

The 2001 National and Local Elections in Taiwan

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Abbreviations

DPP	Democratic Progressive Party
GP	Green Party
KMT	Kuomintang
NNA	New Nation Alliance
NP	New Party
PFP	People First Party
TAIP	Taiwan Independence Party
TN1	Taiwan No.1
TSU	Taiwan Solidarity Union
SNTV	Single Non-transferable Vote

On 1 December 2001, ten million voters went to the polls in Taiwan to elect 225 members of the Legislative Yüan, Taiwan's law-making body, and the chief executives of eighteen counties and five provincial municipalities. The parliamentary election was a further major defeat for the Kuomintang (KMT), which had dominated parliament for over fifty years. President Chen Shui-bian's Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) became the largest party in parliament for the first time in history, but fell short of achieving a majority. Nevertheless, it is expected that the DPP will in the future be more successful in pushing through its policies than it was prior to the election. In local elections, the KMT did better than in the past, but failed to drive the DPP out of Taipei County, Taiwan's most populated local constituency.

1. Parliamentary Election

Prior to constitutional reforms in recent years, Taiwan's parliament consisted of three chambers: the law-making body, the Legislative Yüan, the constitution-drafting National Assembly, and a watchdog organ known as the Control Yüan. Members of the former two bodies were elected by universal suffrage and the latter by local council members. The 1997 constitutional amendments excluded the Control Yüan from parliament and increased the number of Legislative Yüan members from 161 to 225. Three-quarters of these seats, 168 to be exact, are elected in geographic constituencies and a further eight by eight aboriginal tribes that account for less than two percent of the population. These 176 seats are elected under SNTV (Single Non-transferable Vote). The remaining 49 seats are allocated to those parties which capture at least five percent of the total votes cast for candidates of all political parties. Eight of these proportionally allocated seats represent the overseas Taiwanese community and 41 are "at-large" seats. Further constitutional amendments in May 2000 turned Taiwan's parliament into a semi-bicameral one, with the Legislative Yüan being the only chamber regularly elected by universal suffrage.¹

2. Local Elections

Council members and chief local executives have been directly elected in Taiwan since shortly after the Second World War.² The most important local elections comprise the elections of county magistrates and provincial municipality mayors. Taiwan has sixteen counties and five provincial municipalities. In addition, two counties of China's Fukien

province are also under the jurisdiction of the Taiwan government. Elections of chief executives in these two counties have been held since 1993. The term of county magistrates and provincial municipality mayors is four years. The last election was held in November 1997 and was a watershed in Taiwan's history, as it was the first time the DPP polled more votes in an election than the then ruling KMT.³

3. Pre-election Development

The last presidential election held in March 2000 significantly changed the political landscape in Taiwan: The KMT leadership under President Lee Teng-hui insisted on the nomination of the then Vice-president and Premier Lien Chan as the party's candidate in the presidential race, which annoyed many hardliners and pro-China members such as James Soong, who consequently left the party and ran in the election as an independent candidate. Chen Shui-bian of the DPP finally won the election, closely followed by James Soong. Lien Chan, however, came in well behind his two rivals, and the KMT was forced to admit a major defeat. No sooner had the fiasco been made public than thousands of KMT members and, ironically, supporters of James Soong gathered outside the KMT party headquarters demanding the resignation of chairman Lee Teng-hui. Finally, Lee stepped down and Lien Chan was elected new KMT chairman. In the meantime, James Soong established his own political party, the People First Party (PFP), which was expected to emerge as a third major political force in Taiwan politics. It was obvious at that point that the KMT would lose its majority in parliament in the upcoming election, given the fact that Soong enjoyed far greater popularity than Lien Chan. To make things worse for the KMT, numerous party members withdrew their support in favor of Soong's new party.

Chen Shui-bian's election victory in the presidential race was seen internationally as a major step towards a consolidated democracy.⁴ Nevertheless, the DPP faced difficulties in implementing its proposed policies as parliament was dominated by the blue camp, the KMT, the NP and the newly formed PFP. Chen Shui-bian, aware of his minority in parliament, chose Tang Fei of the KMT, then minister of defense, as the new premier. There was optimism that Tang Fei might be able to help the DPP secure a majority in parliament, especially as he was popular with both political camps.⁵ The first major crisis

