Sun Yat-sen freeway
- o A 0.6% stock transaction tax (1/3 the original proposed 1.5%)

On December 2, 1989, the government announced that 34 senior lawmakers would retire before February 1, 1990, bringing the total number of legislators who have died, stepped down, or are on the point of leaving since the passage of the Law on Voluntary Retirement of Senior Parliamentarians last February to 73, 13 more than the opposition demanded during the last legislative session. The departure of the senior legislators will reduce the number of the Mainland-elected lawmakers to 128 by the time the new Legislative Yuan is sworn in in February, 1990. In the December 2, 1989, elections, 101 legislators (79 from the geographical areas in Taiwan and 22 from occupational and ethnic groups) will be elected and 29 others will be

appointed from among candidates representing Overseas Chinese communities. The senior lawmakers will be outnumbered by their younger colleagues for the first time since the 1948 general elections were held on the Mainland.

Television & Radio

There are three (3) television stations in Taiwan, one owned by the KMT, one owned by the provincial government and private interests, and one jointly owned by the Ministry of Defense, the Ministry of Education and some private companies. All three are closely controlled by the authorities.

There are over 30 radio broadcasting networks and nearly 200 radio stations in Taiwan, owned either by the authorities, the KMT, the armed forces or private corporations. Like television, radio in Taiwan is tightly controlled and is not a source of diverse political viewpoints.

Political advertising in the electronic media is sharply restricted; candidates are not permitted to advertise at all, but candidates from the KMT, DPP and independents made extensive use of video tapes. Political parties may in principal run ads, but they must be approved by the Central Election Commission, as being sufficiently "factual" to be aired.

The election count was covered by the local television stations, starting at 8:00 pm on Election day, December 2. Taiwan Television Enterprise, Ltd. (TTV) covered ballot counting for the Legislative Yuan seats representing Taiwan, China Television Co., Ltd. (CTV) covered the tallies for local government leaders and Taipei and Kaohsiung City Councilmen, and Chinese Television System (CTS) covered city council elections at other cities, Taiwan Provincial Assemblymen and members of the Legislative Yuan representing aborigines and vocational groups.

The opposition felt that the three Government-controlled television stations went out of their way for standard-bearers from the KMT. It was alleged that those who could not get on the air as candidates often cropped up as talk-show hosts, news anchormen or game show contestants or endorsers of instant noodles and other products.

A private, fourth T.V. channel set up by the opposition DPP began broadcasts on November 31 in Panchiao, Taipei County, and in Taichung City. The maiden program of the Taipei County station, dubbed the "green station" by DPP officials, featured scenes from a campaign rally by DPP candidate You, Ching, who ran for the Commissionership of Taipei County, and election reports read by a mysterious, masked anchorman.

Similar broadcasts were also reported in Taichung City, Central Taiwan, where a 200-inch television set, placed by opposition candidates, also began showing campaign propaganda.

The DPP said it had smuggled broadcasting equipment into Taiwan and would set up three (3) stations in Northern, Central, and Southern Taiwan. The two (2) other stations were to be named the "Democratic Station" and the "Progressive Station" respectively.

Newspapers & Other Publications

Prior to 1988, there was a limit on the number of pages permitted in a newspaper (12), and publication was also restricted (all licenses had been frozen since 1951). On January 1, 1988, this was lifted and many newspapers have formed since then.

In 1987, Taiwan had 31 daily newspapers, one-third of which were owned by the KMT or the government and the remainder privately owned. After the liberalization of the press laws in January 1988, numerous small, privately-owned newspapers commenced publication. Two national newspapers, The China Times and The United Daily News, comprise approximately 50 percent of all newspapers in circulation. The smaller papers are politically diverse. Some are clearly pro-KMT, but others are pro-opposition or politically independent. All have become more aggressive and diverse in their political reporting in recent years as the readership market for newspapers has become increasingly competitive. Even the two large dailies have become less politically predictable.

Coverage of the political campaign was extensive in all newspapers and, unlike that in the electronic media, involved a vigorous, open discussion of many of the candidates and issues. Given the political diversity of the newspapers, coverage resulted in relatively diverse reporting of the campaign. The opposition's activities were covered and the KMT was not necessarily portrayed in a favorable light.

Both the KMT and DPP made extensive use of newspaper ads.

Approximately 300 newsmen from 14 countries and areas sent reporters and cameramen to cover the election news in Taiwan. This included, but was not limited to, the following:

U.S.A.

New York Times

Christian Science Monitor

Los Angeles Times

Baltimore Sun

Houston Chronicle

San Francisco Examiner

Washington Times

Washington Post

Wall Street Journal

Time

Hong Kong

South China Morning Post

Japan

Asahi Daily

NHK

France

Liberation Daily

Le Monde

U.K.

The Economist

The Times

Switzerland

Daily News of Zurich and Swiss Broadcasting Corp.

Newsweek

Miami Herald Tribune

CNN

UPI

Observers

and news organizations from West Germany, The Netherlands and Belgium.

Congressman Stephen Solarz (D-NY) arrived on November 30 with a delegation of Congressmen consisting of: Edward Feighan (D-OH), Donald Lukens (R-OH), Norman Mineta (D-CA) and John Edward Porter (D-IL). Solarz is chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee's Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs. About 60 members of the right-wing Alliance for the Reunification of China protested against Solarz's visit outside the Taipei office of the American Institute in Taiwan (AIT). This in itself was an indication of Taiwan's move toward democratization. Jaw Shao-kong, a young, liberal KMT legislator, welcomed Solarz and his entourage to observe the December 2 polls, but reminded the group that they were "visitors and not hosts."

