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**The 1997
Local Elections
in Taiwan**

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The 1997 city mayor and county magistrate elections in Taiwan

On November 29, 1997, the people of Taiwan elected five city mayors and 18 county magistrates. The election brought about significant changes in Taiwan's political society. Such changes appeared to be obvious given the increasing public discontent, caused by the government's inability to improve public safety, the negligence of the environment and the alleged involvement of public officials in organised crime. This paper will attempt to find answers to the questions (a) why public safety, environmental protection, social welfare and women's rights were the key issues in this election; (b) how the candidates made use of those issues in order to gain popular support; and (c) why the defeat of the ruling party was a foregone conclusion. Finally, the impact of the election result on the two major political parties will be analysed.

Political affiliation of the candidates

Seven out of ten candidates were nominated by political parties. The ruling Kuomintang (KMT) had the largest, and the Society Reform Party the smallest share of nominated hopefuls (Table 1A). Two parties, TAIP and SRP, had never competed in any election before.

Nominated by political parties	57	71%
Kuomintang KMT	25	31%
Democratic Progressive Party DPP	21	26%
New Party NP	7	9%
Taiwan Independence Party TAIP	3	4%
Society Reform Party SRP	1	1%
Independent candidates	23	29%
Total number of candidates	80	100%

Table 1A: Candidates and their political affiliation

New participants: TAIP and SRP

TAIP was founded in October 1996. The idea to form a new party was first made public soon after the DPP's presidential election defeat in March 1996, when the party's presidential candidate, Peng Ming-min, established the so-called Nation Building Association². The association became a platform for those dissatisfied with the DPP because of its weakening adherence to the founding principle of establishing a sovereign nation, and its continuing co-operation with the ruling party. The party's main objective is similar to the one of the DPP; however TAIP expresses its independence stance more clearly, and believes that Taiwan is not yet fully independent. The DPP has developed a different theory over the years, according to which Taiwan is already independent, since it has never been ruled by the Chinese Communist regime. TAIP, however, looks deeper into the independence issue and argues that Taiwan is de-facto independent but not de-jure. It, thus, is the aim of the party to reach de-jure

independence, join international organisations under the status of a sovereign state, establish diplomatic relations and enact the constitution of the Republic of Taiwan.³ The formation of the party annoyed several DPP leaders such as the party's former chairman Shih Ming-teh. On numerous occasions, he endorsed a tough stance on defending the DPP from assaults made by supporters of TAIP. Shih Ming-teh and other key members of the DPP are advocates of multi-partisan co-operation and claim that such a co-operation is vital to maintain Taiwan's national security and helps to energise the political environment.⁴ A number of DPP supporters claim that the formation of the Taiwan Independence Party triggered the largest crisis of Taiwan's independence movement. The outcome of this election has, however, proved that TAIP has rather strengthened Taiwan's opposition than weakened the DPP's position.

Contrary to all other parties, TAIP openly admitted that it would have no chance of success in this election. The reason why the party participated was simply to make its platform known to the electorate to gain a better position in the forthcoming parliamentary election.⁵

The Society Reform Party (SRP) was founded by Hsu Yun-teh in July 1997. Hsu's party was established with the aim of improving the living conditions of the Hakkas, one of Taiwan's largest ethnic groups. The Hakkas originally came from southern China and were the first Chinese arrivals to Taiwan. Currently, approximately 10 to 15 percent of Taiwan's population belong to this ethnic group. Hsu himself is a Hakka.

He took part in the election with the sole aim of taking Hakka votes away from incumbent DPP Taoyuan County magistrate and candidate Lu Hsiu-lien, herself a Hakka. Hsu claimed that Lu had done nothing for the Hakka people in return for their votes. He said that she had betrayed her people and that as a consequence of her negligence unemployment and poverty had affected a disproportionate number of Hakkas in Taoyuan County. Thus, in his campaign literature Hsu strongly criticised Lu Hsiu-lien and promised the Hakka people a number of social welfare measures, such as child support, and subsidies for the old and unemployed. To win sympathy from the people in need, he frequently showed up at election rallies dressed as a poor farmer. Although it was obvious that he would have no chance of winning against the highly popular DPP candidate, he told reporters that he had dreamt God came to him and told him that he would win. His confidence, humour and appearance, however, merely amused political analysts and voters.

Constituencies and their candidates

Eighty candidates were competing in eighteen counties and five cities. The KMT nominated candidates in all constituencies. The NP had hopefuls in five counties (Taipei, Miaoli, Nantou, Kinmen and Lienchiang) and two cities (Taichung and Tainan). TAIP candidates ran in Taichung County and in the cities of Taichung and Chiayi. The newly formed Social Reform Party nominated only one candidate, namely in Taoyuan County. Independent candidates competed in almost all constituencies (Table 1B).

County	
Taipei	3
Hsinchu	2
Miaoli	1
Taichung	2
Changhua	1
Nantou	2
Yunlin	2
Kaoshiung	2
Pingtung	1
Taitung	1

City	
Keelung	1
Hsinchu	1
Chiayi	1
Tainan	3

Table 1B: Independent candidates and their constituencies

KMT worst affected by factionalism

Due to the KMT's internal disagreement on whom to nominate as the party's official candidate several members either quit the party or were expelled from it.

Candidate	Affiliation	Constituency	Registered as	Consequence
Ou Ming-hsien	KMT	Yunlin County	Independent	expelled
Wang Shao-chuan	KMT	Hsinchu City	Independent	expelled
Wu Ching-chiang	KMT	Nantou County	Independent	expelled
Chen Chen-sheng	KMT	Nantou County	NP	expelled
Liu Chuan-chung	KMT	Taichung County	Independent	membership rights suspended
Lin Shou-hung	KMT	Tainan City	Independent	membership rights suspended
Lin Chih-jia	KMT	Taipei County	Independent	expelled
Hsu Tsai-lee	KMT	Keelung City	Independent	expelled
Hsu Ching-yuan	KMT	Taitung County	Independent	expelled
Chiu Ching-chun	KMT	Hsinchu County	Independent	expelled
Chang Rong-wei	KMT	Yunlin County	Independent	quit
Fu Hsueh-peng	KMT	Miaoli County	Independent	quit
Chou Chuan	NP	Taipei County	Independent	quit

Table 2: Candidates changing political affiliation as to take part in election⁶

In October and November 1997, respectively, eight KMT members were expelled from the party and two others found their membership privileges suspended for two years for their proposed participation in the election without party consent. Another two members quit the party for the same reason (Table 2).

In several constituencies, more than one well-known KMT-affiliated candidate tried to gain public support, thus splitting KMT votes among them and offering

the opposition the opportunity to win. In Taichung County and Tainan City two hopeful candidates even challenged one another under the KMT banner.

Although the DPP was less confronted with the problem of mavericks, former party members turned out to be opponents in Taipei County, Nantou County and Tainan City, where former DPP-legislators Liao Hsue-kwang, Pang Pai-shien and Hsu Tien-tsai decided to take part in the election as independent candidates.

As to the NP, one founding member and legislator, Chou Chuan, quit the party after it had failed to nominate her as the official candidate, and became an independent one in Taipei County.

Handicapped New Party

Not only the KMT was affected by internal conflicts, but also the NP: At the beginning of the election year, NP legislative whip Ju Gao Zheng accused one of his colleagues, Yao Li-ming, of swindling huge sums of money out of Taiwanese businessmen investing in China. Ju made the accusation at a news conference in the legislature. He also accused NP national campaign committee convener Chen Kuei-miao of sheltering some NP legislators, who had been engaged in illegal activities, and of encouraging factional struggles to consolidate his leadership.⁷ Most NP legislators did not share Ju's view and even accused him of undermining the party's image and unity for the purpose of expanding his personal influence.⁸ At the beginning of March, the party decided to expel Ju Gao Zheng. The conflict was covered extensively for almost three months by Taiwan's media and seriously damaged the party's reputation for being free of corrupt officials. Further inter-party fighting, Chou Chuan's insistence on her nomination as the party's Taipei County candidate, her quitting and the subsequent media attention caused further harm to the party's already damaged image.

Analysis of key election issues

Four key issues played a significant role in determining the outcome of the election. These were the issues related to public safety, environmental protection, social welfare and women's rights.

Public safety⁹

Public safety has been the most crucial issue in Taiwan politics for a couple of years now and also significantly influenced the election result. The issue of public safety had on numerous occasions caused KMT officials to step down and questioned the ability of the KMT government throughout the election year.

Attacks on politicians

Public outrage started in 1996 when several politicians who strongly criticised their colleagues for their involvement in syndicates were physically attacked. On February 28, 1996, for instance, DPP Secretary General Chiou I-Chen read a DPP-released statement condemning the KMT's close connections with organised crime and money politics. The statement referred mainly to independent legislator Luo Fu-chu, who has on several occasions been accused of being a leading member of the Heavenly Way Alliance¹⁰, one of Taiwan's largest syndi-

cates. Three days later, Chiou I-chen was attacked by four unidentified men outside the DPP headquarters. In a similar case, DPP legislator Peng Shao-chin was seriously injured when he was stabbed outside his home in Taipei in May. A few months later, independent legislator Liao Hsue-kwang was taken to a remote mountain area and locked into a dog cage in the early morning hours. He was found unharmed several hours later. The kidnapping was a result of his criticism about Luo Fu-chu's involvement in organised crime. Luo Fu-chu openly admitted having relations with organised crime and that he was responsible for the kidnapping. In an interview he said that it was not his style to hide the truth and it was his nature to speak out openly and honestly.¹¹

New laws and crackdowns

In order to clamp down on organised crime, President Lee Teng-hui promised the National Assembly in August 1996 to improve the law-and-order situation within the next six months. At the end of August, a nationwide campaign to crack down on organised crime took place. More than 70 suspects, including the leader of the Four Seas Gang, were arrested. On September 5, 1996, the cabinet approved the Organised Crime Control Law and submitted it to the Legislative Yuan. The law was to prevent syndicates from drug trafficking, smuggling, blackmailing, money laundering and controlling public construction projects, manipulating elections and whitewashing their activities by running for public office. Thus, the major aim of the law was to keep criminals out of politics. According to the proposed law, anyone convicted of a crime could be prohibited from running for public office for up to ten years. If convicted as a member of organised crime, sentences would range between three to ten years imprisonment and fines up to US\$ 110,000. Organised crime is defined by the law as a group consisting of at least three people conspiring to commit a crime. The proposed law would also target corruption: Public servants convicted of corruption would face penalties up to life imprisonment in addition to a maximum fine of NT\$ 100 million.¹² Moreover, if a party has nominated a candidate who is convicted of a gang-related crime within five years of his or her election registration date, the party will be liable to pay between US\$ 364,000 and US\$ 1.82 million. If this person holds a seat in parliament the vacancy will not be permitted to be filled. In addition, assets of syndicates will be confiscated and those of individual members be returned to the victims or government unless evidence indicates that the assets were obtained legally before the suspect's involvement in organised crime.¹³