occurred soon after the new cabinet was formed when President Chen Shui-bian asked the minister of economic affairs to rethink the construction of the fourth nuclear power plant. The DPP had long opposed the construction of a further nuclear power plant, whereas the KMT had been a long-term advocate of nuclear energy.⁶ In September, the premier remarked that he personally felt there was no need to scrap the project and indicated that he would consider resigning if his opinion conflicted with that of the DPP and the presidential office. The nuclear debate soon caused a political stalemate and Premier Tang resigned, ostensibly for health reasons. Given the fact that Tang had undergone chest surgery a few months earlier, his decision appeared plausible to the public. It seems, however, that the ongoing dispute over the future of the fourth nuclear plant had contributed to his early resignation. Chang Chun-hsiung of the DPP became the new premier in early October, and at the end of that month he announced the government's decision to scrap the nuclear project. The KMT, consequently, threatened to recall the president or to pass a vote of no confidence in parliament, where it had a substantial majority. Taiwan's society soon polarized on the issue and on 12 November 2000 large-scale anti-nuclear demonstrations with over 100,000 protesters were held in Taipei and Kaoshiung, Taiwan's two largest cities. It was not before mid-February the following year that an agreement between the ruling party and the KMT was finally reached, ending the political deadlock. The government agreed to proceed with the construction of the fourth nuclear power plant but made clear its intention to phase out the three others by 2050. Nevertheless, the ruling DPP still faced difficulties in having its proposed laws passed in parliament due to the dominance of the KMT, whose members were reluctant to cooperate with the DPP. Former president Lee Teng-hui responded by announcing his intention to return the country to normality by establishing a new political party, the Taiwan Solidarity Union (TSU). Lee said that the new political party would support the Chen administration and help the DPP to secure a majority in parliament. At the founding ceremony on 12 August, Lee released the names of thirty-nine well-known politicians who had decided to run in the year-end parliamentary election under the banner of the TSU. None of the nominees had held a parliamentary seat prior to the December election. Lee Teng-hui's move hurt the KMT badly and the party responded by expelling the "traitors". Taiwan's media welcomed Lee's initiative. The weekly magazine *Journalist* had a cover

story calling Lee “the father of Taiwan,” appraising his commitment to a stable and democratic Taiwan nation-state.⁷ There were high expectations that Lee would be able to help the ruling DPP to achieve a majority in parliament, especially after his announcement that there would be a number of mainstream KMT legislators either supporting his coalition for national stabilization or even changing camps after the election.

Apart from the political dispute, Taiwan’s economy was challenged by a recession. GDP shrank considerably throughout the year, and the nation’s economists spoke of the steepest GDP decline since the oil crisis of the 1970s. Although there were several reasons for this development, they mainly blamed the world economy and the increase in the number of Taiwanese companies moving their production facilities to the People’s Republic of China, where labor costs are lower and environmental protection laws virtually non-existent. What worried the nation even more was the fact that unemployment had reached a record high of 5.2 percent. The KMT and the PFP used Taiwan’s poor economic performance to attack the DPP government. Meanwhile, local media reports claimed that companies affiliated with the KMT had withdrawn capital and manipulated the stock market in order to discredit the DPP. With regard to cross-straits relations, claims of a destructive KMT were even made by foreign institutions. In August, for instance, the Center for Strategic and International Studies released a report citing Chinese analysts as saying that the KMT had consistently urged Beijing not to engage in a dialogue with the new government in Taipei in an effort to weaken the position of the DPP and increase the chances of a KMT election victory.⁸

4. Candidates and Their Affiliation

Taiwan nationals aged 23 or older may register as candidates in parliamentary elections; candidates in local elections must be 35 or older. Hopefuls must pay a deposit of NT\$ 200,000 to the election commission, which will be returned if the candidate polls at least 10 percent of the quotient obtained by dividing the number of voters by the district magnitude.

4.1 Local Elections

A total of eighty-nine hopefuls stood in the election for the chief executives of five provincial municipalities and eighteen counties, 60 percent of whom had been nominated by

political parties. The KMT nominated one candidate in each of the twenty-three constituencies with the exception of Nantou County, where two candidates ran under the KMT banner. The ruling DPP also nominated one candidate in each of the constituencies, except for Lienchang County. The New Party significantly decreased its number of candidates, having learned a lesson from the previous election in which none of its seven candidates was elected. This time, the party concentrated on Kinmen County, a tiny offshore island. The PFP and the Green Party took part in mayoral elections for the first time, presenting six candidates and one candidate respectively. Compared with the previous election held four years earlier, there was a significant increase in the number of independent candidates. However, only three of these were believed to have chances of success: incumbent Miaoli County magistrate Fu Shue-peng, Chen Li-chen of Chiayi City and Wang Jian-shuan, who was jointly nominated by the KMT, NP and PFP as their candidate in the Taipei County race. Two minor parties, the Taiwan Independence Party and the Society Reform Party, nominated no candidates at all this time.

