

**Track Two Dialogue on
EU-China-Relations and the Taiwan Question
Wujiang, 23-24 June 2011**

A workshop jointly organised by German Institute for International and Security Affairs / Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP), Berlin and Shanghai Institutes for International Studies (SIIS), Shanghai, with the friendly support of the Robert Bosch Foundation, Stuttgart.

Discussion Paper
Do not cite or quote without author's permission

Taiwan's Political Configuration Facing 2012

Yan Anlin
Institute for Taiwan, Hong Kong & Macao Studies, SIIS

SWP

Ludwigkirchplatz 3-4
10719 Berlin
Phone +49 30 880 07-0
Fax +49 30 880 07-100
www.swp-berlin.org

I. New Characteristics of the Transformation of Taiwan's Political Configuration

1. The votes are all that matters

Elections have become the core activities in the transformation of Taiwan's political configuration; the results of elections decide the success or failure of political parties and the distribution of power resources. Therefore, Taiwan's political parties and politicians build their words and deeds around the elections and votes. Likewise, politicians, political parties' demands, and policy directions are all built around elections. The votes are all that matters. Because of the elections, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) was founded on September 28, 1986; through elections, the DPP developed and grew stronger. After the eight powerless years since 2000, the Kuomintang (KMT) has learned its lesson: there is no policy without political power. Thus it has made gaining votes its top priority.

Certainly, it is not surprising that in any election society, political parties and politicians attach importance to elections and results of elections. However, compared with other election societies, the Taiwan society seems to attach special importance to elections. The pressure of elections turns politics more populism-oriented, and keeps politicians from planning and discussing policies rationally. For example, in April 2011, Ma Ying-jeou announced to stop the "Kuokuang Petrochemical Technology Park Investment Project," a program under dispute for years, saying that "we believe that environmental protection can save our country and we have to make a prompt decision when facing a problem." But many people expressed doubts: "What is the main reason of the turnaround of the Kuokuang case, environmental protection or the votes?"¹ Su Tseng-chang and Tsai Ing-wen, who made great efforts to promote the project five years ago, changed their attitudes to totally opposing this large-scale investment project in an apologetic manner. The actions of Su and Tsai pushed Ma Ying-jeou to change his original attitude from "Taiwan CANNOT live without Kuokuang Petrochemical" to "Taiwan CAN live without Kuokuang Petrochemical." The changes of policies and stands of the Pan-Blue Coalition and the Pan-Green Coalition indicate that the votes are more important than anything else.

In January 2012, Taiwan is going to hold the "Presidential election" and the "Legislative election" together. The major concerns of DPP and KMT are still the

¹ 社论：“让国光石化转弯的是环保告诉选票”，台湾《联合报》，2011年4月24日，A2。

votes. The DPP “criticizes it openly; but in fact, it is happy to see the results.”² Therefore, Lu Yi-Cheng thinks that “the biggest man-made disaster in Taiwan” is “the elections,” and “it is disgusting to see politicians can do whatever it takes to win the election.”³ When he was promoting the Second Generation Health Care Reform, former “Minister of Health” Yang Chih-Liang expressed his anger: “The biggest problem of Taiwan is that it has elections every year.”⁴

2. Basic configuration of two-party politics

The main characteristics of Taiwan’s political party politics are the variety of political parties and the dichotomization of party configuration.

Political parties bloomed in Taiwan after the abolishment of the restriction on party formation in the 1980s. On April 24, 2011, the 185th political party—Chinese Taiwan Business Persons Patriot Party (formed by a group of medium-small-sized Taiwan enterprise owners investing in the mainland)—was founded.⁵ The configuration of two-party politics went through different developing stages. The political reality of the confrontation between the pan-blue coalition and the pan-green coalition as well as the readjustments of the election system result in the formation of the two-party configuration of the KMT (major party in the pan-blue coalition) and DPP (major party in the pan-green coalition). The system and fundamental reason of the two-party configuration in Taiwan politics was that after the “Legislative Yuan” became the center of Taiwan politics, the legislative election system transformed from Single-Nontransferable Vote (SNTV) to Additional Member System (AMS)—meaning, from 29 constituencies and 225 seats to 73 small constituencies, the Lowland Aborigine, the Highland Aborigine, and 113 seats. The SNTV was good for the survival and development of smaller parties, while the AMS is beneficial for bigger parties, resulting in a two-party political configuration. Although many central voters are not satisfied with either the KMT or the DPP, under the situation of the blue-green confrontation, they have to choose a side.