Further waves of crime: The Liu Pang-you and Peng Wan-ju case

Before the Organised Crime Control Law was passed in parliament, two high-profile crimes were committed. The first happened on 21 November at the official residence of Taoyuan County Magistrate Liu Pang-you. Two people entered Liu's home in the early hours. They first bound the security guards, taped their eyes and shot them point-blank in the head. They then gathered the other victims in a recreation room, tied them up, taped their eyes and shot them one by one at point blank range in the head. The dead were identified as County Magistrate Liu Pang-you, City Councillor Chuang Shun-hsing, Liu's driver and cousin Liu Pang-ming, Liu's secretary Hsu Chun-kuo, his cook Liu Ju-mei and the wife of Taoyuan Agricultural Bureau Chief Chang Tao-mei. Teng Wen-

chang, a county councillor survived the shooting with serious brain damage. President Lee Teng-hui said that he was shocked about the crime and Premier Lien Chan made a passionate address to reporters after arriving at Taoyuan County Hospital to check on Liu Pang-you's condition. It is believed that Liu was shot because of his influence in re-zoning land. In the past Liu had been accused several times of being involved in land speculation scandals.¹⁴

Several days later, a high-ranking DPP official, Peng Wan-ju¹⁵, was believed to have been kidnapped or even murdered, as she disappeared after leaving a meeting held on Saturday 30 November 1996 at Top Plaza Hotel in Kaoshiung. The public was outraged a few days later when police found Peng's naked body in a field in Niasung Village, Kaoshiung County. She had been stabbed more than 30 times. Police believed that the murderer had been a taxi driver and ruled out any political motive. Subsequently, the government was blasted in parliament for its inability to improve social order.

Demonstrations and further government efforts to clamp down on crime

Shortly after Peng Wan-ju's body had been found, the first demonstration took place, which was attended by about 300 people. Activists demanded that the government should ensure public safety. Two weeks later, about 5,000 women's rights activists took part in a demonstration in Taipei. Activists demanded a deadline to be set for the police to solve Peng's murder and other cases of sexual violence. If the cases were not to be resolved within the time limit, National Police Administration Director Yao Kao-chiao should step down.¹⁶

Those events again prompted the government to step up its efforts to crack down on crime. On 5 December 1996, Vice-President and Premier Lien Chan instructed Minister of State Ma Ying-jeou¹⁷ to convene a two-day nation-wide conference to formulate comprehensive measures to combat crime and improve social order. The National Public Safety Conference was held on December 30 and 31 at the Taiwan Police College in Taipei. More than 400 government officials from the police, intelligence and education departments, criminologists and community leaders took part in the conference, which was divided into three seminars, focusing on the cracking down of syndicates, the prevention of crime and violence, and the promotion of public-safety awareness. Among the issues discussed were the safety of women and children, the problem of the high rate of criminals among taxi drivers¹⁸, anti-crime campaigns, drug-trafficking and weapon smuggling. During the closing ceremony of the conference, Vice-President and Premier Lien Chan declared 1997 an anti-crime year and said that the government would set up a comprehensive programme to (i) strengthen coastal vigilance in order to curb arms and drug smuggling, (ii) better protect the safety of women and children¹⁹, (iii) step up efforts to crack down on syndicates and persuade their members to disband their organisations, and (iv) set up household on-line alarm systems.

On January 17, Taiwan's largest attack on syndicates was launched to publicly demonstrate the government's determination to wipe out organised crime. Over 5,000 prosecutors, investigating agents, police officers and military guards were involved in the operation. A total of 77 criminals were arrested during the first day of the campaign, among whom were the Tachia Township Council Speaker Kuo Chih-chou, Four Seas member Chen Jen-tung and key members of a num-

ber of other syndicates.²⁰ On the following day, police continued raids on another 320 buildings and arrested 107 criminals across Taiwan. During the operation, police seized 12 handguns, one kilogram of heroin and 508 kilograms of amphetamines.²¹

The Pai Hsiao-yen case and the perceived deterioration of public order

Public dissatisfaction at the government's efforts to improve public safety reached a further climax in April 1997, when news of the kidnapping of Pai Hsiao-yen, the only child of popular TV host and actress Pai Ping-ping, emerged. Pai Hsiao-yen was kidnapped on April 14, 1997 on her way to school and was taken to an apartment in Wuku, Taipei County. The kidnappers were identified as Lin Chun-sheng, Kao Tien-min and Chen Chin-hsing. They demanded a US\$ 5 million ransom. Pai Ping-ping was informed about the drop-off location. However, the kidnappers did not show up, since Pai Ping-ping had been followed by local media. Although several drop-off locations were subsequently made known to Pai, the kidnappers never showed up. On April 23, Pai Ping-ping received a mail containing one severed little finger and a photograph of her bound and half-naked daughter. At the end of April, Pai Hsiao-yen's body was found in a ditch in Wuku, Taipei County.

The opposition, in particular the DPP, called for the resignation of Premier Lien Chan and demanded that President Lee Teng-hui should apologize. Newspapers and television reports focused heavily on the murder of Pai Hsiao-yen and emphasised the need for immediate government action to clamp down on crime.

The business community took advantage of the event and expressed its concerns about the so-called deteriorating public order. The government and the foreign business community claimed that during martial law there had been no underworld activities, no rapes etc. The KMT, in particular Lien Chan and the government's chief economic planner and former minister of economics, Chiang Pin-kung, described crime as a virus that emerged with democracy and finally infected Taiwan's society. Premier and Vice-President Lien Chan repeatedly expressed his preference for a Singaporean style of democracy. Chiang Pin-kung even said that the lifting of martial law brought about a disorderly society.²² In his speeches he made it clear that he preferred martial law to a society appraising democratic values. Most intellectuals seriously questioned such an interpretation and put the blame solely on the government.

Whether the public order situation is really deteriorating in Taiwan is a question that cannot be answered by merely looking at statistics. Crime has increased after the lifting of martial law according to these.²³ However, there may be various reasons to explain this phenomenon, one of them being that crime has in fact increased, another that several laws, such as those related to drugs, have only recently come into effect. Other laws have been enforced for the first time. Moreover, during the martial law period and to a lesser extent even after that period, law enforcement agencies were reluctant to include reports on crime in their statistics, so as not to undermine the regime's legitimacy. In addition, criminal offences, such as rape, have been reported to the police more frequently in recent years than during the martial law period due to the encouragement of women's rights groups. Taiwan's opposition failed to look carefully at these statistics and took advantage of the obvious deterioration of public order.

Growing public dissatisfaction: Large demonstrations

NT\$ 20 million were offered to anyone providing information leading to the capture of Bai Hsiao-yen's kidnappers. The government constantly assured the public of its efforts to find the key suspects. Nevertheless, public anger grew from day to day and finally on Sunday, May 4, 1997, more than 50,000 people marched peacefully through the streets of Taipei, chanting slogans and carrying banners to protest at the government's apparent indifference to the deteriorating social order. They claimed that more than 100 police officers had been diverted from the investigation into Pai Hsiao-yen's kidnapping to guard President Lee Teng-hui and Premier Lien Chan while playing golf. A puppet resembling President Lee could be seen at the demonstration. Lee was holding a golf club in his hands and in front of him there was an eye supposed to be a ball. The protest was organised by about 170 welfare organisations and the main slogan was "President, apologize! Lien, step down!"²⁴ Consequently, Minister of the Interior Lin Feng-cheng resigned and with him one of Taiwan's most popular and active politicians, Minister of State and former Minister of Justice Ma Ying-jeou. He said that he felt ashamed of all the things that had happened and in particular about the fact that he was a cabinet member in charge of administrative affairs. Furthermore, he stressed that the 50,000 protesters had been the key factor for his decision to resign.²⁵ Two weeks later President Lee Teng-hui apologized fearing that a further demonstration scheduled to take place on the following day would attract an even larger crowd of people. He said that he was sorry for the recent upsurge of violence in Taiwan and pointed out that the government was determined to improve social order. However, he refused to accept Premier Lien Chan's resignation.²⁶ On the same day, the premier announced he would give up playing golf and turn down all invitations to private parties and banquets unless they were important or had to do with his political duties.²⁷ Several other politicians joined Lien Chan and also announced that they would refrain from playing golf in future.²⁸ Nevertheless, more than 500 civic organisations called on the people of Taiwan to take part in the so-called 518 event. An estimated 100,000 people marched through the streets of Taiwan on 18 May 1997. The march started at Sun Yat-sen Memorial and ended in front of the presidential office, where protesters used laser beams to project messages onto the walls of the office building saying "admit you were wrong". The main slogan of the demonstration was "women yong jiao ai Taiwan", i.e. we use our feet to show our love for Taiwan.²⁹

On a number of occasions, the opposition tried to pass a vote of no-confidence and to recall the president.³⁰ This failed however, as the Taiwan Independence Party did not support it. TAIP secretary-general Wei Rui-ming said that his party did not support the vote of no-confidence as neither the premier nor the president could be held responsible for the Pai Hsiao-yen case. Wei was of the opinion that in a democratic country the president cannot be held responsible for an inefficient police-force. TAIP was the only opposition party that did not take advantage of the Pai Hsiao-yen case.

In the following months, the three most wanted fugitives hid themselves in the Taipei area. Several times, the police failed to catch them after receiving tip-offs on their whereabouts, which contributed to further criticism of the government's ability to clamp down on crime. In addition, there were rumours of high-

ranking KMT officials being involved in the killing of Taoyuan County Magistrate Liu.

In August 1997, the police was again involved in a gunfight with the three kidnapers and murderers. Although the police failed to catch all of them, one of them, Lin Chun-sheng, committed suicide when he was surrounded by police. The shoot-out was shown live on all nation-wide television channels.

On August 22, Lien Chan finally announced his resignation as Premier and on November 1, the new government was sworn in. Newly appointed Premier Vincent Siew promised to focus on improving social order and raising the standard of living.

Further highly publicized crimes

At the beginning of October, a further serious crime shocked Taiwan's public and sparked off numerous discussions about the state of society. 14 teenage youths were involved in the crime. The nine male and four female school drop-outs said that the 14-year-old victim Chien Li-chung had stolen a pager and some clothes belonging to them and that they had therefore abducted her to an unoccupied house. For five days, the teens beat Chien using aluminium bars and clothes hangers. Moreover, they sprayed pesticides on her body and set her on fire. After Chien had died, the teens buried her body near a pond. Consequently, Premier Vincent Siew faced great difficulties. He was lambasted even by his own party members for not doing enough to improve the public safety situation.