Table 4.1 Comparison of candidates in the 2001 and 1997 local elections

Affiliation	2001		1997	
	Candidates	%	Candidates	%
Kuomintang	24	26.97	25	31.25
Democratic Progressive Party	22	24.72	21	26.25
People First Party	6	6.74	-	-
New Party	1	1.12	7	8.75
Green Party	1	1.12	-	-
Independent	35	39.33	23	28.75
Other parties	-	-	4	5.00
Total	89	100.00	80	100.00

Source: Central Election Commission, Ministry of Interior, Taiwan

4.2 Parliamentary Election

In the parliamentary race 434 hopefuls contested 168 seats in twenty-nine geographic constituencies, and 21 contested 8 seats in two aboriginal constituencies.

Table 4.2 Comparison of candidates in the 2001 and 1998 Legislative Yüan elections

Affiliation	2001		1998	
	Candidates	%	Candidates	%
Kuomintang	97	21.32	161	32.33
Democratic Progressive Party	83	18.24	112	22.49
People First Party	61	13.41	-	-
New Party	32	7.03	51	10.24
Taiwan Solidarity Union	39	8.50	-	-
Nationwide Democratic Nonpartisan Alliance	1	0.22	5	1.00
Taiwan No. 1	3	0.66	-	-
Wisdom Action Party	1	0.22	-	-
Taiwan Independence Party	3	0.66	20	4.02
Green Party	1	0.2	1	0.20
Chinese Taiwan Aborigine Democratic Party	1	0.22	1	0.20
Great Chinese Battle Line of Unification	1	0.22	-	-
Independents	132	29.01	108	21.69
Other parties	-	-	39	7.83
Total	455	100.00	498	100.00

Source: Central Election Commission, Ministry of Interior, Taiwan

Seven out of ten candidates were nominated by political parties. Compared with the previous election, all parties nominated fewer candidates due both to the emergence of the PFP and to their experience in the previous election, which was the first after constitutional amendments had increased the number of parliamentary seats from 161 to 225. Moreover, there were five new political parties and four established parties which did not put forward a single candidate in this election. The latter parties are the China Youth Party, the National Democratic Party, the Democratic Union and the New Nation Alliance (see Table 4.2). However, five former hopefuls from the Democratic Union stood again, two as independent candidates and the others under the banner of the Taiwan Solidarity Union. The New Nation Alliance had practically dissolved soon after its election defeat in 1998, and the only successful candidate, Hsu Tian-tsai, was nominated by the DPP as the party's hopeful in the Tainan mayoral race (see Table 4.3).

Table 4.3 Election result of political groups in the 1998 parliamentary election

Party	Candidates	Elected	Current state
China Youth Party	1	0	dissolving
National Democratic Party	1	1	dissolving
Democratic Union	25	4	dissolved
New Nation Alliance	12	1	dissolved

The five new parties were the PFP, TSU, the Taiwan No.1 Party, the Wisdom Action Party and the Great Chinese Battle Line of Unification. The PFP nominated 61 hopefuls and the TSU 39. These candidates accounted for about 20 percent of the 455 participants. All other new parties did not nominate more than three candidates (see Table 4.2), and their chances of success were viewed as only very slight.

5. The Campaign

Taiwan has the most liberal election law of all democracies in East Asia, and restrictions on campaigning are minor. The law limits the campaign period for parliamentary and local elections to ten days and allows each candidate to spend up to NT\$ 7 million on parliamentary elections and between NT\$ 7 million and NT\$ 26 million on local elections. Candidates may apply for campaign subsidies. Each candidate is subsidized to the tune of NT\$ 30 for each ballot exceeding one-third of the votes sufficient to win in the respective single-seat constituency or half the votes sufficient to win in the respective multi-seat constituency. Political parties receive subsidies of NT\$ 5 for each ballot exceeding 5 percent of the total number of valid votes. Despite these restrictions, both political parties and individual candidates usually find loopholes in the law. Activities officially described as campaigning, such as placing ads in the mass media, are much in evidence prior to the official campaign period. Moreover, hopefuls usually spend far more money on their campaigning activities than is legally permitted. Actual figures are astronomical: Candidates running in county magistrate, mayoral and presidential elections may spend not just millions but billions of NT\$ on their campaign. The last presidential election in March 2000 was described as the most expensive in the nation-state's history, with candidates allegedly spending more than NT\$ 3 billion on advertisements in Taiwan's mass media.⁹ With Taiwan's economy hard hit by the worldwide economic

decline, big corporations, such as United Microelectronics, refrained from donating money to political parties and individual candidates this time.

