

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Significance of Title

First of all, more than a half century for Kuomintang Party in giving positive contribution in Taiwan, this party successfully defeated by the Democratic Progressive Party in 2000 and 2004 general election. Surprisingly, Kuomintang party could win the 2008 general election in Taiwan.

Secondly, Progressive Party is identical with pro-independence agenda, on the other hand Kuomintang party is close to pro-unification with People's Republic of China. Defeated by Progressive Party, it is assuming that Taiwan's public is willing to have a unification with People Republic of China.

Thirdly, under the government of Progressive Party, Taiwan rapidly developed, economically, socially and in educational sectors etc.

Lastly, this theme is actual and impressive to be analyzed, moreover about the factor which could lead Kuomintang Party to be the winner in 2008 Taiwan general election. Last but not least, there are many data that can support the making of this analysis.

B. Background

Taiwan (*Chung Hua Min Kuo*) is located in the East Asian, China influenced much on its development since these two countries have a similar

socio-historical background. The separation of Taiwan from People Republic of China started from the fallen of Nationalist Government or Kuomintang by The China Communist Party in 1949. Taiwan established its own authority in Formosa Island and then found a new country namely Republic of China, mostly known as Taiwan.¹

The disintegration between People Republic of China and Republic of China was beginning with the 1912 civil war. It creates a fluctuate relationship between both countries, and sometimes it is ended with a friction. Moreover, claiming one another political power is the point of relationship.²

Government of People Republic of China claimed that Republic of China government is illegitimate. Citing its One-China policy, the PRC requires other countries to give no official recognition to the ROC as a condition of maintaining diplomatic relations.³ As a result, there are only 23 countries that have official diplomatic relations with the Republic of China.

Additionally, the People of Republic China only participates in international organizations where the Republic Of China is not recognized as a sovereign country

Republic of China follows a semi Presidential Democratic Republic, whereby the President is the head of the state and the premier (President of the

¹ *Taiwan : History* (accessed on April 5th 2008); available from, <http://www.wikipedia.org/Taiwan/History>

² "Pertikaian Saudara Kandung", *Angkasa Magazine*, September edition 1999. No. XII.

³ *Taiwan : Political Status* (accessed on April 8th 2008); available from, http://www.wikipedia.org/Taiwan_Political_Status

Executive Yuan) is the head of the government, and of a dominant party system.⁴ Executive power is exercised by the government. Legislative power is vested in both the government and parliament. The National Assembly of the Republic of China was elected on the mainland to officially carry out the duties of choosing the president, to amend the constitution, and to exercise the sovereignty of the citizens. The main lawmaking body is the Legislative Yuan (LY). The Judicial Yuan (JY) administers the Republic of China court system. It includes a 16-member Council of Grand Justices (COGJ) that interprets the constitution. Grand Justices are appointed by the President, with the consent of the Legislative Yuan, to 9-year terms.

The president is both the head of state and the commander-in-chief of the armed forces. The president has authority over the five administrative branches (Yuan): Executive, Legislative, Control, Judicial, and Examination. The Executive Yuan comprises the premier, vice-premier, and the cabinet members who are responsible for policy and administration. The president appoints the Premier, who is officially the President of the Executive Yuan.

The party system is dominated by the liberal, pro-independence Democratic Progressive Party and the conservative, pro-reunification Kuomintang (KMT), minority parties are making a coalition with them. The Pan Blue coalitions consist of *Kuomintang*, People First Party and New Party.

The Pan Green Coalitions consist of Democratic Progressive Party, Taiwan Solidarity Union, Other Non-Partisan Solidarity Union and Green Party Taiwan.