Approximately twelve (12) foreign delegations were in Taiwan to observe the elections, which included the following:

- o A Congressional delegation led by Congressman Stephen Solarz (D-NY)
- o A group of five professors from Columbia University led by Dr. Andrew Nathan
- o A group of state secretaries of state
- o A group of professors from various universities
- o National Democratic Institute for International Affairs
- o National Republican Institute for International Affairs
- o International Foundation for Electoral Systems

These delegations included people from the United States, France, Germany, Australia, New Zealand and other countries.

IV. ROLE AND STRUCTURE OF THE RELEVANT POLITICAL PARTIES AND SPECIAL INTEREST GROUPS

Major Parties

Before martial law was lifted, no new parties had been allowed to organize in several decades. There were three parties, the ruling Nationalist Party or Kuomintang (KMT), and two minor parties [Young China Party (YCP) and China Democratic Socialist Party (CDSP)] which were established before 1949. Opposition

parties were permitted to participate in elections as independent candidates but not to run under party banners.

In the fall of 1986, a major opposition party, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), was formed as the ROC Government announced that martial law would soon be lifted. The DPP was able to double its share of legislative seats in the December, 1986, election. The DPP's success was attributed to better coordination and campaign strategy.

Martial law was officially lifted in July, 1987, and a law governing the status of political parties was passed by the Legislative Yuan on January 20, 1989. Since then, 38 parties, including the ruling KMT and the major opposition party, DPP, have registered with the government in accordance with this law. However, most parties, other than the KMT and DPP, are still politically insignificant, owing to their small membership.

The Election and Recall Law was revised in 1989 to give political parties full recognition. Under the 1989 revisions, party candidates and independents have an equal right to run in elections, but party candidates are required to pay only half the amount of the election deposit. This is an attempt to encourage people to join political parties.

The ruling KMT has not monopolized the elections in the past as some have assumed. Since local government elections began in 1950, KMT candidates have never taken all of the seats. They have lost several important elections. For example, in five (5) contests for mayor of Taipei, KMT candidates lost three (3) times. In three (3) elections for County Magistrate and City Mayors since 1977, four (4) seats, about one-fifth (1/5) of the total, were won by non-KMT candidates.

The elections for the Taiwan Provincial Assembly have also been hotly contested, especially because Provincial Assemblymen are influential in local budget decision making. Despite the efforts of the ruling party, non-KMT candidates have won about one-sixth (1/6) to one-fifth (1/5) of the seats ever since direct elections began in Taiwan, and the non-KMT percentage has been rising in recent years.

One indication of the changing times is that for the first time, the KMT has nominated a woman candidate to run for a County level executive position -- the Mayor of Chiaya City.

It was thought prior to the election that the DPP must obtain more than 30% of the vote to remain as a viable opposition party.

The three-year-old DPP has approximately 20,000 members. The DPP was factionalized at its inception between two groups -- a movement-oriented group comprising those who joined the DPP from activist, "street politics" organizations, and the pragmatists, primarily elected officials who had run for office as "nonpartisan" or independent candidates. Distinctions between these two groups have blurred somewhat over the past two years, but the party remains divided into two groups: the "New Movement" faction and the "Formosa" faction. Generally speaking, the "New Movement" faction is primarily focused on resolving Taiwan's ambiguous international status and favors Taiwan independence. The "Formosa" faction, which includes both pragmatists and movement people, does not view Taiwan independence as a priority and is more focused on the reform of Taiwan's existing

political institutions. In the 1986 general election, which came two months after the DPP was formed, it captured 22% of the popular vote and twelve (12) seats in Taiwan's Legislative Yuan. Upon assuming office, the DPP members found themselves powerless, because the legislature was dominated by elderly KMT lawmakers, most of whom have held office since the KMT fled to Taiwan in 1949. In response, the DPP lawmakers set out to discredit the institution and spent the last three years kicking over tables, ripping apart microphones and wrestling with younger KMT colleagues, as the ruling party steamrolled its initiatives through the chamber.

Some of the most "mediagenic" opposition candidates chose to run outside the DPP fold:

- o Ilan's respected county executive, Chen Ting-nan
- o Ex-model Hsu Hsiao-tan, who specializes in stripping off her clothes in the name of freedom
- o Chu Kao-cheng

Young turks from the KMT formed the "New Kuomintang Alliance," which seeks to jettison the party's old guard and negotiate with China a practical formula for co-existence. The KMT leadership attempted to push the issues aside by trumpeting a "new spirit for the country" slogan that promises solutions to everyday problems such as pollution and traffic congestion.

The KMT, as with any majority party, has many advantages, such as state-owned television to promote its candidates and a network of 378 field offices, 7,200 paid cadres and tens of thousands of volunteer campaign workers who were enlisted from the party's membership of 2.5 million.

Many DPP candidates run well-financed campaigns and this was the first election since Taipei relaxed the newspaper censorship in January, 1988, so opposition candidates received much fairer and more complete newspaper coverage than in past elections.

The DPP's leadership thus far has rejected openly advocating independence for Taiwan and chosen instead the term "self-determination."

Special Interest Groups

The December 1989 elections saw the most activity by special interest groups that had ever occurred in the ROC. Women's organizations, the handicapped, and other groups introduced planks to candidates to use in an attempt to draw the support of specific voting groups.

The ROC Consumers Foundation

The ROC Consumers Foundation was established in 1980 and was the first voluntary organization to attract wide public attention. Its members are mainly academics, professionals, mid-level managers, and small scale merchants. It is primarily, though not exclusively, a middle class grouping rooted in the urban population and appeals directly to the public for support. Prior to the new Civic Organizations Law, only one organization could be registered to address any one issue

or topic, which made political management of a social movement much easier. This restriction has been removed and organizations can now focus on whatever issues they consider important.