Table 5.1 Total spending of political parties on advertisements (1998-2001)^a

Media	Type of election		
	1998 Parliament	2000 Presidential	2001 Parliament
Television	115	3,127	746
Newspaper	144	461	72
Magazines	7	17	8
Total	266	3,602	826

Source: Rainmaker, *tai wan di qu 1998 nian da xuan te bie bao dao* [Taiwan 1998 Election Special Report], (Rainmaker: Taipei, 1998). Rainmaker, *tai wan di qu 2000 nian da xuan te bie bao dao* [Taiwan 2000 Election Special Report], (Rainmaker: Taipei, 2000). Rainmaker, *tai wan di qu 2001 nian da xuan te bie bao dao* [Taiwan 2001 Election Special Report], (Rainmaker: Taipei, 2001).

^a million NT\$

Nevertheless, compared with the previous parliamentary election, the amount of money spent by political parties on advertisements increased significantly, but still only accounts for about 20 percent of the amount spent in the last presidential election (see Table 5.1). The total expenditure by political parties on political ads in Taiwan's media accounted for NT\$ 826 million, almost half of it was spent by the KMT, 25 percent by the PFP and 20 percent by the ruling DPP.

Table 5.2 Total spending of political parties on advertisements (2001)^a

Party	Media			Total	%
	TV	Newspaper	Magazine		
KMT	351.13	30.99	6.79	388.91	47.07
PFP	204.01	6.63	0.85	211.49	25.60
DPP	153.47	9.46	-	162.93	19.72
TSU	32.93	11.2	0.54	44.67	5.41
NP	-	12.81	-	12.81	1.55
TAIP	4.87	-	-	4.87	0.59
TN1	-	0.57	-	0.57	0.07
Total	746.41	71.67	8.18	826.25	100.00

Source: Rainmaker, *tai wan di qu 2001 nian da xuan te bie bao dao* [Taiwan 2001 Election Special Report], (Rainmaker: Taipei, 2001). ^a million NT\$

In addition, Rainmaker, a leading local media research company, estimates that in addition to the money spent by political parties, candidates in the local race spent another NT\$309 million and parliamentary hopefuls NT\$ 387 million on advertisements on television, in newspapers and magazines.¹⁰

In total, the KMT had nine different party political broadcasts aired, the DPP seven, the PFP ten short ones and the TSU three.¹¹ Seven of the KMT ads were mainly designed to attack the opponent, one for image creation and another to rebut criticism. Three of the DPP ads were political attacks and the others image-building. Half of the PFP ads were attacks and half image-building, whereas TSU ads were image-building only. Advertising experts have criticized the KMT for focusing too much on originality at the expense of content. The DPP's ads were said to be less original but had a clearer message. The good character of chairman James Soong was the major theme of almost all PFP ads, which reinforced the impression of the PFP being a one-man band.¹² The internet was a less important campaign tool than in the previous presidential election of March 2000 and the last parliamentary election in 1998, when almost every candidate had his or her own website offering the electorate information about the candidate's previous political achievements, platforms, and in several cases short movie and audio clips. In this election few candidates made an effort to create websites, and all major political parties had less information on their sites than in the previous elections. The PFP even considered the internet more of a kids' paradise and designed its website accordingly.¹³

In spite of the economic situation, the KMT admitted to having offered NT\$ 1.5 billion in subsidies to its candidates, although estimates put the figure nearer NT\$ 5 billion. The DPP, on the other hand, kept a low profile and is said to have offered its candidates NT\$ 100 million.¹⁴

The economy was, of course, the main election issue. Opposition parties took advantage of the recession and pinned the blame on the new government. KMT chairman Lien Chan strongly criticized the DPP and its economic policies. He claimed that Taiwan's troubled economy was due solely to the DPP. At the beginning of November, the KMT organized demonstrations in all major cities around the island to protest against the DPP government's handling of the economy. It was the first time in history that the KMT had organized a demonstration and that Lien Chan, former vice-president and premier, had

actively supported such activities. Lien Chan again blamed the DPP for the record unemployment and called for a cut in the unemployment rate to three percent. Tens of thousands of KMT supporters chanted slogans saying that a DPP government guaranteed unemployment. Most campaign speeches, newspaper and TV ads attempted to create the image of the nation being on the verge of bankruptcy as a direct result of DPP policies. Several candidates of the DPP and the Green Party in their speeches and campaign literature criticized Lien Chan for leading these demonstrations and argued that if the KMT was so worried about the unemployed, it could simply use its illegally obtained assets to finance job training and educational programs and accused Lien Chan of just making a noise. DPP leaders even made fun of KMT chair Lien Chan and his party saying that the KMT should leave demonstrations to the DPP since it had more experience in this field.¹⁵ James Soong, chair of the PFP, joined Lien Chan in his argument that the DPP was to blame for the poor economy. The major theme of the PFP was "save the economy, vote for Soong." The DPP reacted quickly to the accusations made by the PFP and the KMT. Premier Chang Chun-hsiung told the media at a press conference that the DPP had achieved many reforms which the KMT had been unable to implement during its fifty years in power. He said that the current government policies, for instance, attempted to balance the development of northern and southern Taiwan, while the KMT had ignored the south. The premier stressed that even though the opposition claimed that Taiwan's economic performance had become one of the region's worst, international surveys proved the opposite. Chang referred to the World Competitiveness Report, which ranked Taiwan eighth in terms of global competitiveness, ahead of Japan, South Korea and the People's Republic of China. Another survey released by the World Economic Forum ranked Taiwan seventh worldwide for competitiveness, up from eleventh a year earlier. Moreover, the DPP used the accusations of the KMT by making counter accusations a major theme in their advertisements and public speeches. In a series of televised ads, the party referred to KMT and PFP legislators as "barbaric and irresponsible budget cutters." The ads claimed that opposition legislators had impeded local development by cutting funds earmarked for public building, child welfare and computer lessons for schoolchildren. One ad even mentioned the names of the "barbaric cutters", two of whom were members of the KMT and one a member of the PFP. The accused politicians denied the