⁴ *Politics of Republic of China* (accessed on April 8th 2008); available from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics_of_the_Republic_of_China

Table 1.1

List of Political Parties on Republic of China

Party's Name	Founding Year
China Democratic Socialist Party	Not Available
China Old Veterans Unification Party	1989
Chinese Youth Party	1923
Democratic Progressive Party	1986
Kuomintang	1912
Taiwan Solidarity Union	2001
The Civil Party	Not Available
The Green Party Taiwan	Not Available
The New Party	Not Available
The Peasant Party	Not Available
The Taiwan Independence Party	Not Available

Sources: *Taiwan, Political Party* (accessed on April 8th 2008); available from, <http://www.wikipedia.org>

In 1980s, Taiwan had its political reformation process then it happened occurred in 1990s which brought Taiwan to be a Democratic-liberal state. This political modernization made the relationship between People Republic of China and Taiwan become in-harmonious, the establishment of Democratic Progressive Party which could successfully win in presidential election on 2000 until 2004 also made the situation worsened.

After the reformation took place in 1980s, Taiwan became more developed because its modern and industrial economic strategy. Consequently, Taiwan has a rapid development in economic sector. Together with Singapore, South Korea and Hong Kong, they are labeled as *Miracle Asian Country* for one decade up to 1990s. The latest economic figures and international ratings all indicate that, despite challenges on both the domestic and global front, Taiwan's economy is

now firmly back on track. In the World Economic Forum's (WEF) Global Competitiveness Report 2006-2007 published in September 2006, Taiwan was ranked the world's ninth most innovative economy and the second most innovative economy in Asia.

A 2004 survey by Taiwan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs showed that Japanese companies tend to prefer partnering with Taiwanese companies when entering China.⁵ A data shown that, Taiwan's inflation rate reached 2.3 %, its Gross Domestic Product put on \$346.1 billion and it had good export commodities on products and electrical equipment, metals, textiles, plastics and rubbers.⁶

Rapid economical development is one example proven by Democratic Progressive Party succeed. Programs supported by the Democratic Progressive Party include social welfare policies involving the rights of women, senior citizens, children, labor, indigenous peoples, farmers, and other disadvantaged sectors of the society.⁷ Furthermore its platform includes a legal and political order based on human rights and democracy; balanced economic and financial administration; fair and open social welfare; educational and cultural reform; independent defense and peaceful foreign policy.

The ability of Democratic Progressive Party in constructing the policies for Republic of China to some extent is the answer on why this party always

⁵ *Taiwan Economic Outlook*, (accessed April 13th, 2008); available from <http://www.taiwanembassy.org/public/Attachment/731918351771.pdf>

⁶ *Country Analysis in Brief*, (accessed April 12th, 2008); available from <http://www.eia.doe.gov/emeu/cabs/Taiwan/pdf.pdf>

⁷ *Taiwan : Policies*, (accessed on April 8th 2008); available from, <http://www.wikipedia.org/Taiwan/Policies>

gained support from the Taiwanese in its two general elections. The most surprising result is shown in Taiwan's 2008 general election since Kuomintang Party won the election. In Taiwan's general election on early 2000, Kuomintang party constantly gained losses. The factors behind were Kuomintang's leaders valued as autocrat figures and the most prominent issue is its agenda to have a reunification with People Republic of China it made this party lost twice. These two factors became a restriction for Kuomintang to have public support in Taiwan. Beside, Kuomintang is not adaptable with the global issue compare to its rival.

“Ma argued that he did not want the campaign to be characterized as a “pan-Blue versus pan-Green” issue, so while the KMT would lend it support “in the most appropriate way,” he ruled out his own participation and that of other party members in their party status”⁸

The figure of Kuomintang's winning is presented as follows:

Table 1.2
2008 Presidential Election Result

Party's Name	Candidates	Voters	Percentage
Kuomintang (Pan-Blue Coalition)	Ma Ying Jeou Vincent Siew	7,650,014	58.45 %
Democratic Progressive Party (Pan-Green Coalition)	Frank Hsieh Su Tseng Chang	5,444,949	41.55 %

Sources: *Taiwan : Presidential Election Result* (accessed on April 8th 2008); available from, <http://www.wikipedia.org>