The leader of the ROC Consumers Foundation divides Taiwan's social movement into four (4) broad categories:

- o Those dedicated to newly arising social issues, which include consumer interests, anti-pollution, conservation, and housing.
- o Those focused on specific policy issues including the anti-nuclear power movement, aborigine and Hakka groups, handicapped, retired servicemen, and a fundamentalist Christian sect in Taiwan.
- o Those oriented towards challenging the ruling party and encompassing groups such as students, teachers, women, farmers and laborers that want to alter existing institutions and power arrangements.
- o Those who challenge basic and often sensitive political policies. Examples are organizations that support "Political Victims", groups of residents originally from the Mainland who want to return home for visits, and groups that urge allowing Taiwanese living on the Mainland the possibility of returning to Taiwan.

The New Society Union

In September 1989, the New Society Union was formed which seeks to influence the results of the December election by bringing together the disabled, women, youth, environmentalists, educational reformers, and homeless citizens.

Citizens Solidarity Against Urban Speculation (CSAUS)

This group was formed in late June of 1989 to channel the public outrage over the skyrocketing housing and real estate prices. The organization was formed by a group of primary school teachers and graduate students majoring in urban planning and development. The group organized a major demonstration in August and called themselves "snails without shells". The group is also opposed to stock market speculation because they believe it provides the large amounts of cash which stock manipulators then pour into real estate speculation. A recent survey by the Ministry of Interior indicates that housing prices in Taiwan have shot up 163% since 1986. In a recent questionnaire distributed by the China Times Express, 73% of the people polled said they support CSAUS.

Labor

With about 5 million members in 1988, the industrial labor force was too potent an interest group to be ignored. The infant opposition parties faced their most critical debate over how this group should be represented. By forsaking class based politics in favor of Taiwanese nationalism, the first and largest opposition party, the DPP, left some of its members dissatisfied. Between 1984-1987, 4,543 labor disputes went to arbitration in District Courts.

o *Labor Party*

Formed in 1987 by ~~Kang~~, Ning-hsiang, purporting to represent the labor movement, but facing an uphill struggle to win support from the rest of the divided opposition.

o *Taiwanese Association for Labor Rights*

The association was founded in 1984 by a group of young intellectuals, including many lawyers and doctors. They offered legal services to laborers and also wrote press releases, drew cartoons, advertised in magazines, and published a monthly magazine called "Labor". They have around 200 members and have set a current policy to set up a branch whenever membership in a locality exceeds 30 people. So far, only two (2) branches have been established in Ilan and Taiwan Counties.

o *Chinese Federation of Labor*

This is an island-wide joint labor union which was established prior to political liberalization and is tied to the ruling KMT party.

o *National Federation of Independent Trade Unions*

This organization was established in 1988 and the original membership had 12 autonomous unions, but has since doubled and is now comprised of organizations from all over Taiwan. In November 1988, a broad coalition of labor unions and groups staged a demonstration requesting that the government take the following into consideration in revising the Labor Union Law and the Labor Standards Law:

- o Work hours and the basic wage scale should be amended;
- o Prohibit employment discrimination based on nationality, race, sex, age, place of birth, or religion and other beliefs;
- o Stricter penalties for violation of the Labor Law.

The Labor Standards Law was passed in 1984, and in the 1986 national election, two virtually unknown labor candidates defeated KMT opponents and entered the Legislative Yuan.

There appears to be very little connection between the Federation and the two new labor parties, the Worker's Party and the Labor Party.

Environmental Groups

Environmental protection organizations began to appear in 1984, and by 1986 they were proliferating rapidly. A new group now appears on average once every two months. The New Environment Foundation appears to be the most active. The Environmental Protection Administration (EPA) was established in 1987. In 1988, the Taiwan Provincial Government and 12 other local governments set up their own Environmental Protection offices. The Executive Yuan has decided to establish four

(4) new Ministries -- Agriculture, Labor, Culture, and Health and Welfare. An Environmental Ministry is notably absent.

Campaigning

The electoral law strictly limits both the duration and scope of the political campaign. The official period for the Legislative Yuan campaign is (15) days; candidates for the Taiwan Provincial Assembly, county magistrates, city mayors, and city councils have ten (10) days to campaign (Art. 45 Public Officials Election and Recall Law). Furthermore, each of these campaign periods is divided into halves (Art. 49). During the first half, the candidates may conduct public rallies. During the second half, however, the candidates may only appear at meetings sponsored by the election commissions. The commissions are under no obligation to hold any particular number of events during the second half of the campaign period, but in fact they held numerous rallies. Thus, for example, Legislative Yuan candidates had eight (8) days, November 17-24, during which they could legally organize their own rallies and public meetings to campaign for office.

Permissible campaign activities were also sharply restricted. Campaign materials could be posted only in places specified by the electoral commission and only be of a size determined by the Commission (Art. 510). Candidates' campaign propaganda may not be placed more than 30 meters away from the candidates' headquarters, except of campaign vehicles, which are limited to five in number for each candidate (Arts. 51, 52). Most of the candidates ignored these and other restrictions.

Candidates may not make public speeches except at approved rallies, may not assemble a crowd for a demonstration, may not organize voters to sign petitions and may conduct campaign activities only at prescribed hours of the prescribed days (Art. 55). Candidates may only have registered campaign assistants speak at their rallies (in addition to the candidates themselves). At election commission-sponsored rallies, candidates may not send surrogate speakers and must appear themselves if their views are to be presented (Art. 49).