allegations and filed lawsuits against the DPP. Taiwan's media focused extensively on the issue and the DPP's accusations were supported by parliamentary records.¹⁶ The ads also highlighted the problem of a minority DPP in parliament. President Chen Shui-bian and high-ranking officials of the DPP thus appealed to the electorate in emotional speeches to give the DPP a majority in parliament.

The DPP also attacked the way in which the KMT had acquired its assets. During its fifty years of rule, the KMT had allegedly mixed its own funds with government funds. The party is considered to be the world's richest, with assets estimated at between US\$ 7 billion and US\$ 16 billion.¹⁷ Civil groups as well as the DPP would like to see a thorough investigation into the legality of the party's assets. In several newspaper ads the DPP described the KMT as being worse than the Communist Party of East Germany, since the latter accepted a fair investigation into its assets, whereas the KMT has fiercely resisted attempts by the Control Yuan, Taiwan's watchdog body, to set up an independent board to look into the issue.

TSU hopefuls raised the issue of cutting the Legislative Yuan by half in order to make it more efficient. While the idea was backed by the DPP, other parties refrained from voicing an opinion during the election campaign.

During the closing days of the election campaign, President Chen Shui-bian made public his idea of a cross-party alliance for national stabilization, further stressing his commitment to a stable political system. His idea was supported by the TSU and its spiritual leader Lee Teng-hui, who had pursued similar ideas. Opposition parties on the other hand continued to blame the government for the recession and claimed that the only way to resolve the crisis was to vote for them. The leaders of the PFP and KMT maintained that the relationship with the People's Republic of China had deteriorated under the DPP government, and some candidates even claimed that there would soon be war should the DPP be allowed to continue ruling the country.

6. Results and Implications

Lien Chan, chair of the KMT, said during a press conference that he was confident his party would secure at least ninety seats. Frank Hsieh, chair of the DPP, predicted that his party would secure at least two seats more than the KMT, while the PFP said it would win

more than forty seats.¹⁸ Shu Chin-chiang, TSU spokesman, announced that his party would poll at least ten percent of the votes, which is equivalent to approximately twenty seats.¹⁹ Political analysts expected the lowest turnout in Taiwan's election history, as a significant part of the electorate might not see the point of going to the polls again given that the last presidential election had brought about the long-awaited transfer of power from the KMT to the DPP.²⁰

6.1 Local Elections

In the 2001 county magistrate and provincial municipality mayor elections, the DPP increased its share of votes by 4 percent compared with the previous election held in 1997 and reached an all-time high of 45 percent. The KMT, on the other hand, lost 17 percent of its 1997 share of votes and lagged ten percentage points behind the DPP, a historic low (see Table 6.1). The PFP, a newcomer in local elections, polled slightly more than 2 percent of the votes. The Green Party's only nominee received about 1,200 votes, and the only candidate of the NP some 14,000 votes, enough to be elected county magistrate of the tiny offshore island of Kinmen.

In terms of elected candidates, the KMT could boast victory in nine constituencies, one more than in the previous election. Although the number of votes for the DPP was higher this time, the party could not hold on to all of the twelve chief executive positions it won in 1997 (see Table 6.2). It lost the counties of Taoyuan, the second largest constituency, Hsinchu and Taichung, and the cities of Keelung, Hsinchu and Taichung to the KMT.