About a week later, the two most wanted fugitives, Chen Chin-hsing and Kao Tien-ming, murdered a well-known plastic surgeon, his wife and a nurse. Police believed that the two criminals had forced the plastic surgeon to alter their appearance before raping the nurse and shooting all of them at close range in the head.

The final days of the Pai Hsiao-yen case

Two weeks before the election, the police received a tip-off that Kao Tien-min was hiding out in an apartment with several others in Tienmu. About a dozen police officers were first sent to the scene to seal off the area and to search for Kao in the building. On entering it, shots were fired at them. Minutes later, a massive police operation was underway and of course the mass media provided live coverage of the event. After several hours, police entered an apartment on the second floor and found Kao Tien-min face-down with a semi-automatic pistol at his side. He had obviously decided to commit suicide rather than surrender. Chen Chin-hsing, the third and last key suspect in the Pai Hsiao-yen kidnapping was seen fleeing the scene on a motorcycle.³¹ During the following 48 hours, Chen Chin-hsing became almost a national hero: He broke into the residence of the South African military attaché, McGill Alexander, and took him and his family hostage. Chen and the hostages could not talk to each other due to language difficulties. Chen, however, made it clear to his hostages that he wanted to internationalize his case and demanded to talk to foreign journalists. The hostages were free to use the telephone and called a friend who informed Jason Blatt, the editor of the English newspaper *China Post*. Jason Blatt called Chen Chin-hsing, who urged Blatt to call as many foreign media as possible, expressed his grievances about the police and the justice system, and pointed out that he had several people and a baby as hostages. Blatt informed the police

and minutes later the residence of the South African diplomat was surrounded by police and TV cameras. For the next 24 hours, there was almost no other programme to be found on all four nation-wide TV stations than Chen Chin-hsing's hostage crisis and some commercials in between. When police tried to enter the building, Chen shot at them and two of the hostages. Chen later allowed the injured to leave the house. Among the injured people were McGill Alexander, who was shot in the leg, and his daughter Melanie (22), who was hit in the back. At 11.45 p.m., it was known that Chen had made three main demands: (i) that he be given safe passage out of the country; (ii) that his wife and brother-in-law be released and (iii) that a Cable News Network reporter be brought to him. About an hour later, he was put through to a nation-wide television channel and talked live with the news anchorman. The conversation lasted for over an hour. Chen said that he would be prepared to be shot, he only wanted the world to know how corrupt and inefficient the police was. He blamed society for what had become of him and repeatedly mentioned that if the clock could have been turned back he would have studied hard and become a high official. He went on to describe how the kidnapping had happened and where he had hidden several guns and large sums of money. Furthermore, he demanded to be interviewed by *CNN*.³² After that interview others followed. However, the questions posed to Chen were rather absurd. For instance, *Super TV* anchorman Chou Hui-ting questioned Chen's abilities as a singer and ended up singing with him the children's song 'Two Tigers'.³³ Until the next morning, there was no sign of an early end to the hostage crisis. Chen's wife entered the residence at 10.36 a.m. and the seven-month-old baby was released. 12-year-old Christine Alexander emerged at 4.30 p.m. with former DPP vice-presidential candidate Frank Hsieh, who had been called in by Chen. The last hostage was released at 19.55 p.m. after Chen's demand to be escorted by Frank Hsieh, the Taipei City Police Department Director Ho Yung-yi, Panchiao Chief Prosecutor Yeh Chin-pao and a fortune teller named Chen had been met.³⁴

During the following days, it was revealed that Chen had raped at least fifteen women during his seven months on the run and he had together with Kao and Lin extorted at least NT\$ 9 million from a businessman and politician. Moreover, the nation's top criminal investigator, Yang Tzu-ching, admitted during a local television call-in programme that the police operation at the grass-roots level was highly ineffective and that the available crime-fighting equipment was inadequate. According to him, low-ranking police officers frequently covered up reports made to them by the public.³⁵

The public considered Frank Hsieh of the DPP the main figure in solving the hostage crisis, whereas the KMT government was criticized as incapable of solving the crisis. No cabinet official was present at the scene, which again was interpreted by the public as the government's negligence of issues vital to them. Frank Hsieh participated in several DPP election rallies after the hostage crisis, which certainly had an impact on the election result.

Public safety: An election gimmick

A reliable public survey conducted at the beginning of November revealed that 54.75 percent of the interviewed felt that the issue of public safety would considerably influence the election, whereas only 24.66 percent thought that the issue would not affect the outcome.³⁶

During the election campaign, approximately 48 percent of all candidates emphasized their intention to improve public safety if elected. Two out of ten hopefuls particularly mentioned the implementation of a safety programme aimed at protecting women. Public safety for women, however, turned out to be of more importance to the DPP than the KMT (Table 3). Moreover, the DPP provided the electorate with concrete ideas for improving public safety. For instance, the party's election platform called for a new structure of the police force, which allows police officers to deal with crimes more efficiently, e.g. a 24-hour patrol car network to enhance communication and response times. According to the DPP proposal, female police officers must be present at every station, hotlines for kidnapping and rape be set up, and child day-care, women's rescue centres and a taxi network free of criminal drivers be established.

Public safety in general	KMT	DPP	NP	TAIP	SRP	Ind.	Total
Number of candidates	17	9	3	2	0	7	38
Percentage	68	43	43	67	0	30	48
Public safety for women	KMT	DPP	NP	TAIP	SRP	Ind.	Total
Number of candidates	4	9	1	1	0	3	16
Percentage	16	43	14	33	0	13	20

Table 3: Public safety emphasized during election campaign³⁷

Two weeks before the election, the Ministry of the Interior launched a campaign called *Safe*, which was aimed at making women aware of safety issues. Booklets and other educational material were distributed at public places such as railway stations. Local observers, however, considered the *Safe* campaign as just another KMT election gimmick.

Social welfare

The government has enacted laws and set up programmes to guarantee the social rights of the people, which have been incorporated into the constitution. It also increased its social welfare expenditures from 6.7 percent of its total budget in 1955 to almost 27 percent in 1996. Nevertheless, most welfare programmes are still incomplete and people in need have to rely on the help of non-governmental organisations.³⁸

Welfare for the elderly

The government still sees itself as advocate and co-ordinator of social welfare rather than a provider. In the early 1990s, the then Minister of the Interior, Wu Poh-hsiung, stated in his administrative report to parliament:

Welfare for the elderly means providing basic subsistence aid and health care to poor and helpless senior citizens. The government advocates that the elderly people live with or near their sons and daughters, so that care will be close by and the elderly may enjoy the natural bonds and ethical relationships between members of their family.³⁹

However, social and demographic changes have recently demanded the adoption of different policies regarding the social welfare services offered to the elderly in Taiwan. It is estimated that 60 percent of the 1.6 million people in

Taiwan who are over 65 are personally cared for by their children in their own homes. The percentage has considerably dropped since the 1970s. In addition, the age distribution has changed over the last decades: In 1955, 2.5 percent of the population fell into the category *65 years or older*, whereas forty years later almost 8 percent of the people of Taiwan were 65 years of age or older. It is estimated that by the year 2010, more than ten percent will fall into that category.⁴⁰

Apart from the social and demographic changes, immense pressure from the DPP has forced the government to set up more social welfare services in recent years and pass several laws providing better assistance to the elderly, handicapped and others in need. Social welfare has thus become a major issue in elections. The KMT has recognized the usefulness of social welfare as an effective tool to enhance its chances of success and has frequently adopted social welfare policies previously promoted by the DPP. In this election, the KMT once again tried to win DPP votes by adopting a former DPP policy, namely the policy of offering subsidies to people aged 65 or over:

Already in the 1993 elections for city mayors and county magistrates, DPP candidates promised to introduce old-age allowances. At that time, the KMT opposed such a programme. The DPP introduced the allowance assuming that the provincial and central government would share the costs with the county/city government. Neither the provincial nor the central government, however, agreed to such a policy. The welfare programme, thus, caused considerable financial difficulties to most DPP controlled counties and cities: Kaoshiung County had to terminate the programme four months after its implementation there. Taipei City stopped the programme a year after the DPP election victory. Tainan City started the welfare for the elderly programme in 1995 with NT\$ 1,000 monthly. A year later, the amount was increased to NT\$ 2,000 per month but was paid only for the period of nine months. In the election year, the amount was changed to NT\$ 500 per month and the programme terminated six months later. The counties of Ilan, Taipei, Hsinchu, Taoyuan and Penghu were still providing old-age allowances prior to the election. Hsinchu County offered the highest amount, namely NT\$ 5,000/month. Taipei County has paid NT\$ 3,000 nine times a year since 1995. In none of the KMT-controlled constituencies was such a subsidy offered, and independent Chiayi City made just one old-age allowance of NT\$ 5,000, but this was terminated four months after implementation.⁴¹

Old-age subsidy: One way to win votes

Despite the above-mentioned difficulties, President Lee Teng-hui announced at the end of October 1997 at a rally in Yungho, Taipei County, that each person aged 65 or older would receive NT\$ 5,000 per month if the KMT candidate were elected. The rally was attended by several thousand people, about 1,000 of whom were elderly.⁴² Consequently, Lee's campaign promise was the front-page story in almost all newspapers. Critics argued that Lee's policies increasingly resembled those of the DPP. Other newspaper articles claimed that Lee's offer was a clear signal that the KMT was aware of its waning public support. Moreover, analysts claimed that it would be impossible for the county government to finance such a programme and called Lee's promise irresponsible. Others questioned whether a monthly subsidy of NT\$ 5,000 could really solve the

problems of the elderly, or whether Lee's highly publicized campaign promise was just a campaign gimmick.⁴³

Several groups of senior citizens held protests outside the KMT headquarters. The protesters carried a mock check bearing a sum of NT\$ 396 billion allocated for the subsidy and demanded that Lee should guarantee that the check would not bounce. They insisted that not only the elderly in Taipei County should be eligible to receive a monthly subsidy but also those living in other counties.⁴⁴

The DPP doubting the honesty of the KMT as to their interest in assisting the elderly, tried to speed up legislation of a nation-wide old-age subsidy plan by raising a proposal to push the stipend bill directly onto the second-reading review process. However, the KMT and NP rejected the proposal. NP legislators argued that they were only opposed to a hurried legislation. The KMT preferred to address the issue of a nation-wide old age subsidy programme after the election, since reliable public opinion polls revealed that 49.3 percent of the people interviewed felt that the issue of the old-age subsidy would considerably influence the election and only 19.25 percent thought that the subsidy would not have any effect on the outcome of the election.⁴⁵

Welfare measures proposed by hopefuls

Almost 40 percent of all candidates made the subsidy a major campaign issue. With more than half of its candidates advocating the implementation/ continuance of the old-age subsidy programme, the KMT had the largest share of candidates promoting such a welfare measure. TAIP was the only party not to mention the programme in its campaign, although one of its hopefuls (Taichung County) stressed the necessity of welfare for the elderly. Six out of the 23 independent candidates regarded the subsidy a crucial issue and specifically mentioned it in their campaign literature and speeches (Table 4).