Political parties are also restricted in what they may do on behalf of candidates; they may not, for example, campaign for candidates except at approved rallies and may not establish campaign headquarters or hire campaign assistants (Art. 55-1). Party propaganda is also subject to the same restrictions on placement (i.e., within 30 meters of a headquarters building) as those on candidates.

Although the campaign period for the Legislative Yuan candidates does not officially begin until November 17 (November 22 for the provincial and local candidates), the campaigns for all offices were well underway prior to this time. Campaign posters and party flags were visible throughout Taipei (one poster for a DPP candidate in Taipei was observed that occupied most of a side of a 10-15 story building.) Candidates distributed pamphlets, leaflets, cards and other campaign materials. They also held fundraising dinners and "forums on democracy" at which they delivered campaign speeches. Political ads were published in the newspapers.

Many opposition candidates objected to the division of the formal campaign period, arguing that the second half, during which candidates may appear only at election commission-sponsored events, was unfair. They contended that the election commission does not sponsor enough events, and that those events were structured

both in format and locale to favor the ruling party candidates. Although the formal restrictions were ignored by all parties, candidates campaigned with the knowledge that the authorities could penalize or arrest them for their activities.

The official campaign period was 15 days and was the most open and free-wheeling in the history of Taiwan. A record 722 candidates from 16 political parties competed for 101 seats in the Legislative Yuan, or parliament, 77 in the Taiwan Provincial Assembly, 51 in the Taipei City Council, 43 in the Kaohsiung City Council, five (5) mayoralities, and 16 county commissionerships.

Many considered the election for Taipei County Magistrate to be the most important election, as it is Taiwan's most populous county and is also the home of President Lee Teng-hui. The DPP candidate, You Ching, 47, was a farmer's son from Southern Taiwan, who had a Doctorate in Law from West Germany's Heidelberg University. The KMT candidate, 42-year-old Lee Hsi-kun, was a National Taiwan University political science professor, who had a Doctorate from New York University. Lee comes from a wealthy, well-connected family in the county. The DPP candidate won.

The DPP fielded 163 candidates and predicted that non-KMT candidates would take 50% of the popular vote, up from 22% in the December, 1986, elections. Election turnout was expected to be high, at approximately 70%. With a total population of approximately 20 million, twelve (12) million Taiwan voters were eligible to go to the polls.

Over the past forty (40) years of one-party rule, the KMT has traditionally cultivated locally influential families or factions by doling out patronage. In some areas, KMT central leadership bolstered its position by playing off rival factions against each other. At the same time, the KMT relied on its cadres to muster iron-clad bloc votes from groups that directly depend on the Administration for their livelihood, such as teachers and students, active or retired soldiers, and bureaucrats.

Candidates and their aides continued, throughout the election, to distribute handouts and drive sound trucks around the cities to seek precious publicity in Taiwan's first multi-party election in 40 years. Mailboxes were stuffed with campaign literature and candidates took out ads in the leading local newspapers.

Rallies were organized and sponsored by the Central Election Commission and its local affiliates, at which all candidates were given an opportunity to speak. In addition, candidates could organize their own rallies.

Campaign Financing

The 1989 amendments to the electoral law (Art. 45-4) established limits on campaign contributions. An individual may not contribute more than NT \$20,000 (U.S. \$800) to a candidate; a corporation not more than NT \$300,000 (U.S. \$12,000). An individual may not contribute more than 20 percent of his or her annual income or NT \$200,000 (U.S. \$8,000) to a party; a corporation not more than 10 percent of its annual income or NT \$3,000,000 (U.S. \$120,000).

The 1989 amendments also provided for the first attempt at public campaign financing. Legislative Yuan candidates will each receive NT \$10 (U.S. \$4) for each vote they receive, assuming the candidates receive at least 75 percent of the total votes necessary for election in a particular constituency (Art. 45-5).

Candidates also are subject to limitations on the amount of funds they may expend in the campaign. The electoral commission determines the particular spending limit for each office, taking into account the size of the constituency, the duration of the campaign and other factors. The spending limit for most Legislative Yuan seats is in the range of NT \$5 million to 10 million (U.S. \$200,000 - \$400,000). Candidates are not allowed to accept funds from foreigners or from groups which have a majority foreign membership.

In practice, the limits on contributions and campaign spending appear not be respected. Some donors, particularly wealthy industrialists, reportedly gave contributions far in excess of these limits. Many contributions are presented in the form of cash donations, with little record-keeping of these transactions. It was also reported that candidates exceeded the spending limits. Despite the existence of formal reporting requirements, there appears to be no serious system for monitoring campaign contributions or spending levels.

Candidates draw upon their own personal savings or fortunes to finance their campaigns. They raise money from relatives, friends, business associates or from larger business concerns they can interest in their candidacy. KMT candidates also receive party funding, as well as technical assistance such as campaign materials, campaign strategy help, and polling. DPP candidates generally do not receive as much funding from the party, because the DPP does not have as many resources and uses the money it does have for the party's own infrastructure.

Given that candidates are not allowed to spend money on television or radio ads, a question naturally arises regarding how campaign funds are expended. According to various candidates, the three major areas of expenditure are campaign staff, campaign materials (i.e., pamphlets and flyers) and dinners or other candidate hosted events.

Vote-buying is associated with the personalistic form of Taiwanese politics and is apparently a deeply-entrenched practice in some areas. According to both DPP and KMT candidates, however, traditional political and personal loyalties are declining in Taiwan, particularly due to the societal changes brought about by the rapidly expanding economy. As a result, vote-buying is a less certain method of ensuring voter support (particularly if the ballot is secret). Nonetheless, it was an issue in the elections, though most acknowledge that the impact on voting behavior would be difficult to gauge or prove.