Table 6.1 Election results of local elections 2001 and 1997

Party	2001		1997		Change
	Votes	%	Votes	%	%
DPP	3,799,709	45.19	3,322,087	43.32	+4.31
KMT	2,950,217	35.09	3,229,635	42.12	-16.69
PFP	197,707	2.35	-	-	-
NP	14,148	0.17	108,812	1.42	+88.14
GP	1,299	0.02	-	-	-
Independent	1,445,172	17.19	987,247	12.87	+33.50
other parties	-	-	20,294	0.26	-
Total	8,408,252	100.00	7,668,075	100.00	0.00

Source: Central Election Commission, Ministry of Interior, Taiwan

It could be argued that the DPP lost because of the economic recession and the KMT's success in putting the economy on the agenda of the daily political debates in these constituencies.²¹ The DPP, on the other hand, gained control over the previously KMT-governed counties of Changhua and Chiayi, and the county of Nantou, which had been previously controlled by an independent. The party also succeeded in defending its magistracy of Taipei County, Taiwan's most highly populated magistracy. The county has been governed by the DPP since 1989, when the party's hopeful You Ching won the election by a narrow margin of 4,000 votes. The PFP succeeded in ousting the KMT from the counties of Taitung and Lienchiang; and the NP took over the KMT magistracy of Kinmen County.

Table 6.2 Election results of local elections 2001 and 1997

Party	2001		1997		Change
	Elected	%	Elected	%	%
DPP	9	39.13	12	52.17	-25.00
KMT	9	39.13	8	34.78	+12.50
PFP	2	8.70	-	-	-
NP	1	4.35	-	-	-
Independents	2	8.70	3	13.04	-33.33
Total	23	100.00	23	100.00	+0.00

Source: Central Election Commission, Ministry of Interior, Taiwan

6.2 Parliamentary Election

The elections turned out to be another victory for the DPP and a further serious setback for the KMT. For the first time in Taiwan's history, the DPP polled more votes in a national election than the KMT. About 33 percent of the votes went to the DPP and 29 percent to the KMT. Compared with the previous election held in 1998, the DPP succeeded in increasing its share by about three percentage points whereas the KMT suffered heavy losses. Its share dropped from 46 percent to a meager 29 percent (see Table 6.3). Public support for the NP plummeted this time, falling below the five percentage threshold necessary for "at-large" seats. The PFP, on the other hand, was another big winner in this election, polling nineteen percent of votes, and the TSU passed the five percent threshold as expected. TAIP lost its seat in parliament and with just 1,382 votes in this election, it left the political stage. The future of Taiwan's greens is not rosy either. The party succeeded in entering parliament in 1996 when one of its candidates was elected in Yunlin County. In 1998, the party had filed one candidate in Taipei's second district and received about 8,000 votes, only one-third of the required amount. In this election, the party nominated the same candidate in the same district and polled only 1,000 votes.

Table 6.3 Result of the Legislative Yüan election 2001 and 1998

Affiliation	2001		1998		Change
	votes	%	votes	%	%
DPP	3,447,740	33.38	2,966,834	29.56	+12.92
KMT	2,949,371	28.56	4,659,679	46.43	-38.49
PFP	1,917,836	18.57	-	-	-
TSU	801,560	7.76	-	-	-
NP	269,620	2.61	708,465	7.06	-63.02
Independent	899,254	8.71	946,431	9.43	-7.67
other party	42,474	0.41	754,420	7.52	-94.53
Total	10,327,855	100.00	10,035,829	100.00	0.00

Source: Central Election Commission, Ministry of Interior, Taiwan

Six of the twelve political parties competing in this parliamentary election won at least one seat and four met the criteria for the proportional representation seats (Table 6.4). The NP captured only one seat on the offshore island of Kinmen and the TN1 one in the

aboriginal constituency. Independent candidates took eight seats in geographic constituencies and one in the aboriginal constituency.

Table 6.4 Seat distribution Legislative Yüan election 2001

Affiliation	PR-seats		Constituencies		Total
	At large	Overseas	Geographic	Aborigine	
DPP	15	3	69	0	87
KMT	13	2	49	4	68
PFP	9	2	34	1	46
TSU	4	1	8	0	13
NP	-	-	1	-	1
TNI	-	-	0	1	1
Independents	-	-	8	1	9
Total	41	8	169	7	225

Source: Central Election Commission, Ministry of Interior, Taiwan

Compared with the 1998 election, the DPP increased its share of seats from seventy to eighty-seven, while the KMT lost almost one-half its seats and the NP ten of its eleven seats. The DPP had far more of its candidates elected than any other party (see Table 6.5). The TSU is the only party to have intentionally nominated far too many candidates. It did so in an attempt to enhance its chances of passing the five-percent threshold necessary for "at-large" seats .

The KMT lost the parliamentary race because of its highly unpopular leader, Lien Chan, and the emergence of the PFP. In addition, candidates of the blue camp, in general, could not benefit from the issue of cross-straits relations in this election, since the People's Republic of China refrained from interfering: The Chinese media did not even report on the election.²² Moreover, the KMT electoral strategies did not work as well as those of the DPP. Under the current electoral system, twenty-five out of twenty-nine geographic and both of the two aboriginal constituencies are multi-member districts with an average seven seats. The remaining four constituencies, three small islands and the thinly populated county of Taitung, are single-seat constituencies.