Taiwan's 2008 general election successfully brought Kuomintang Party to the one decade untouchable executive system. The result was, 82 chairs from

⁸ Y.L. Kao, “Taipei Mayor Will Not Take Part in Anti-Corruption Sit-In,” CNA, 8 September 2006, in Alan D. Romberg, “Taiwan : All Politics All The Time”, China Leadership Monitor No. 19, (accessed on April 14th 2008), available from www.stimson.org/china/pdf/clm19_adr.pdf

113's legislative board existed for Kuomintang Party, and the rest was for Democratic Progressive Party and the minority parties

C. Research Question

How did Kuomintang Party win the legislative and presidential election in Taiwanese 2008 General Election?

D. Theoretical Framework

General Election Winning Strategy

To explain the ability of Kuomintang Party in winning the legislative and presidential election in 2008, the writer use concepts and theory about campaign, political party, electoral voter determinant.

Campaign and Political Party

General election is one of the Democratic indicators in a country. Through the general election, constitutionally there is a changing power, beside leader's replacement in its political system. In this routine agenda, political parties deliver issues that will become their next agenda in the governmental era. Campaign is a set of agenda to gain special goals and closely related to the general election.⁹

Campaign can be conducted individually, by group or more, they can do coalition as long as they have a same passion and the same goal or interest. To conduct a campaign, the participant should physically and mentally prepare. Financially well is the main important requirement to be fulfilled. Participant should make public

⁹ *Dorset And Baber*, "Webster Deluxe Unabridged Dictionary 2nd Edition" ,(United States : New World Dictionaries, 1983).

awareness through making many printing banners, billboard, talking in both printed and electronic media and if it is possible, they can make supporters gathering and etc. More important to have campaign manager team, their tasks are managing and finding supporters for the participant, creating positive image, managing participant's sources to win the election. The passion to determine a fighting spirit, for example, managing the resources, and using battle area like national parliament, general election, mass media and voters also capability set up party's goals will help to decide the success of it.¹⁰

Participants of the campaign should find the best strategy in order to win the election and reducee lost. According to James N. Druckman, the winning of one party depends on what kind of issues being framed and how it can attract public attention.¹¹ Through the issues, public or voters could identify the participant deeper. The more sensitive participant's to the issues, the higher rank the public will have on them. Thus, participants and the campaign manager should carefully think. Once they failed to framed an issue on their campaign processes, they will lost public awareness and it will trouble them to catch up their interest. If participant blew up familiar and important issues, it can take up public support then it will ease the participants to be a majority. Thus, the party should know who and how the voters are.¹²

¹⁰ Miriam Budihardjo, *Partisipasi dan Partai Politik*, (Jakarta : Gramedia, 1981) p.p. 108 – 113.

¹¹ James N. Druckman , in Alan D. Romberg, "Taiwan : All Politics All The Time", China Leadership Monitor No. 19, (accessed on April 14th 2008), available from www.stimson.org/china/pdf/clm19_adr.pdf

¹² *Ibid*

Besides underlining specific interesting issues, participant could also make use of rival's issues to shift one sympathizer to another. In a political campaign, party could make an issue that can stir negative image from the public because the loyalty to one certain party will be lessen if people are desperate with negative image. Choices are encouraged on practically and pragmatically view. Social condition like education, economic standard, and social status will affect one's opinion on politics. ¹³ In short, campaign activities are becoming public evaluation process to the participants.

Electoral Behaviors Determinant

There are some approaches used to analyze the electoral behavior determinant. Party Identification Model is one of the examples. Angus Campbell, one of the devotees, stated 3 influenced variables, namely¹⁴ :

- Party identification
- The ongoing issues

The ongoing issues are easily grabbing people's attention, moreover it discuss about economic, social and political condition of one country. Public will automatically open discussion over the problematic theme and try to solve it. For candidates to be elected, he should find himself able to solve the problem and shows to the public about his thought to attract people's attention, thus he will gain people sympathy.