Religious Organizations

Local religious organizations openly supported candidates. The Taipei-based Buddhist Association of the Republic of China in early October publicly announced the candidates it would support. Seventy percent (70%) belonged to the KMT and thirty percent (30%) to the DPP. Buddhism is the leading religion in Taiwan, with more than 3 million followers.

The second major religion is Yikuar'ao, which has approximately 800,000 followers and combines Buddhism and Taoism. Yikuantao favored more KMT candidates than DPP. In addition, Taiwan has 300,000 Catholics and Protestants each. The Presbyterian Church, which is very active in Southern Taiwan, strongly supported the DPP, while most Catholic and other Christian Churches favored the KMT.

V. VOTING PROCEDURE

Registration

All citizens of Taiwan who are at least 20 years old have the right to vote, as long as they have not had their civil rights formally deprived (and not reinstated) or have not been declared incompetent. No formal voter registration process exists. All citizens are given an I.D. number at birth and later issued an identity card including their address, picture and other data. All persons of age may vote in either their domicile (where they must be registered under the household registration law) or place of origin. Several days before an election, all citizens of age receive by mail a written notification informing them where to vote. Voter lists are drawn up on the basis of census information collected by the Ministry of the Interior.

Administration of Voting Sites

Each voting station was run by a chief administrator and several other administrators, all of whom are appointed by the local or provincial electoral commission responsible for that area. In addition to the election administrators, pollwatchers or "inspectors" designated by the electoral commission were also present at the polling site.

Polling sites are located in public buildings and schools as designated by the local authorities and vary in number according to the size of the constituency. Each polling site is prepared to process approximately 2,500 voters on election day.

Ballots and Voting

The ballots were printed and distributed by the local electoral commissions and were delivered to the chief administrators of the polls the day before the election. The ballots were printed in three (3) different colors for easy identification: white for the legislative race; yellow for the Taiwan Provincial Assembly races and Taipei and Kaohsiung City Councils; and blue for the mayoral and county commissioners.

When a voter arrived at the appropriate voting station, their name was checked on the voter lists and a mark was made next to their name and the identification card was stamped indicating that the person had voted. Voters were given ballots and directed to a private voting booth to make their candidate preferences on the ballots with a "chop," a marking tool prepared by the electoral commissions. Voters then placed their ballots in the sealed, locked boxes designated for ballots for each of the elective offices.

Security

The National Police Administration (NPA) cancelled all leaves of absence for all officers, to enforce security for the elections. Police were assigned to vote in different shifts, so that voting booths would be manned from 8:00 am to 5:00 pm. The NPA also formed a special bomb squad, in case of any bomb threats to polling stations and asked voters to report any suspicious incidents by calling the police hotline.

Approximately 10,000 policemen were mobilized to keep order during the election period.

The Prosecutor's Office of the Taiwan High Court (Supreme Court) on December 1, 1989, ordered that a district prosecutor be stationed at all major police departments throughout the island on Election Day. The measure was a precaution against any violence or illegal voting activities that might occur during the voting and ballot-counting process. Should such incidents occur, the prosecutor was prepared to take investigative legal action. Chen Han, Chief Prosecutor at the Office, warned the public against using violence as a form of political statement and promised that those who transgressed the law would receive due punishment.

The National Police Administration increased its manpower in monitoring election activities and secretly installed cameras at polling stations or other places where threats of violence had occurred during the election campaign.

The day after the election, the District Prosecutor's Office of the Supreme Court said that between November 17 and December 2, it had received reports of 372 cases of illegal campaigning activities. The figure includes those uncovered by its own investigators and charges filed by private individuals.

Of the 372 cases, 52 involved bribery. For instance, the District Prosecutor's Office said, candidates or their volunteers were discovered handing out tea sets, cigarettes and other small gifts to win the favor of voters. Another 52 cases were riots and disturbances arising from campaign activities. One of the cases involved the use of firearms, while knives were used in another three. Four campaign trucks were destroyed in these incidents.

The bulk of the incidents (211 cases) involved verbal or written advocacy of illegal ideals or principles.

Lu Hsiou-lien, a former political prisoner, now heads a watchdog committee called the Clean Election Campaign.

Vote-counting

After the voting period (8:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m.) ended, each polling site was briefly closed to permit the administrators to prepare the site for the counting. The site was then opened to the public, the seal on the ballot boxes broken and the counting began. The counting procedures were public. Each ballot was removed, held up for public scrutiny and its markings recorded by the administrators. When all the ballots were counted, the administrators posted the results from that polling site on a single tally sheet on a wall directly outside the site. Copies of the tally sheets were sent to the relevant local election commission, which in turn reported the results to the Central Election Commission.

Election Oversight

The electoral law provides for "inspectors" or what are commonly known as pollwatcher, to be present at every polling site. Each political party and each candidate not nominated by a political party, may recommend pollwatchers to the local electoral commissions. The commissions screen the recommended persons and appoint from two to five pollwatchers for every polling site.

The number of pollwatchers appointed from each party is determined by the number of candidates nominated by that party. On average, according to the CEC, each party is allocated about ten pollwatchers per candidate. Because the DPP is fielding fewer candidates than the ruling party, this can result in a situation where the DPP has no pollwatchers at many sites. One example cited by the DPP was the Kaohsiung area., where there are approximately 650 polling sites. The DPP is running 21 candidates and expects to have around 200 pollwatchers appointed, enabling it to cover only one-third of the polling sites.

A 1989 amendment to the electoral law specifies that the pollwatchers of each site must not all be from the same political party. However that requirement may be met by designating pollwatchers from the KMT and the nominally independent Young China Party or China Democratic Socialist Party. Therefore, the provision does not assure a genuinely multipartisan team of pollwatchers. If the parties do not recommend enough pollwatchers to monitor all the polling sites, the local electoral commissions will appoint pollwatchers from among the local "impartial" individuals, personnel of government officer, private organizations and schools, and students of universities and colleges.