Table 6.5 Election results Legislative Yüan election 2001 and 1998

	2001		1998		Change	
	seats	% of hopefuls	seats	% of hopefuls	seats	%
DPP	87	77.53	70	65.82	+17	+24.29
KMT	68	54.64	123	73.91	-55	-44.72
PFP	46	57.38	-	-	-	-
TSU	13	20,51	-	-	-	-
NP	1	3.13	11	19.44	-10	-90.91
TN1	1	33.33	-	-	-	-
Independent	9	6.82	12	11.11	-3	-25.00
other party	-	-	9	9.89	-9	-100.00
Total	225	41.54	225	47.61	0	0.00

Source: Central Election Commission, Ministry of Interior, Taiwan

Multi-seat constituencies require each political party to make an assessment of how many votes it could reasonably hope to poll in a certain constituency. If the party nominates too many candidates in this constituency, party votes may be split to the extent that rival candidates take the seats away. By nominating too few candidates, the party runs the risk of wasting votes. In this election and in the 1995 election, the KMT nominated far too many candidates in key constituencies such as Taipei City. Moreover, the party network did not support each candidate with the same degree of enthusiasm. It has been the KMT strategy to support party candidates with higher popularity ratings in opinion surveys. The DPP, on the other hand, has for a long time practiced the so-called *pei piao* system (forced vote distribution). *Pei piao* is a rational system based on the fact that the chance of someone being born on a Monday is the same as of someone being born on a Tuesday. In this election, for instance, the DPP nominated five candidates in the second district of Taipei City. The party gave each of its five candidates two single-digit numbers, i.e. zero and one to the first candidate, two and three to the second and so forth. Party supporters were urged to vote for the candidate whose number coincides with the last digit of their National Identity Number.²³ If most DPP supporters followed the strategy, each candidate should receive an equal amount of votes.²⁴ The *pei piao* system has been regarded as one of the key reasons for the party's success in this election. Political analysts agree that a further factor contributing to the success of the DPP was President Chen Shui-bian's promise that there would be a more efficient government if the people gave the DPP a

majority in parliament. Moreover, the electorate in general did not believe in Lien Chan's claim that he would revive Taiwan's economy, especially after a press conference where he had had to admit that the KMT's economic policies did not differ much from those of the DPP.

The election made the NP the ruler of Kinmen, an offshore island with a population of about 50,000 people, as it won the only parliamentary seat there and succeeded in having its candidate elected as the county's magistrate. The NP emerged as a rising star in the mid-1990s, when it first took part in national elections and captured thirteen percent of the seats. Its support dropped considerably in the 1998 parliamentary election due to a number of internal disputes. The recent election has been a further serious defeat for the party. There seems to be little doubt that the party will soon disappear from Taiwan's political arena.²⁵

Voter turnout averaged 66.16 percent and was two percentage points lower than in the previous election. In Taiwan's two largest cities, Taipei and Kaoshiung, it was down to 65 percent, fifteen percentage points lower than in the previous election. In other areas, such as in the cities of Keelung and Hsinchu, it increased from about 50 percent to approximately 63 percent. In these two constituencies the increase was most dramatic. This phenomenon was caused by a mass mobilization of KMT supporters. In both cities, the KMT consequently succeeded in ousting the incumbent DPP mayors.²⁶

This parliamentary election not only marked the end of KMT dominance but also ended the political careers of many long-term legislative stalwarts and prominent politicians such as former DPP chair Shih Ming-teh, NP legislative whip Lai Shih-pao, influential Taipei County independent Lin Chih-jia, and media star Chu Mei-fong.²⁷

The election gave the green camp a so-called "working majority" of one hundred out of 225 seats, since former president and spiritual leader of the TSU announced that several independents, KMT and PFP legislators would support the green camp, giving it a *de-facto* majority in the law-making body. Soon after the election, the green camp elaborated on proposed constitutional amendments aimed at preventing further deadlocks in parliament: Lee Teng-hui and the DPP leadership would like to transform Taiwan's semi-presidential system into a presidential one, to halve the number of parliamentary

seats and to introduce a single-member, two-ballot election system.²⁸ There is optimism that a stronger DPP government will be more likely to implement its policies this time.