Old-age subsidy	KMT	DPP	NP	TAIP	SRP	Ind.	Total
Total number of candidates	25	21	7	3	1	21	80
Number of candidates promoting the issue	13	9	1	0	1	6	30
Percentage	52	43	14	0	100	26	38

*Table 4: Candidates promoting old-age subsidy*⁴⁶

Welfare for women and the handicapped was also frequently addressed by the candidates. In general, the KMT put far more emphasis on social welfare than the DPP or other parties. Ironically, about 60 percent of the KMT nominated hopefuls (15 out of 25) dealt with the issue of welfare for women despite the party's chauvinist campaign. Only 20 percent of the DPP candidates (4 out of 21) addressed the issue. Moreover, 20 out of the KMT's 25 hopefuls (80 percent) mentioned other welfare programmes, such as free education, in their campaign literature and speeches. Only 12 out of 21 DPP candidates (57 percent) did so.

Social welfare: A bargaining chip

It is interesting to note that social welfare measures were particularly stressed in those counties/cities with only two widely supported candidates and by those

candidates lagging behind in popular support. One example is Taoyuan County: Here, there were three candidates, each nominated by the KMT, DPP and SRP. Prior to the election, it appeared obvious that Hsu Yun-teh of the SRP would not get more than one percent of the votes and that there would thus be a polarisation of votes between the KMT's Chen Ken-teh and Lu Hsiu-lien of the DPP. Lu Hsiu-lien is a highly popular politician and well-known for her independence stance, anti-corruption attitude and her feminist views. Social welfare played a minor role in her campaign efforts. Her main focus was on infrastructural development and making Taoyuan County internationally known. The KMT hopeful's popularity lagged far behind Lu's. Thus, the KMT candidate made social welfare his crucial campaign strategy in his bid to win the election. He promised to offer NT\$ 5,000 per month to every county citizen aged 65 or more and guaranteed not to suspend the subsidy for the duration of his term. Prior to the election, Taoyuan's elderly received only NT\$ 6,000 per year. Moreover, he put emphasis on welfare for teachers, women and the handicapped. He even promised to implement a subsidy programme for the county's unemployed.

Another example is Kinmen County, where the KMT and NP had nominated one candidate each. The county was originally a KMT stronghold. In previous elections, however, the NP succeeded in gaining considerable popular support. The KMT's election platform did not focus on social welfare, but rather outlined plans on how to make the county a major tourist attraction. However, the NP candidate explicitly mentioned the old-age subsidy in order to catch up with his rival.

Environmental protection

'Global Views Monthly' and its survey

At the beginning of November, about four weeks before the election, a monthly magazine called *Global Views*⁴⁷ published its 1997 *Public Opinion Report*.⁴⁸ The report revealed that of the 12,000 surveys conducted in all the 23 counties and cities in Taiwan more than 60 percent of the people interviewed expressed concern over the environment and most were not happy with their local governments' tackling of the issue. Residents cited garbage as the main problem affecting the environment. Air, water and noise pollution were also considered to be serious. Asked whether they thought that their local governments were concerned about the environment, residents living in KMT-controlled areas generally doubted the local governments' interest in improving the state of environment, whereas in DPP-ruled cities/counties a different view was expressed. A questionnaire designed to determine the level of satisfaction with mayors'/magistrates' performance brought a similar result.⁴⁹

At a press conference, National Chinghua University professor Wang Chu-chu, who carried out the research related to the report, claimed that the election candidates could not escape the environmental issue. He further said that given the result of their analysis the environmental issue would become crucial in determining the outcome of the election. All major newspapers extensively covered the report and prompted a serious debate in academic circles about the possible impact of the environmental issue on election campaigning.⁵⁰

TAIP and DPP: The green vote

As a matter of fact, 35 percent of all hopefuls included the garbage problem among their key election issues. It was also the most discussed among all mentioned environmental problems (Table 5).

Recycling was the least important one, with 16.25 percent of all candidates including it on their lists of major campaign issues. In general, the DPP put far more emphasis on environmental protection than KMT hopefuls, who usually only mentioned the issue by using phrases such as 'protection of the environment', but refrained from providing any clear concept. TAIP candidates also regarded environmental policies as crucial and the one running in Taichung County even promised to implement a policy to cut down garbage by 20 percent within one year.

Air/water pollution	KMT	DPP	NP	TAIP	SRP	Ind.	Total
Number of candidates	1	8	2	0	1	3	15
Percentage	4	38	29	0	100	13	19
Recycling	KMT	DPP	NP	TAIP	SRP	Ind.	Total
Number of candidates	3	6	1	2	0	1	13
Percentage	12	29	14	67	0	4	16
Garbage	KMT	DPP	NP	TAIP	SRP	Ind.	Total
Number of candidates	9	9	3	2	1	4	29
Percentage	36	43	43	67	100	17	35
Other	KMT	DPP	NP	TAIP	SRP	Ind.	Total
Number of candidates	13	6	1	1	0	6	27
Percentage	52	29	14	33	0	26	34

Table 5: Environmental issues emphasised during election campaign⁵¹

Industrial Taichung County had one hopeful who turned out to be an outspoken environmentalist, namely Liao Yung-lai of the DPP. Liao was the leader of the so-called Anti-Bayer League, which was founded when residents of Wuchi Township heard about Bayer's intention to build a chemical plant producing toluene diisocyanate, an industrial material for synthetic leather, in nearby Taichung Harbour. Environmentalists claim that the chemical plant poses risks to the community. Bayer representatives, however, argue that the plant would be the most modern and safest in the world, and that such plants are already in operation at 19 locations around the world. The central government believes that the investment would be a landmark for Taiwan's transformation into an Asia-Pacific regional operations centre and would boost Taichung Harbour's development apart from annually generating over NT\$ 70 billion worth of business opportunities.⁵² The people of Taichung County knew about Liao's anti-Bayer attitude, and he made it clear during his election campaign that he would continue to 'fight Bayer to the death' if elected county magistrate.

Women's rights

Although women's issues were only mentioned by a few candidates, they became a major issue in Taichung City and other areas due to the KMT's chauvinist attacks on female politicians of the DPP.

KMT and chauvinism

Throughout the election, KMT candidates popularised the denigration of women as a method of political attack. Main targets of such low-handed tactics were DPP Taichung City candidate Chang Wen-yin and DPP spokeswoman Sisy Chen. Chang Wen-ying was verbally attacked by KMT candidate Hung Chao-nan, who posed the question how Chang could be mayor of Taichung when she could not even control her husband who had been married for a number of times. In addition, KMT campaign literature described Chang as an indecent woman and Chen as only being qualified to be a urinal. Sisy Chen⁵³ decided several days before the election to file a lawsuit against KMT spokesman Tsai Pi-huang, the KMT Taichung mayoral candidate Hung Chao-nan and his senior campaign staff for alleged defamatory comments made against her. Chen said that remarks made by Tsai Pi-huang describing her as a 'roadside pot that anyone can piss into' are personally humiliating and an attack on women in general. Consequently, public opinion of the KMT dropped considerably in Taichung City, and it was found that none of the five women participating in the election was running under the KMT banner, a further hint of the KMT's chauvinist attitude.

Moreover, with the one-year anniversary of the brutal murder of DPP women's rights activist Peng Wan-ju approaching, the DPP launched a nation-wide campaign to heighten the awareness of women's issues and the KMT's attitude towards them.⁵⁴

Predictions and results

Predicting a KMT victory

Several opinion polls suggested that the KMT would definitely win in ten counties and cities in Taiwan, the DPP in six and independent candidates in one. In all three counties on the offshore islands, the KMT was expected to win. As to the remaining counties and cities, the result was less obvious (Table 6). None of the other three parties (NP, TAIP and SRP) were believed to have any chance of success.

The KMT's Taiwan Provincial Party Committee chairman Hong Te-hsuan, on the other hand, predicted that KMT candidates would certainly be elected in half of all the 23 counties and cities. Hong pointed out that the KMT had held a special meeting, during which the necessity of further mobilisation of high-ranking government officials was discussed. The meeting concluded with the assumption that the KMT had a 50 percent chance in the counties of Taipei and Nantou, and in the cities of Taichung and Chiayi; and that more efforts were needed in the counties of Taoyuan, Kaoshiung and Tainan. Taipei City Mayor Chen Shui-bian (DPP) was confident that at least eight DPP candidates would win. According to him, ten candidates could also win, if the DPP voter turnout was high.⁵⁵

Predictions	Nov 24th	Nov 18th	Predictions	Nov 24th	Nov 18th
County	KMT	DPP	City	KMT	DPP
Taipei	E	E	Keelung	–	+
Ilan	E	E	Hsinchu	–	+
Taoyuan	–	+	Taichung	–	+
Hsinchu	E	E	Chiayi	E	E
Miaoli	+	–	Tainan	–	E
Taichung	+	E			
Changhua	+	E			
Nantou	E	E			
Yunlin	+	E			
Chiayi	+	E			
Tainan	–	+			
Kaoshiung	E	+			
Pingtung	E	E			
Taitung	+	–			
Hualien	+	–			
Penghu	+	–			
Kinmen	+	nc			
Lienchiang	+	nc			

Note: Date refers to the day of release. The survey of November 24 was taken from *CT* (November 24, 1997: 2), that of November 18 from *IMP* (November 18, 1997: 4).

E : good chances of success
+ : will definitely win
– : will definitely lose
nc : no candidate
nd : no data available

Table 6: Election predictions

Surprising results

The election day, 29th November 1997, marked the beginning of a new era as to Taiwan's political arena: Despite the KMT's prediction of an election victory, the KMT had to admit its most serious defeat; only in 8 counties could the party celebrate victory.