On the morning of the election day, our group visited a number of polling places to observe the voting procedure. In the afternoon, this observer leased a car and driver and, with two other observers (one who spoke Chinese and another who had conducted exit polling in the U.S.), went to four polling places recommended by an opposition DPP candidate. We interviewed people leaving the polling area, and without exception they felt like the election had been the most open in the ROC's history. No undue pressures had been put on them by anyone, no bribes had been offered, the coverage of the candidates and election was not biased and respondents felt that they had sufficient information about the candidates and issues to make a decision.

The election was supervised by the Central Election Commission and its subordinate bodies at the provincial and local level.

VI. RESULTS OF THE ELECTION

While KMT candidates won the majority of contested seats as expected, the election was a milestone in Taiwan's political evolution. In response to the Election outcome, legislator Jaw, Shao Kong, a young, liberal legislator of the ruling KMT, urged his party to hold presidential and vice-presidential primaries for the coming election in March of 1990. In the past, the Chairman of the KMT automatically became the Party's presidential candidate, while the Vice-Presidential candidate was chosen by the Party Chairman. Legislator Jaw also advocated that the Constitution should be amended before 1996, one year before Hong Kong reverts to Communist Chinese rule, to allow direct presidential elections. Chang, Chun Hong, Secretary-General of the opposition DPP, said his party would pressure the KMT to hold direct presidential elections in 1990.

The Labor Party appears to be headed for early extinction, as only one of its candidates won, incumbent Kaohsiung City Councilman Chang, Yi Lang, a defector from the ruling KMT. Party Chairman Wang, I-Shang, told reporters at Party Headquarters on December 3, that "there is no way the Labor Party can develop any further."

President Lee, Teng-hui spoke at the weekly meeting of the KMT's policy-making Central Standing Committee on Wednesday, December 6, and called for the following:

- o The activation of a reform group to whip the Party into shape.
- o Party members holding responsible government posts, including himself, should make a soul-searching self-examination in order to find a solution.
- o The Party's Discipline Committee was instructed to evaluate the primary system, introduced for the first time this year.
- o The Central Committee's Organization Department and the KMT's Training Institute were asked to work out plans for selecting and training Party workers for the future.
- o Lee stated that the various reforms initiated by the Government in recent years under the KMT's Policy Guidelines have failed to measure up to public expectations. It also indicates that the Party's structural overhaul, cultivation and selection of talents in public service have been out of tune with the present environment.
- o Lee also noted that the public is concerned about the breakdown of law and order, the deterioration of social mores and the weakening of government power.

The U.S. State Department issued a statement on December 4 to the effect that the December 2 election in Taiwan was an important step in the Republic of China's continuing evolution towards a more open and democratic political system.

Congressman Solarz, in a press conference on Sunday, December 3, made the following points:

- o Saturday's elections were the most fair and free in the history of Taiwan.
- o The U.S. Congress will give serious consideration to helping the ROC in Taiwan repel and curb any outside threat, if the government is a democratic authority reflecting the genuine feelings of the people.
- o Further progress in terms of political reforms and for the cause of greater democratization on the island will enhance the U.S. relationship with Taiwan.
- o The Congressional delegation was well aware of political reforms in Taiwan, including the lifting of martial law, the legalizing of opposition parties, and the freer political expression allowed by the authorities.
- o The procedures for Election Day--the balloting and counting--were basically sound. The process of the elections presented a stark and compelling contrast to what happened in Beijing on June 3 & 4, 1989. In Beijing, the authorities responded to the people's aspirations for democracy with a hail of bullets. On Taiwan, the authorities responded to the desire of its citizens with the cast of ballots for the candidates of their choice.
- o Solarz thought that the opposition had less access to the media than the ruling party and that there was a basic inequality in the make-up of the Legislative Yuan.

The results of the December 2, 1989 election and the most recent election for that particular body follows:

Legislative Yuan

	1986	1989
Voting Rate	65.38%	75.17%
Seats Elected	100	101
KMT	79	72
DPP	12	21
YCP	2	0
CDSP	1	0
Others	6	8

County Magistrate & City Mayor

	1985	1989
Voting Rate	72.08%	75.90%
Seats Elected	21	21
KMT	17	14
DPP	0	6
Others	4	1

Provincial Assembly

	1985	1989
Voting Rate	72.08%	75.89%
Seats Elected	77	77
KMT	59	54
DPP	0	16
Others	17	7

Taipei City Council

	1985	1989
Voting Rate	65.53%	69.29%
Seats Elected	51	51
KMT	38	36
DPP	0	14
Others	13	1

Kaohsiung City Council

	1985	1989
Voting Rate	75.68%	79.36%
Seats Elected	42	43
KMT	32	29
DPP	0	8
Labor Party (LP)	0	1
Others	10	5

VII. CONCLUSION

The December election was noteworthy as the first election in the ROC contested by political parties instead of individuals. Voters now enjoy a competitive party system, which is one of the most significant features of a mature democracy. In the past, elections have been very tense periods, primarily caused by the increasing frustration of dissidents who could not establish political parties to support their candidacy in elections.

The use of the primary system has not only enhanced democracy within the ruling party, it has also succeeded in nominating candidates who appeared to be more popular and responsive to the views of the electorate.