Besides issues can also come from rivals weaknesses to face certain problems. Rivals inabilities can be used by others to drop his images.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Angus Campbell, "The American Voters", in *Politics and Voters*, ed. Bone and Ranne (New York : McGraw Hill Book Company, 1963), 8 – 13.

The goal is when people knows how terrible their figure is, they will shift their support to other candidate. From the explanation above, it is clearly important for participants who join the election to make some interesting issues to be blown up and find other inabilities in order to shift one supporter to him.

- Candidate orientation

Each candidate should have his own way of thinking to run his duty as the representatives. A responsive thinking or ideas toward country's condition will easy him to win the election. Public do not necessarily need a sophisticated thought, but a well organized plan, realistic and rational one. Public will know candidate's response toward certain problem through campaign, and by this public are evaluating the candidates.

Mark N. Hangopian donate his thought, he added the rationality unsure that can influence the voters:¹⁵

- The benefits from the party

Voters will consider what kind of benefits they can reap from one particular party if they support it. Thing that will boost the popularity of party is a guarantee of electors demand fulfillment. Moreover, guarantees of economic and social stability also play an important role

¹⁵ Mark N. Hangopian, *Regimes, Movements and Ideologies*, (New York : Longman, 1978), p.p. 318 – 319.

to ensure public about the quality of the party and the candidate of the party.

- The ongoing issues

How party is framed, formulated and make a well organized solution will easy it to attract people to choose and rely on them. To deliver their idea to the public, party will use the existence of media, both electronic and printed in the country. The issues will be blown up from time to time party is expecting public positive awareness.

Kuomintang party in Taiwan showed us, that this party have already patterned a tremendous strategy, ensured Taiwanese to believe in it and choose it in the 2008 general election thus it can win over Democratic Progressive Party. When the Taiwanese 2008 general election took place, Kuomintang bravely brought the internal and international issues being faced by Taiwan. Besides it also blew up the weaknesses of its rival, Democratic Ptogressive Party on their campaign. The strategy of wrapping the issues mentioned above seems sucessfully shift public awareness toward Kuomintang. The Taiwanese start to believe and rely on Kuomintang to bring them into a brighter future.

E. Hypothesis

Kuomintang has successfully made use Democratic Progressive Party's failure in tackling up Taiwan's international issues and internal politics. Taiwanese public

started to shifting on their support to the Kuomintang's because they valued Democratic Progressive Party could not accommodate their interest.

F. Range of Research

The time limitation to analyze the problem is from 1999 to 2008.

G. Methodology of Research

This research is based on descriptive-explanative method. The data were gathered by library research from books, articles, journals and internet. According to Sutrisno Hadi, library research is important since it is a condensation from the biggest research that people have made on it.¹⁶

H. System of Writing

Chapter I : Introduction. Contains of significance of title, background, research question, theoretical framework, hypothesis, range of research, methodology of research and system of writing.

Chapter II : Taiwan political-governmental system, party system and the profile of Kuomintang and Democratic Progressive Party. The writer will start by figuring Taiwan's party and political system. Next explanation will elaborate the profile of Democratic Progressive Party and itslost in 2008 general election will be on the next discussion. This chapter will be ended with the elaboration of Kuomintang Party's profile.

¹⁶ Sutrisno Hadi, *Metodologi Research I*, (Yogyakarta : Yayasan Penerbitan Fakultas Psikologi, 1984), 57.

Chapter III : Strategies comparison between Kuomintang and Democratic Progressive Party in facing Taiwan's international issues. The chapter will contain an introduction of Taiwan status, followed by Taiwan and Cross Strait Issues especially in Taiwan strait cases. Taiwan and United States relationship will also being discuss here. Lastly, it will discuss about the Taiwan and international organizations.

Chapter IV : The failure of Chen Sui Bian. In this part, the main explanation will put Chen Sui Bian as the subject of observation. Including his political career, governance, family scandal and corruption.

Chapter V Conclusion of the research