June 2002

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Glossary of Selected Chinese Names

Chang Chun-hsiung	張俊雄
Chen Li-chen	陳麗貞
Chen Shui-bian	陳水扁
China Youth Party	中國青年黨
China-Taiwan Aborigine Democratic Party	中國台灣原住民主黨
Chu Mei-fong	璩美鳳
Democratic Progressive Party	民進黨
Democratic Union	民主聯盟
Fu Hsue-peng	傅學鵬
Great Chinese Battle Line of Unification	大中華統一陣線
Green Party	綠黨
Hsu Tian-tsai	許添財
James Soong	宋楚瑜
Lai Shih-pao	賴士葆
Lee Teng-hui	李登輝
Lian Chan	連戰
Lin Chih-jia	林志嘉
National Democratic Party	國家民主黨
Nationwide Non-partisan Alliance	全國民主非政黨聯盟
New Nation Alliance	新國家連線
New Party	新黨
People First Party	親民黨
Shih Ming-teh	施明德
Society Reform Party	社會改革黨
Su Chin-chiang	蘇進強
Taiwan Independence Party	建國黨
Taiwan No.1	台灣五吾黨
Taiwan Solidarity Union	台灣團結聯盟

NOTES

1. The term of all National Assembly members expired on 19 May 2000. With effect from that date, 300 Assembly members will be elected within three months of the expiration of a six-month period following the public announcement of a proposal by the LY to amend the Constitution or to alter the national territory, or within three months of a petition initiated by the LY for the impeachment of the president or the vice-president. Elected members have to convene of their own accord within ten days after the confirmation of the election result and have to remain in session not longer than one month, with the term of office expiring on the last day of the convention.
2. For a detailed analysis of Taiwan's local elections see: Christian Schafferer, *The Power of the Ballot Box: Political Development and Election Campaigning in Taiwan* (Lanham: Lexington, *in press*).
3. For a detailed analysis of this election see: Christian Schafferer, *The Power of the Ballot Box: Political Development and Election Campaigning in Taiwan* (Lanham: Lexington, *in press*).
4. Freedom House upgraded its rating on Taiwan in its latest annual report (political rights: 1; civil rights: 2) and thus gave Taiwan the same ratings as most member states of the European Union, such as Germany, France and Italy. Moreover, it outperformed the European Union member state of Greece in terms of civil liberties (political rights: 1; civil liberties: 3). By international standards, Japan (political rights: 1; civil liberties: 2) and Taiwan are thus East Asia's most democratic countries (Freedom House, "Freedom in the World," <<http://216.119.117.183/research/freeworld/2001/table1.htm>> (4 December 2001).
5. There are two main political 'camps' in Taiwan: the blue and the green. The name derives from the main color in the party flag of the KMT and the DPP respectively. The blue camp comprises the KMT, PFP and NP, the green camp the DPP and TSU. The blue camp is pro-unification, whereas the green camp is not interested in unifying with the PRC.
6. See Christian Schafferer, "Taiwan's Nuclear Policy and Anti-nuclear Movement," in *Understanding Modern Taiwan*, ed. Christian Aspalter, (Ashgate: Aldershot, 2001), pp. 97-126.
7. *Journalist*, 6 September 2001.
8. Bonnie Glaser, "China's Taiwan Policy: Still Listening and Watching," <<http://www.csis.org/pacfor/pac0133.htm>> (20 November 2001).
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12. Tsu-leong Cheng, "hu zhi ni ba, bu jian niu rou" [Mudslinging, no Beef in Sight], *Brain*, December 2001, pp. 24-29.
13. See <www.pfp.org.tw>.
14. *Liberty Times*, 29 November 2001; *Taipei Times*, 17 November 2001
15. *Liberty Times*, 11 November 2001
16. Huang, "xuan zhan wen xuan de mi mi," pp. 30-35.
17. *Taipei Times*, 17 November 2001; *Liberty Times*, 17 November 2001
18. *Taipei Times*, 30 November 2001
19. *Taipei Times*, 21 November 2001
20. *United Daily News*, 29 November 2001
21. *United Daily News*, 2 December 2001
22. In past elections, China's state media warned about dire consequences should the DPP or other pro-independence figures gain substantial popular support.
23. Similar to the social security number in other countries.

24. The NP used the same system in the 1995 parliamentary election in the city of Taipei and in the counties of Taipei and Taoyuan. Twelve out of their fourteen candidates were elected as a result. (Cheng-hao Pao, “xin dang ping jun pei piao ce lue jiao jie zhi yan jiu: yi ba shi si nian li fa wei yuan xuan ju wei li,” [The Effectiveness of the New Party’s Strategy of Forced Vote Distribution in the 1995 Legislative Election],” *Journal of Electoral Studies* 5, no. 1 (May 1998): pp. 95-138).
25. *Journalist*, 12 December 2001
26. *Journalist*, 12 December 2001
27. *Taipei Times*, 2 December 2001
28. *Liberty Times*, 9 November 2001; *Taipei Times*, 20 November 2001