	Votes	Percent-age	Nomina- ted	Elec- ted	Seats in %
DPP	3,322,087	43.32%	21	12	57%
KMT	3,229,635	42.12%	25	8	32%
NP	108,812	1.42%	7	0	0%
TAIP	14,675	0.19%	3	0	0%
SRP	5,619	0.07%	1	0	0%
Ind.	987,247	12.87%	23	3	13%
Total	7,668,075	100.00%	80	23	28%

Table 7: Election results⁵⁶

With twelve candidates elected, the DPP turned out to be the big winner of the 1997 city mayor and county magistrate elections (Table 7). Compared with the 1993 election, the KMT's decline in political power becomes more visible: It lost control over half of its constituencies, whereas the DPP doubled the number of counties and cities under its control (Table 8).⁵⁷

	KMT	DPP	Ind.
1993	16	6	1
1997	8	12	3

Table 8: Comparison of election results 1993–1997

The KMT won in the counties of Changhua, Yunlin, Chiayi, Taitung and Hualien; the DPP in the cities of Hsinchu, Keelung, Taichung and Tainan, and in the counties of Hsinchu, Taoyuan, Taipei, Ilan, Taichung, Kaohsiung, Pingtung and Tainan. Independent candidates succeeded in the city of Chiayi and in the counties of Miaoli and Nantou. None of the candidates running under the banner of the SRP, NP and TAIP could gain enough support. The only SRP hopeful received just 0.84 percent of the votes cast in Taoyuan County; and the three TAIP candidates between one and two percent of votes in Taichung County, Chiayi and Taichung City. NP hopefuls nominated in seven constituencies garnered between 1.46 percent in Tainan City and 7.26 percent in Changhua County. In each of the two offshore constituencies, Lienchiang and Kinmen County, the NP garnered approximately 40 percent.

	DPP	KMT	NP	TAIP	SRP	Ind.	Total
1993	41.03%	47.47%	3.07%	–	–	8.43%	100%
1997	43.32%	42.12%	1.42%	0.19%	0.07%	12.87%	100%
Change	2.29%	-5.35%	-1.65%	0.19%	0.07%	4.44%	0%

Table 9: Total percentage of votes (1993–1997)

As to the total number of votes, it was the first time that the DPP had succeeded in getting more popular support than the KMT (Table 9). Comparing the results with the previous election held four years earlier, the DPP gained another 2.29 percent, while the KMT lost more than five percent of popular support. The NP was worst hit as it lost more than half its votes: Undoubtedly, a further sign of an end to the party's role in Taiwan's political society. Tsao Yuan-chang, NP candidate in Lienchiang County, claimed that he had lost the election just because the KMT had 'invited' a number of people from other constituencies to settle down in Lienchiang County, the smallest constituency. About 9,000 people (voter turnout: 77 percent) went to the polls in Lienchiang County. The KMT candidate won by 1,140 votes. Tsao's allegation was denied by the authorities. However, inter-party struggles were widely believed to have been one of the main reasons for the NP's loss of support. It is doubtful whether the party will ever again enjoy the popularity of its early years and whether it will keep its seats in parliament after the forthcoming election.

The newly founded TAIP was less depressed about the election result, since the party had taken part in the election to promote its platform rather than to win. TAIP's secretary-general, Wei Rui-ming, said that he was satisfied with the results and that the party would aim at winning some seats in the 1998 parliamentary election.⁵⁸ A similar view was expressed by SRP chair Hsu Yun-teh.

As to the KMT, the election defeat caused a serious crisis inside the party and caused speculations about a possible DPP victory in the 1998 parliamentary election, which would bring about a new government.

KMT's election defeat: Consequences and causes

KMT secretary-general Wu Poh-hsiung tendered his resignation after the election results had been announced. He was replaced by former minister of foreign affairs, John Chang, a few days later. Premier Vincent Siew announced that another major cabinet reshuffle would take place soon in order to meet public demand. Moreover, immediately after the defeat it was feared that grassroots KMT members as well as KMT legislators would demand the resignation of Lee Teng-hui as the party's chairman. Lee was re-elected chairperson of the KMT by the 15th party congress in August 1997.

Lee Teng-hui and his dual role

As feared, pressure on Lee Teng-hui was constantly on the increase only days after the election. Pro-unification hard-liners in particular tried to use the election defeat to oust Lee from the KMT leadership. The KMT Provincial Committee and members of the radical New Society of Common Cause⁵⁹, for instance, said that Lee should resign in order to prevent the KMT from becoming a minority party. A group of retired servicemen in Taoyuan County even launched a signature campaign demanding Lee to resign and to take full responsibility for the KMT setback. The group claimed that Lee's inappropriate campaign speeches were the main cause for the loss. Moreover, they argued that Lee had fooled the people by using DPP policies, such as Taiwan independence⁶⁰ and subsidies for senior citizens. Lee, however, responded that he could not step down in a period of party hardship. Public opinion seemed to support Lee's view: A reliable opinion poll conducted by China Times Weekly revealed that only 20.1 percent of the interviewed wanted Lee to resign as chairman as a direct consequence of the KMT's election defeat (Table 10).

DPP chairman Hsu Hsin-liang stated that Lee should resign as chairman of the KMT, not necessarily because of the election defeat but because of his position as the president of the republic, which should morally require him to be independent from any political party.

Answer	Percentage
I would comfort and encourage him	29.9
I would criticise him and ask him to resign	20.1
I do not care about him	10.8
Don't say anything. Play golf with him.	8.0
I do not know what I would say	17.2
Other statements	13.3
No comment	0.7
Total	100.0

Table 10: Opinion poll on what to tell Chairman Lee after the defeat⁶¹

Lee, however, made no attempt to be neutral during the election. On the contrary, he went to almost all electoral constituencies and spoke in support of KMT candidates at election rallies. His nation-wide tour was strongly criticised by the opposition and even caused clashes between opposition leaders and the

police in Taoyuan County, when Lee tried to help KMT candidate Chen Kenteh to attract voters there two days prior to the election. For about two hours DPP and SRP supporters clashed with security police. The first wave of violence erupted when Chen's supporters tried to reach the KMT election headquarters in their cars at about 9.30 am. The windows of a number of those cars were broken and the drivers dragged out. Another wave of violence broke out when President Lee started his speech at the KMT election headquarters. Lu Hsiu-lien spoke on one of the over twenty DPP/SRP campaign vehicles present at the scene against Lee's involvement in the campaign and said that she felt ashamed for having been a senior adviser to President Lee. Four security policemen were reported injured in the clashes.⁶²

His dual role could thus be a further significant reason for Lee's growing unpopularity and in some way for the KMT's election defeat. Although the majority of people did not share the view that Lee should resign as chairman of the ruling party, his approval rate had plunged considerably since his election victory in March 1996. A survey⁶³ conducted by Gallup several days after the election revealed that 49.1 percent were not satisfied with President Lee's overall performance, whereas only 36.9 percent of those interviewed expressed their satisfaction with Lee's performance.⁶⁴

Lien Chan and Chen Shui-bian touring the nation: 'Beat Mayor Chen'

The same survey showed that only 34.2 percent were satisfied with Vice-President Lien Chan, who had toured the nation to support KMT candidates. Lien had generally been met by indifference, whereas his campaign rival, Taipei Mayor Chen Shui-bian (DPP), had boosted his popularity while contributing to the DPP's victory. Wherever Chen Shui-bian went, he would be met by thousands of people who wanted to listen to the mayor's Taipei experience. In Pingtung County he was even celebrated as a national hero. Chen's popularity came from his efforts to make Taipei City clean and its bureaucracy efficient. During the campaign, his intention to become the nation's president in the year 2000 election became more and more evident. His political ambitions, however, contributed to his growing unpopularity among high-ranking KMT officials. The KMT, thus, started the so-called 'Beat Mayor Chen' campaign so as to dismantle Chen's political power and by doing so influence the election outcome. The campaign included the island-wide distribution of a 32-page pamphlet criticising the mayor. The pamphlet contained newspaper articles claiming that Taipei Government employees were completely dissatisfied with the mayor and others trying to blacken Chen's image. Nevertheless, the 'Beat Mayor Chen' campaign was widely regarded as tasteless in nature and fruitless considering Chen's rising popularity. Given the very fact that Chen had been the target of a political attack inspired by the KMT in 1985, it was indeed a political faux pas and certainly among the best examples illustrating the party's tastelessness to start such a campaign under the title 'Beat Mayor Chen'. In 1985, Chen tried to be elected magistrate in Tainan County. He not only lost that election to his KMT rival but was almost killed during a campaign rally, when a truck came for him and his wife through the crowds. The driver hit his 31 year-old wife several times leaving her paralysed for life.

KMT and the perceived linkage with crime

The KMT could not get rid of its image as a party consisting of criminal elements. Thus it tried very hard to blacken the image of the DPP during the election campaign by emphasising the DPP's involvement in corruption. For instance, the *Central Daily News*, a KMT organ, frequently had an advert covering half the front-page and stating that several DPP politicians were corrupt. The KMT claimed in such adverts that the DPP 'loved' to present itself as a clean party, but while browsing through daily news reports it is actually the DPP that turns out to be 'black'.⁶⁵

The DPP also used adverts in national newspapers, such as the *United Daily News*, to discredit its rivals. Those adverts were however widely considered more substantial in content and convincing. KMT Taipei County candidate Hsieh Shen-shan was the major target of such adverts. According to the DPP, Hsieh was just a puppet of the KMT leader, Lee Teng-hui, and his political career a story of corruption.⁶⁶ Contrary to the KMT, the DPP frequently used adverts not only to discredit people but also to convince the electorate of their own candidates' cleanness by forming alliances against 'black' politics. DPP candidates of Pingtung, Kaoshiung and Tainan County, for instance, set up the Southern Taiwan Alliance⁶⁷ fighting corruption and promising hope for the 21st century to the people. The group put full-page adverts in weekly magazines such as *The Journalist* to make their intentions known.⁶⁸

At election rallies, KMT politicians always used the phrase *Lü se zhi zheng, tan wu bao zheng*, which means DPP governance guarantees corruption. Nevertheless, the DPP's claim that the KMT offered bribes to influential personalities and even to ordinary citizens in exchange for votes appeared to be more convincing to the electorate. The DPP released a list revealing the nature of bribes offered in 21 electoral constituencies. Almost all major newspapers published the entire list. According to that list, bribes to ordinary citizens ranged from NT\$300 in Taoyuan County to NT\$ 5,000 in the counties of Hsinchu and Tainan. Township chiefs and other influential people were given Rolex watches in Taoyuan County or up to NT\$ 500,000 in cash in Yunlin County. Yunlin electoral contest is said to have been worst affected by vote-buying and intimidation: The county is the home of numerous gang leaders, who have influenced elections for a long time. State Public Prosecutor-General Lu Chen-fa, responsible for cracking down on election irregularities, said that he had collected evidence that criminal figures had been hired to threaten campaign assistants or disturb election campaigns in Yunlin. For instance, independent candidate Chang Chung-wei complained to police about young men in black suits, who had frequently shown up at his campaign rallies for unknown reasons.⁶⁹

Moreover, a group of DPP legislators held a news conference on November 11 to accuse the KMT of attempting to use organised crime figures to influence the outcome of the election. Legislator Chang Chun-hsiung claimed that a number of gang leaders arrested during recent anti-crime operations had been released on bail on the pretext of receiving medical treatment. Chang alleged that these gang leaders, all of whom were local KMT politicians, had been released at the KMT's request to help KMT mayoral and county chief candidates. The legislators said that none of the released criminals appeared to be in need of medical treatment. The names of these KMT politicians involved were made public by the group and included Changhua County Council Deputy Speaker Nien Chung-

jen, National Assembly member Tsai Yung-chang, Tachia Town Council Speaker Cheng Ming-fu and Wufeng Township Council Speaker Wang Chung-wu. The KMT, of course, denied the allegations.⁷⁰ In this case, the DPP's claim again appeared to be more convincing than that of the KMT and received much attention from Taiwan's media.