A study by Dr. Lui, Fei-lung, Professor of Public Administration at National Cheng Chi University indicated that voter behavior in Taiwan is still influenced by:

- o Primary relationships
- o Candidate orientation
- o Issues and party orientation

The primary relationship has been utilized most effectively by the KMT. The KMT candidates and members are generally leaders in their respective fields or groups and are in a position to transmit their preferences throughout their network of primary relationships.

Issue orientation appears to have a limited impact on voter behavior. Voters can read the leaflets distributed by the candidates, scan the electoral bulletins issued by the government, attend meetings in which the candidates or the government present their political views or obtain information on the candidates views through the mass media and other channels. The survey conducted by Dr. Lui indicated that most of the voters who take the time to find out about the issues generally vote against a candidate because of a particular position he has taken on an issue instead of for a candidate. On many issues, such as economic or environmental policies, the

KMT and non-KMT candidates are not very far apart. It is on the levels above and below public policies where the differences most often arise.

Above the policy level, the two sides often clash over such issues as state identification, system legitimacy, and the composition of the central representative bodies (The National Assembly, Legislative Yuan, and Control Yuan). Below the policy level, there is controversy over the charge that the administrative branches of government at various levels are unfair, impotent, or unresponsive to public needs.

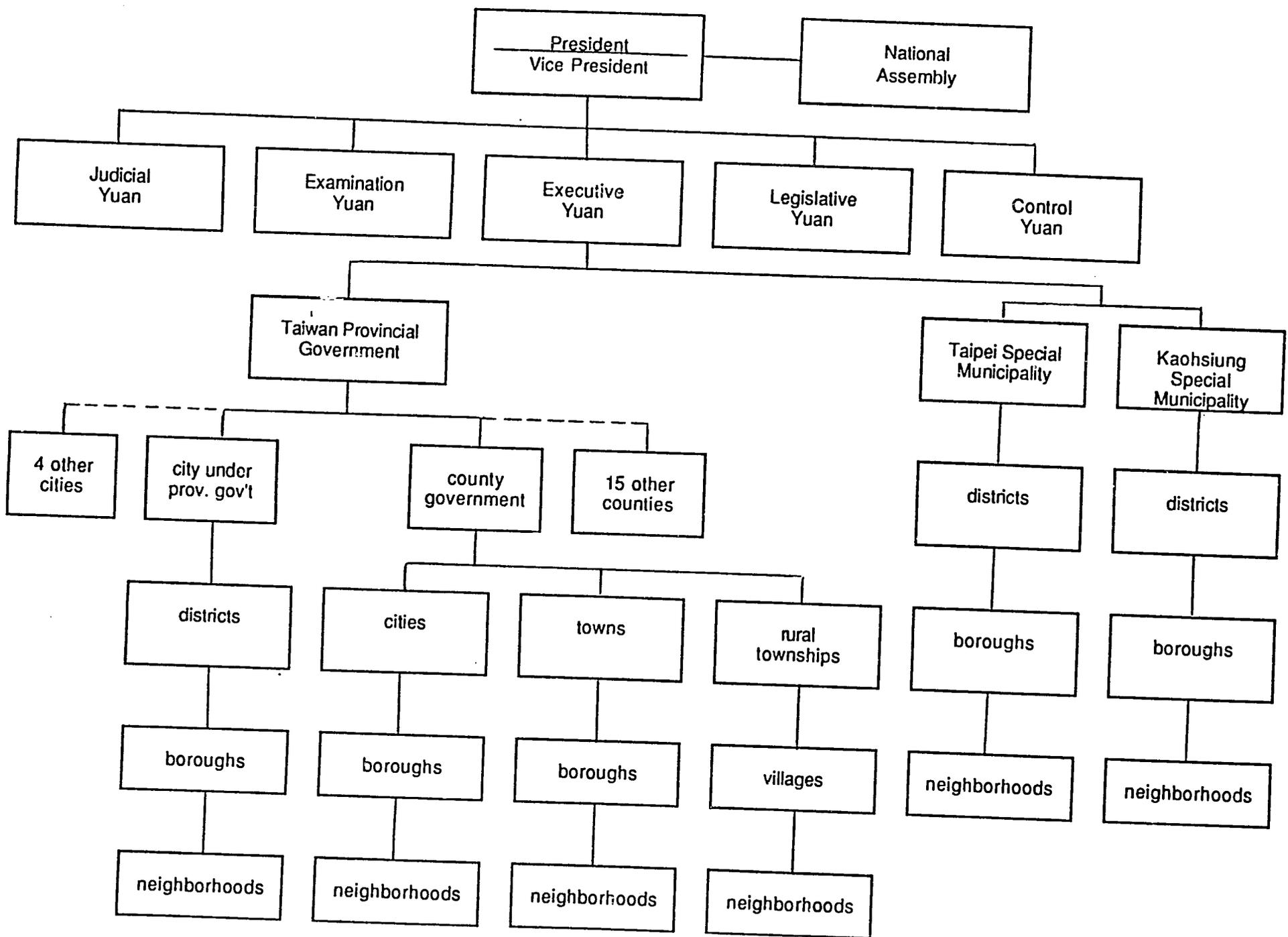
A larger percentage of people made general demands for greater democracy and broader political participation. The opposition provides a ready outlet for venting the grievances of voters who have suffered at the hands of the KMT-controlled government.

Taiwan has taken a bold and courageous step toward complete political pluralism. The December 2 elections stand in stark contrast to the events in Tiananmen Square. Mainland Chinese would do well to look across the Taiwan Strait for an example of the kind of economically prosperous and politically liberated society greater China might one day become.