Public opinion polls conducted by *United Daily News*⁷¹ in the years 1992–1997 confirm that the number of people considering the KMT to be irresponsible, dishonest and corrupt is on the increase, whereas the image of the DPP has substantially improved over the years (Table 11).

	Responsible KMT:DPP	Irresponsible KMT:DPP	Honest KMT:DPP	Dishonest KMT:DPP	Clean KMT:DPP	Corrupt KMT:DPP
1992	58:23	15:41	44:26	22:32	37:26	28:29
1993	53:34	21:30	34:36	30:25	32:41	36:19
1994	49:31	22:31	34:33	29:29	31:39	34:17
1995	48:37	25:29	30:34	35:27	23:41	43:20
1996	50:42	29:30	32:43	40:27	25:41	45:22
1997	45:47	30:23	26:44	42:25	21:47	50:23

Table 11: Percentage of people considering the KMT/DPP (ir)responsible, (dis)honest, clean or corrupt (1992–1997)⁷²

Internal conflicts

Other KMT politicians, such as legislator Lee Yeou-chi, argued that the party's loss was due to internal conflicts. The KMT leadership failed to convince its members to unite against the DPP. Instead, party members became uncontrollable in their selfish attempts to gain more power.⁷³ The KMT was indeed hard hit by an intra-party conflict. In almost half of all electoral constituencies, the party had to compete against its own former members. Moreover, in Taichung County and Tainan City, the party even had two candidates running under the KMT banner, thus causing a situation in which a victory seemed rather unlikely.

An example of the KMT's internal conflict is the nomination of Hsieh Shen-shan as the party's official candidate for Taipei County, the largest⁷⁴ and most important electoral constituency. Since 1989, the county had been governed by the DPP, which made a victory there even more crucial for the KMT. Nevertheless, the KMT leadership under Lee Teng-hui decided not to nominate Lin Chih-jia, who led in local opinion polls, but former Labour Affairs Council Chair Hsieh Shen-shan, who had frequently been under strong criticism from labour organizations for being incompetent in solving labour-management related crises. Protests organized against Hsieh Shen-shan had received extensive media coverage throughout the previous two years. Thus, it was right from the start more difficult for the KMT to promote Hsieh. His only political advantage was his family background: Hsieh comes from a poor family in Hualien County and people may thus have sympathized with him. Campaign literature stressed that fact and included photos of a shabby-looking house, in which he is said to have lived during his childhood. Nevertheless, local observers and even KMT members were annoyed about Hsieh's nomination and claimed that he had been chosen only because the KMT chairman 'could not stand' Lin Chih-jia.

Campaigning or: How not to campaign

Campaign strategies of Taiwan's two major political parties may provide another explanation for the KMT's defeat and the DPP's victory. The KMT lead a campaign full of accusations, tasteless comments and low-handed tactics.

Its rival, the DPP, had a less aggressive campaigning strategy. Campaign literature of the DPP and other campaign material could generally be described as being more attractive than that of other candidates. DPP Taipei County candidate Su Tseng-chang's campaign was regarded by the majority of observers as the most attractive. Su's main slogan explained to the electorate that he was the people's 'light bulb': *Wo shi ni de dianhuozi*. A CD was released under the same name. The songs conveyed the message that Su would bring 'light' into the 'dark' society. Funny cartoon characters could be found everywhere on pamphlets, flags etc. KMT campaign literature, on the other hand, was far more conservative in appearance and content.

Moreover, the DPP put far more emphasis on adverts in leading weekly magazines, such as *The Journalist*⁷⁵, than the KMT. Taichung City candidate Chang Wen-ying, in particular, extensively used full-page adverts to get her message across. Adverts in *The Journalist*, for instance, contained phrases like 'good luck', 'hope' and 'new Taichung' and stressed that the future of Taichung City would be determined by the voter's choice. In her adverts, Chang promised the people a 'humanitarian society'.⁷⁶ Adverts of Su Chia-chuan, DPP Pingtung County candidate, are further examples. Two-page adverts in weekly magazines showed Su together with his smiling teenage daughter in front of a field with a tree in the background, said that to take care of the people would be the government's duty, and claimed that the DPP would protect the people.⁷⁷ Candidates of the KMT generally refrained from advertising in weekly magazines. The party, however, placed two-page adverts in magazines telling the electorate that a vote for the KMT was a vote for the Republic of China, and if there were not enough such votes there would no longer be a country and a home for all the people.⁷⁸

As to advertising in newspapers, the two parties accused each other of corruption and other illegal activities (see above).

KMT and the denigration of women as a method of political attack

The KMT election defeat in Taichung City was caused by the chauvinist attitude and tasteless campaign literature of the KMT candidate Hung Chao-nan. Hung spent most of his campaign efforts in attacking his female DPP rival Chang Wen-ying and the DPP's spokeswoman Sisy Chen, who assisted Chang in her election campaign. The campaign leaflets of the KMT candidate, for instance, referred to Sisy Chen as only being fit to be a urinal.⁷⁹ Even Hung's own son did not vote for his father because of the chauvinist comments conveyed in his father's campaign literature and challenged him to either leave the KMT or quit the election. In addition, KMT spokesman Tsai Pi-huang's description of Sisy Chen, as a 'roadside pot that anyone can piss into' significantly lowered the KMT's chances of success, especially, as all major newspapers covered the story extensively and reports on Sisy Chen's filing a lawsuit even included large photos of her doing so.⁸⁰

Burning cars: Another method of political attack

Voters in Taichung County became familiar with a rather strange understanding of election campaigning: A week before election day, the car belonging to a campaign aide of KMT candidate Hsu Chung-hsiung was set on fire. The victim, Li Wen-hsiung, told the police that two men wearing helmets forced him into his car and drove him to a sugarcane plantation. During the journey, the men are said to have threatened Li not to remain involved in the election campaign. According to Li, the two men stopped the car, let him get out and set it on fire. The KMT candidate subsequently accused DPP candidate Liao Yung-lai of being behind the attack and announced at a press conference that he called on all 1.44 million people of Taichung County to stand up bravely and speak out against violence, gangsters and mud-slinging. Liao reacted by denying any involvement in the incident and offered a reward of NT\$ 1 million to those providing information on the attack. The police investigating the case expressed doubts about the authenticity of the attack. Observers and the media generally agreed that Li had actually himself set the car on fire as to win sympathy.⁸¹

DPP and 'being emotional' as a method of attracting voters

Apart from accusing KMT politicians of being involved in organized crime, the DPP put far more emphasis on 'being emotional' at election rallies and gave voters the impression that they would care about them.

The DPP's success in Taipei County was mainly a result of 'being emotional': Just several days prior to the election, a land scandal in Taipei County had been revealed. Seven businessmen and county government officials, including a county councillor and Land Affairs Bureau Director Chuang Yu-kun, had been detained on charges of corruption and counterfeiting. It was alleged that the officials signed a contract with several landlords, promising to rezone agricultural land. Such a change would have meant an increase in value worth NT\$ 500 million. Chuang, a major suspect in the scandal, was reportedly a close friend of the then incumbent DPP Taipei County Magistrate You Ching. You immediately announced that he would freeze the processing of the land in question until the prosecutor's investigation was completed.⁸² Observers speculated whether the land scandal may have any effect on the election. KMT candidate Hsieh Shen-shan said he would not use the case to attack the DPP candidate, as it was a matter for the judiciary and had nothing to do with the election. He stressed, however, that DPP governance guaranteed corruption.⁸³ Independent candidate Chou Chuan pointed out that the KMT was famous for corruption, but the DPP more and more resembled the KMT. She agreed with Liao Hsue-kwang⁸⁴, another independent candidate in Taipei County, who had said that the discovery of the land scandal was far more than coincidence.⁸⁵ The land scandal indeed strengthened support for the KMT and on the eve of the election most observers predicted a KMT victory.

However, the situation changed when one of the most prominent former DPP legislators joined the campaign in the largest electoral district in Taipei County, Panchiao, on the eve of the election. When Lu Hsiu-yi, suffering from cancer, appeared at about 10.00 p.m. at the election rally, thousands of people cheered enthusiastically. People were most impressed by the fact that even though Lu's health did not allow him to walk on his own he decided to take part in the rally. Because of his poor health, Lu left the rally soon. At about 11:30 p.m., Lu re-

turned however and gave a speech that would on the following day decide who would run Taipei County for the next four years. He said that while watching television he had realized that the election result would depend on a small number of votes. He thought that the 3.4 million people living in Taipei County must be ruled by the DPP. Thus, he had decided to come back to persuade the people to vote for Su Tseng-chang. He continued his speech by saying that this might be the last time for him to take part in a rally due to his poor health. Then he said that since his grandmother had died 25 years earlier, he had never knelt down again, but that night he wanted to kneel down for the sake of the future of the DPP, for the future of Taipei County and for the future of Taiwan. As he knelt down, people could not but weep. The scene was shown time and again on all major television channels and several major newspapers printed detailed stories and photos of the event.

In the meantime, KMT supporters gathered to listen to the speeches of Vice-President Lien Chan, KMT secretary-general Wu Poh-hsiung and Taiwan Governor James Soong. Lien Chan repeated his earlier statements that under the DPP, Taipei County's infrastructural development lagged far behind other counties. Wu Poh-hsiung repeated his standard phrase *Lü se zhi zheng, tan wu bao zheng*, i.e. that DPP governance guarantees corruption, and Soong promised the people of Taipei County 'good fortune' if they voted the KMT candidate Hsieh Shen-shan into office. The major news from the KMT rally in Taipei County was that judging from Taiwan Governor Song's speech, his Taiwanese is getting better.