In the future, consideration should be given to:

- o allowing more time for the campaign
- o giving the candidates more flexibility in arranging their own rallies, speakers, etc.
- o relaxing the ban on TV and radio political advertisements
- o relaxing the restrictions on printed material

All things considered, this was an election where the ROC took a great step toward democratization and everyone appeared to be a winner. The people won, because this was the most open, free election in the ROC's history. The DPP won because it established itself as the major opposition party that is here for the long term. The KMT, won, because by anyone's count it received more than twice the votes of the opposition and continues as the dominant party.



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Henderson, E. Kirk
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Ang, Andrew
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The report is compiled from these sources and also material in the following:

- o Taiwan, Republic of China by Trenholme J. Griffin (1989)
- o Project Report of an NDI Pre-election Survey Team (Nov. 1989)
- o Taiwan to 1993 - The Economist Intelligence Unit (June, 1989)
- o Newspapers and other miscellaneous publications



Voters in line to vote



Voter giving I.D. card



Polling place - checking and stamping name in register book



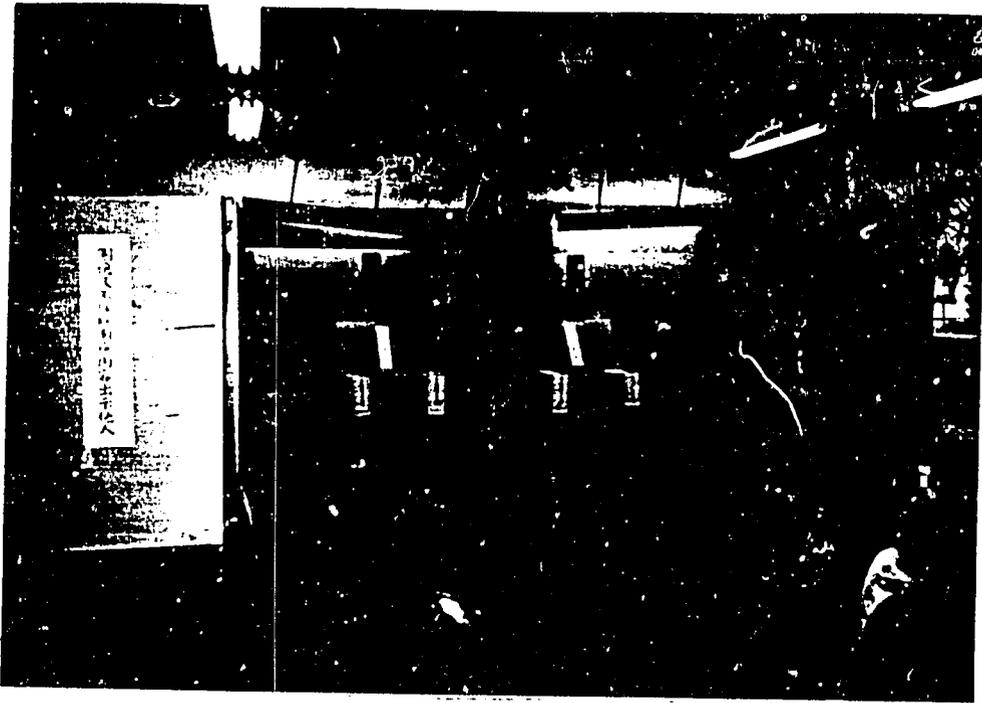
Polling place



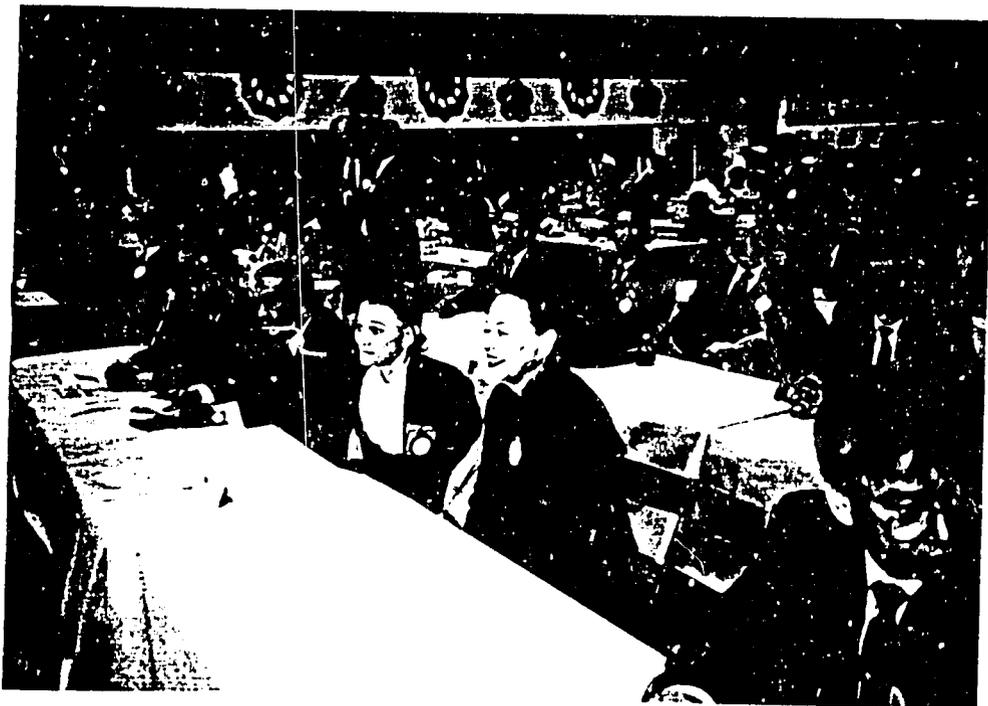
Voting booths



Ballot boxes



Ballot boxes with seal (paper on each side) and lock



CEC counting night of election leader of opposition DPP and KMT officials