Finally, the DPP won by a small margin of only two percent. Local analysts agreed that Lu Hsiu-yi's 'begging for votes' was decisive in determining the outcome of Taipei County's electoral contest.⁸⁶

Perceiving the KMT as selfish

The DPP succeeded on various occasions in convincing voters that the party would care about public wishes, whereas the KMT constantly proved that the party would care more about its own goals. KMT legislative whip Chen Hong-chi and others admitted that the party had focused too much on its pursuit of power and neglected the public will. Analysing the election campaigns of all candidates, the KMT hopefuls focused to some extent on the public will, but in most cases failed to provide the electorate with a clear concept for achieving their goals and to convince the electorate of their sincerity. Numerous examples could be mentioned here. A seminar organized by the Peng Wan-ju Foundation⁸⁷ is certainly among them: The foundation organized in co-operation with other NGOs a seminar for women. It was designed to give female voters in Taipei County the opportunity to express their views on what they considered to be important issues and the responsibilities of the government. Five of the six candidates in Taipei County took part in the seminar. The KMT's Shieh Shen-shan decided not to do so. At the end of the seminar, a mock vote was held. 120 participants handed in their 'ballots': the DPP candidate won 37 percent of the votes, Chou (Ind.) 21 percent, Lin Chih-jia (Ind.) 17 percent, Liao Hsue-kwang (Ind.) 13 percent, Yang Tai-shun (NP) 9 percent and Shieh Shen-shan (KMT) got only one vote.⁸⁸ Although the seminar was not considered important by political analysts, it was, however, by the media.

President Lee Teng-hui's trip to Taoyuan County could be mentioned as a further example: Lee rallied in Taoyuan County in support of KMT candidate Chen Ken-teh during the festivities to mark the KMT's 103rd anniversary. He was accompanied by Premier Vincent Siew and KMT secretary-general Wu Poh-hsiung. At the same time, a large sports event for the handicapped organized by the Taoyuan County government's education department took place in the nearby stadium. Neither Premier Vincent Siew nor President Lee Teng-hui attended the event. Thus, Lu Hsiu-lien, incumbent county magistrate and DPP candidate, expressed her dissatisfaction at President's Lee behaviour and attitude towards the handicapped. She said that the KMT's anniversary was obviously more important to Lee than the handicapped. Moreover, she grouped Lee together with Chen Chin-hsing⁸⁹ by creating the name Lee Chin-hsing. She claimed that people like Lee Chin-hsing had contributed to a society appraising wrong values and that the common people regarded Lee Chin-hsing as a hero, which he was not. Lu stressed, however, that Lee's visit to the county would not influence the election result, at least not in favour of the KMT candidate.⁹⁰ Lu Hsiu-lien's discontent with the KMT leaders was extensively covered by the media, thus conveying again the message of a self-interested KMT.

Impact on the two major political parties and their future

KMT's ignorance and the Republic of China on Kinmen, Penghu and Matsu

Apart from the above-mentioned direct consequences, such as the replacement of the KMT's Secretary General and the proposed cabinet reshuffle, some KMT members seriously thought about improving the party's image. The so-called 45 Alliance should be mentioned here as an example. The group consists of 43 central committee members⁹¹ who demand that the old leadership give way to a younger breed of KMT members. The alliance spokesman, Chou Hsi-wei, claimed that the KMT leadership was too old compared with the DPP. He also criticized that the old KMT leadership did not want to transfer power to a younger generation and thus people were reluctant to join the KMT, because they saw no opportunities for advancement. Other examples of progressive KMT members are the newly appointed KMT Secretary General John Chang, who tried to change the party's image when he said that he was a Taiwanese even though he was born on the mainland; and Taiwan Governor James Soong, who is busy learning Taiwanese, the lingua franca of local politics, so as to gain acceptance from the public.

In spite of this, the electorate is still confronted with people such as Vice-President Lien Chan who continuously refuse to acknowledge the party's election defeat. When KMT legislative whip Chen Hong-chi commissioned Gallup to conduct the above-mentioned survey, Lien Chan and other KMT officials were upset, questioned its accuracy and demanded another to be conducted. Gallup denied the accusations and Chen Hong-chi stressed that a further survey would most likely be worse. Lien Chan claimed that the survey damaged his reputation. His wife even asked her lawyer to look into the possibility of filing a lawsuit against Chen for damaging her husband's reputation.⁹²

The media generally blasted the KMT for its stubbornness. *The Commons Daily*, for instance, carried a front-page story titled 'KMT will not change'.

Like other major national newspapers, the *Commons Daily* strongly criticized the KMT for its lack of self-discipline and its failure to understand the true reasons for the election defeat.⁹³ Other articles posed the question whether the KMT would in the near future become the government of the offshore islands currently under the KMT government's jurisdiction and be 'expelled' from Taiwan due to its reluctance to listen to the people. Intellectuals argued that considering the fact that the KMT had regained control over Penghu but lost governance over most constituencies on the island of Taiwan itself, it might soon be called the government of the Republic of China on Kinmen, Penghu and Matsu instead of the Republic of China on Taiwan.

KMT and forthcoming elections

As to the party's future, the KMT could still win a majority in the forthcoming parliamentary election, if its officials succeed in convincing the public that the party is changing for the better and the People's Republic of China's leadership again 'advises' the people of Taiwan not to vote for a formal declaration of independence. A KMT victory in the year 2000 presidential election is also still possible. Whether DPP's Chen Shui-bian will win or not mainly depends on whom the KMT nominates. If chairman Lee insists on incumbent Vice-President Lien Chan, the KMT will face another major defeat. However, if James Soong were to be nominated, which seems to be rather unlikely as Lee is not on speaking terms with him, the KMT could even beat Chen Shui-bian. Reliable opinion polls conducted after the November election revealed that more than 40 percent of the people interviewed thought that Taiwan Governor Soong could become president, 23.1 percent expected Chen to win and only 6.9 percent were convinced that Lien Chan could succeed (Table 12).

Candidate	Percent
James Soong	40.2
Chen Shui-bian	23.1
Lien Chan	6.9
Vincent Siew	2.4
Hsu Hsin-liang	1.0
Others	1.0
Don't know	23.3
No comment	2.1
Total	100.0

Table 12: Survey on possible future president (n=712)¹

The 1998 grassroots elections: A sign of improvement?

At the end of January 1998, the people of Taiwan again went to the polls to elect 890 city council members and 319 county municipality and township mayors. The KMT was proud to announce the result of the January election, since more than 72.72 percent of the elected municipality and township mayors and 58.76 percent of council members were KMT-affiliated. The DPP received less than 15 percent of seats. Thus, KMT officials spoke of a victory and a clear signal of strong popular support for the party. In fact, the January election was

a further defeat for the KMT: Compared with the 1994 elections, the KMT lost popular support, whereas the DPP gained (Table 13).

Mayors				Councils			
Seats	1994	1998	Change	Seats	1994	1998	Change
KMT	83%	73%	-10%	KMT	68%	59%	-9%
DPP	7%	8%	1%	DPP	11%	13%	2%
Votes	1994	1998	Change	Votes	1994	1998	Change
KMT	58%	55%	-3%	KMT	55%	49%	-6%
DPP	15%	19%	4%	DPP	14%	16%	2%

Table 13: Comparison grassroots elections in 1994 and 1998⁹⁴

Moreover, it should be noted that the DPP had nominated far fewer candidates than the KMT. Even if all DPP hopefuls had been elected, the party's share of municipality and township mayors would have only reached 35 percent, and its share of council members 30 percent. Yet, the KMT had far more of its nominees elected (Table 14).

Mayors	Nominated	Elected	Share
KMT	434	232	53%
DPP	112	28	25%
Council	Nominated	Elected	Share
KMT	824	523	63%
DPP	268	113	42%

Table 14: Candidates nominated and elected⁹⁵

Observers claim that this phenomenon was clearly caused by the fact that the KMT still controls rural areas. Thinly populated areas and small electoral districts are easy to influence by money politics, an approach the KMT reportedly and excessively used in the January election. The result, consequently, cannot seriously be interpreted as a KMT victory, but rather as a further sign of its diminishing political power.

DPP's internal struggle and future performance

The DPP's election victory gave the party more confidence in forming a government in the near future. However, the leadership struggle inside the party may weaken the DPP's performance in the 1998 parliamentary election. The intra-party conflict intensified shortly before the November election, when DPP chairman Hsu Hsin-liang announced that the party should have talks with the Chinese Communist Party on the future of Taiwan and called for the resumption of the so-called three direct links with the People's Republic of China. Leading figures of the DPP's Social Welfare State, Justice Alliance and New Tide factions strongly criticized Hsu Hsin-liang for his statements.⁹⁶ Legislator Shen Fushung of the Justice Alliance said that party-to-party talks should not be held as the DPP did not represent the country. Tsai Ming-hsien of the New Tide ex-

pressed that both party-to-party talks and the three direct links should have conditions, taking into account Taiwan's security and sovereignty.⁹⁷ Days after the election, DPP chairman Hsu Hsin-liang was further criticized by Taipei Mayor Chen Shui-bian, who could not agree on Hsu's idea of forming a coalition government with the KMT. Chen believed the DPP would be strong enough to form a government itself.

Furthermore, during a *TVBS* news programme newly elected Taichung County magistrate Liao Yung-lai and Hsu Hsin-liang said that the Bayer project should be submitted to a public referendum. On the following day, however, Hsu changed his view and suggested that a public hearing would suffice. All three major DPP factions condemned Hsu's statement and claimed that they would not re-elect Hsu as the party's chairman at the forthcoming party congress in May, but would instead back Chen Shui-bian's bid. DPP Secretary General Chiou I-chen (New Tide) said that the party should not interfere in decisions made by the newly elected Taichung County magistrate, as the people had elected Liao Yung-lai and thus approved of his policies including his anti-Bayer stance, for which Liao was well known to the public. Tsai Ming-hsien (New Tide) added that Hsu's statements did not represent the party's opinion, a view shared by most high-ranking DPP officials. The business community was annoyed about Liao's decision declaring the DPP anti-business and thus entirely neglecting the fact that it was the DPP that wanted, for instance, to improve Taiwan's highly inefficient government administration by simplifying and standardizing all government operations according to ISO-9002. The DPP denied the anti-business claim by saying that it would not oppose the chemical plant if Bayer were to prove that such a plant would not cause environmental damage.

The heated inter-party discussion cooled down somewhat when Hsu Hsin-liang announced that he had no intention of becoming chairman for a second term and welcomed Chen Shui-bian's bid.⁹⁸

The future electoral performance of the DPP will depend mainly on the party's ability to unite all factions. If the DPP succeeds in doing so, a victory in the forthcoming parliamentary election appears likely.

Notes

- ¹ Institute of Societal Policy (Johannes Kepler University of Linz, Austria); Department of Sociology (National Taiwan University). Note: 1 US\$ = 30 NT\$.
- ² *Jianguohui*.
- ³ Wei (interview); cf. Article 1 and Article 3, Charter of Taiwan Independence Party.
- ⁴ A view supported by academics such as Soochow University political science professor Yu Cheng-lung, who once argued that the formation of a new party was a "beautiful mistake" and spoke in favour of multipartisan politics. He referred to his paper called Consultation Democracy, in which he proved that multipartisan politics is necessary for Taiwan. His conclusion is based on research done on eight democratic countries including Switzerland, Holland and Belgium.
- ⁵ Wei (interview); TAIP (1997: 2).
- ⁶ *UDN* (16 November 1997: 2).
- ⁷ *CN* (17 January 1997: 3).
- ⁸ *CN* (18 January 1997: 2).
- ⁹ This chapter may appear drawn out. However, in order to understand the voters' discontent with the ruling regime, the length may be appropriate.
- ¹⁰ *Tien Dao Meng*.
- ¹¹ *FEER* (12 September 1996: 18pp).
- ¹² *CN* (4 October 1996: 2).
- ¹³ *FCJ* (29 November 1996: 2).
- ¹⁴ *CN* (22 November 1996: 1).
- ¹⁵ Director of the DPP's Women's Development Group.
- ¹⁶ *CN* (3 December 1996: 1); *CN* (4 December 1996: 1); *CN* (9 December 1996: 1); *CN* (23 December 1997: 2).
- ¹⁷ Former Minister of Justice, certainly the best Taiwan has ever had. *Don't be so cynical*
- ¹⁸ Yao Kao-chiao, director-general of the National Police Administration, reported to the Legislative Yuan that about 37 percent of the 125,430 registered taxi-drivers in Taiwan have criminal records.
- ¹⁹ On 26 January 1997, the Ministry of Interior announced that national sexual violence prevention centres would be set up around the island. The first will be established by the end of the year.
- ²⁰ *CN* (18 January 1997: 1).
- ²¹ *CN* (19 January 1997: 2).
- ²² *CP* (1 October 1997: 1).
- ²³ *CS* (1996: 35).
- ²⁴ *CN* (5 May 1997: 1).
- ²⁵ *CN* (9 May 1997: 1).
- ²⁶ *CN* (16 May 1997: 1).
- ²⁷ *CN* (17 May 1997: 1).

28 *CN* (18 May 1997: 2).
 29 *UDN* (19 May 1997).
 30 Although such a vote is not binding according to the constitution, it sends a
 clear signal to the ruling regime.
 31 *CN* (18 November 1997: 1); *IMP* (18 November 1997: 1).
 32 *CN* (19 November 1997: 1); *CP* (19 November 1997: 1, 19).
 33 *Liang zhi laohu*.
 34 *CN* (20 November 1997: 1-3).
 35 *CN* (24 November 1997: 1).
 36 *IMP* (18 November: 4).
 37 Based on analysis of campaign literature and speeches.
 38 Chen (interview).
 39 Minister of Interior Wu Poh-hsiung quoted in *YB* (1994: 355).
 40 *SDB* (1995: 15p), *MBS* (April 1997: 4).
 41 *GVM* (November 1997: 170-180).
 42 *TDN* (1 November 1997: 1).
 43 *CD* (8 November 1997).
 44 *UDEN* (5 November 1997: 1).
 45 *IMP* (18 November: 4).
 46 Based on analysis of campaign literature and speeches.
 47 *Yuanjian*.
 48 *1997 minching baogao*.
 49 *GVM* (November 1997: 50-68).
 50 *CD* (4 November 1997: 3).
 51 Based on analysis of campaign literature and speeches.
 52 *CN* (9 October 1996).
 53 Sisy Chen had already been under media attention for months after Li Ang's
 novel *Everyone puts their incense sticks in the Pei-Kang incense burner: The
 devil with a chastity belt* (*Bei gang xiang lu ren ren cha*) had been published.
 Li Ang allegedly portrayed Sisy Chen as having risen to power by sleeping with
 party leaders.
 54 *CP* (28 November 1997: 20); *CN* (27 November 1997: 2); *CTE* (27 Novem-
 ber 1997: 3).
 55 *CD* (25 November 1997: 3).
 56 CEC.
 57 Note: In the 1993 election, there was no electoral competition in the counties of
 Kinmen and Lienchiang since only the KMT nominated one candidate each.
 (*Journalist* (560A: 14p))
 58 Wei (interview).
 59 *Xintong menghui*.
 60 President Lee Teng-hui said in an interview with the *Washington Post* and
Times that Taiwan was an independent and sovereign country, just like Britain
 and France. Furthermore, he stated that the 21 million people of Taiwan did not
 agree with Beijing's view that Taiwan was a province of China. With these
 statements, Lee Teng-hui once again proved his independence attitude. The

KMT government, of course, tried after the publication of the two news articles on November 9 and 10 respectively to soften President Lee's remarks by saying that Lee's remarks had been misunderstood by the two journalists. Foreign Minister Jason Hu said that Lee referred to the Republic of China as an independent country and not to Taiwan. Nevertheless, Jonathan Mirsky from the *Times* insisted that he had not misquoted Lee. In fact, Mirsky said he had repeatedly reminded President Lee that his remarks might cause some misunderstanding, or even anger in Beijing. Mirsky said Lee assured him during his interview on November 7 that what he meant was Taiwan, not the Republic of China or any other terms used to refer to Taiwan. Mirsky said he did not know that Keith Richburg from the *Washington Post* had also interviewed Lee the day before. The two newspaper articles were identical even though the two journalists had not exchanged views before writing them. Richburg claimed that Lee did say Taiwan was an independent country. (*CTE* (11 November 1997: 1); *CN* (11 November 1997: 1)).

61 The KMT lost in the last election. If you had the opportunity to meet Chairman Lee, what would you tell him? (*CTW* (1033: p13)).

62 *TT* (28 November 1997: 1); *UDEN* (27 November 1997: 2); *UDN* (28 November 1997: 2).

63 Time: 4 and 5 December 1997; n: 1089; Age: over 20; Area: Taiwan; method: phone; margin of error: 3 percent.

64 *CTE* (8 December 1997: 1).

65 *CDN* (11 November 1997: 1).

66 *UDN* (25 November 1997: 1).

67 *Nanfang lü se lianmeng*.

68 *Journalist* (560: p34).

69 *CT* (27 November 1997: 3); *CN* (27 November 1997: 2).

70 *CN* (12 November 1997: 2).

71 *Lianhe bao*.

72 *UDN* (1 December 1997)

73 *IMP* (2 December 1997: 2)

74 Approximately, 16 percent of Taiwan's total population (21 million) live there.

75 *Xin xinwen*.

76 *Journalist* (558: 107); *Journalist* (560: 72); *Journalist* (556: 47).

77 *Journalist* (560: 70p).

78 *Journalist* (559: 56p).

79 *CTE* (27 November 1997: 3).

80 Tsai's statement was also included in Hung Chao-nan's campaign material.

81 *CP* (23 November 1997: 11); *UDN* (22 November 1997: 1).

82 *CN* (27 November 1997: 1, 3); *CD* (27 November 1997: 4).

83 *Lü se zhi zheng tan wu bao zheng*.

84 A similar case happened to the DPP candidate Su Tseng-chang just three days before the election in 1993. At that time, Su Tseng-chang was campaigning for re-election in Pingtung County, when a rumour about his involvement in a land scandal damaged his reputation. Su, consequently, lost the election against the KMT candidate. Several days later, investigations proved Su innocent.

- 85 *CD* (27 November 1997: 4).
 86 *CTE* (29 November 1997: 4); *TDN* (30 November 1997: 3); *Journalist* (560A: 97p).
 87 The foundation is a DPP-affiliated one, set up after the brutal murder of Peng Wan-ju (Director of DPP Women's Development Group).
 88 *CN* (12 November 1997: 2).
 89 Taiwan's most wanted criminal.
 90 *CD* (24 November 1997: 6).
 91 Total: 230 members.
 92 *UDEN* (9 December 1997: 2).
 93 *CD* (4 December 1997: 1).
 94 *UDN* (25 January 1998: 1).
 95 *UDN* (25 January 1998: 2).
 96 There are four major factions within the DPP: Meilidao (Formosa), New Tide, Welfare state and the Justice Alliance. The Formosa faction consists of the group around the current DPP chairman Hsu Hsin-liang, the New Tide of legislator Hung Chi-chang and Liao Yung-tai. Frank Hsieh, who was the DPP's vice-presidential candidate in the 1996 presidential election and negotiator in the Chen Chin-hsing crisis, is among the key figures behind the Welfare State faction. The Justice Alliance is formed by prominent politicians such as Chen Shui-bian (Taipei City mayor) and Lu Hsiu-lien (Taoyuan County magistrate). The Justice Alliance and the Welfare State factions are said to co-operate closely with one another. Meilidao and the New Tide are also said to have formed an informal alliance, thus leaving the DPP split into two groups.
 97 *CD* (22 October 1997: 1).
 98 *TDN* (14 December 1997: 2); *CT* (14 December 1997: 2).

Abbreviations

CD	<i>The Commons Daily (Minzhong ribao)</i>
CDN	<i>Central Daily News (Zhongyang ribao)</i>
CEC	Central Election Commission
CN	<i>China News</i>
CP	<i>China Post</i>
CS	Crime Statistics (<i>Taiwan xing'an tongji</i>)
CT	<i>China Times (Zhongguo shibao)</i>
CTE	<i>China Times Express (Zhong shi wanbao)</i>
CTW	<i>China Times Weekly (Shibao zhoukan)</i>
DPP	Democratic Progressive Party (<i>Minjindang</i>)
EC	Election Commission
FCJ	<i>Free China Journal</i>
FEER	<i>Far Eastern Economic Review</i>
GVM	<i>Global Views Monthly (Yuan jian)</i>
IMP	<i>Independence Morning Post (Zili zaobao)</i>
KMT	Kuomintang (<i>Guomindang</i>), Taiwan's ruling party
MBS	<i>Monthly Bulletin of Statistics</i>
NP	New Party (<i>Xindang</i>)
SDB	Statistical Data Book

TAIP	Taiwan Independence Party (<i>Jianguodang</i>)
TDN	<i>Taiwan Daily News</i> (<i>Taiwan ribao</i>)
TT	<i>Taiwan Times</i> (<i>Taiwan shibao</i>)
UDEN	<i>United Daily Evening News</i> (<i>Lianhe wanbao</i>)
UDN	<i>United Daily News</i> (<i>Lianhe bao</i>)
YB	Yearbook of the Republic of China

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