² 社论：“合并选举严重考验宪政运作”，台湾《中国时报》，2011年4月20日，A17。

³ 潘翰声：“合并选举，扼杀小党发展”，台湾《中国时报》，2011年4月21日，A17。

⁴ 社论：“合并选举严重考验宪政运作”，台湾《中国时报》，2011年4月20日，A17。

⁵ 李仲维：“台第185号政党，大陆台商在台湾组党”，<http://www.chinareviewnews.com> 2011-04-23。

3. The principal contradiction in Taiwan's politics is severe blue-green confrontation

The severe KMT-DPP confrontation and differences are the central problem constraining and affecting the development of Taiwan's politics. In the April 2011 "DPP Presidential Primary," Su Tseng-chang said that in Taiwan's politics, if one political party took power, half of the population would feel abandoned. This comment is a classic description of the severe confrontation between major blue and green parties and their respective supporters.

There are various reasons for the confrontation between the blue party and the green party, one of which is the DPP's need to grow as a political party. The best method for an opposition party to mobilize voters in an election is to oppose something, because opposition leads to the market, which eventually brings in votes. Therefore, both during the "outside-the-party" period and after the founding of the party, the DPP won votes by creating different social images from that of the KMT; setting up opposition is the basic method of the DPP.

Another important reason for the severe confrontation in Taiwan society is the simple "dualism" manipulated by the DPP, especially Chen Shui-bian. In 2000, Chen took power because of the split between Lien Chan and James Soong. In 2004, facing the "Lien-Soong coalition," Chen decided to win the election with the cheap method of manipulating confrontations. The specific methods include: Chiu Yi-jen's "thorough cutthroat" theory; using his administrative power, Chen stirred up a series of confrontational incidents between the blue camp and the green camp, including the "de-Chinazation policy," "either friend or foe" slogan, asking everyone to "pick a side." Particularly, the two bullets in the 2004 election divided the Taiwan society into the "blue sky" and the "green ground."

Recently, a typical case of the blue-green confrontation in Taiwan society was Wu Shu-chen's [Chen Shui-bian's wife] jail term. The green supporters accused the Ma administration of "humiliating" Chen Shui-bien by ordering Wu's sentence to begin on Chen's birthday. Chiu Yi, the "spokesman" of the pan-blue coalition, swore that the law enforcement department had been "set up," and that the whole thing was merely an "act," and that Wu would not really go to prison. Ma Ying-jeou, who did everything "according to the law," turned out to be sandwiched between both sides and was not approved by either side.

The severe blue-green confrontation leads to bad political competition. Neither the blue camp nor the green camp can take losses in elections well, let alone congratulating the winning side. Therefore, they both use extreme and negative campaign tactics, often connecting the opposition party to "black," "yellow," or "red." One of the most obvious cases is the issue of "special expenses" that has been lingering for five years.

4. The maximization of the media's influence on political development

After the “restriction on newspapers” was lifted, a lot of media have been established in Taiwan. In addition, the Taiwan society is highly politicized; the media have “complicated” relations with political parties. Therefore, like its political parties, Taiwan’s media are dichotomized. Some people analyze the political nature of Taiwan’s media as “70% green, 30% blue,” describing the green media as “objective,” and the blue media as “hypocritical.” Because of the highly competitive media situation, political parties use the media; the media intervene in and benefit from elections. In the Taiwan Metropolitan Elections of 2010, the pan-blue coalition spent two billion NTD on advertising, while the pan-green coalition spent one billion NTD, leading a total of six billion [but the sum is only 3 billion] worth of election economy. The media also have a fairly big influence on Taiwan’s political parties, policy making, and society. Shows like *2100 Talk Show*, *News Night Club*, CTi Television’s *Sin-tai-wan Sing-guang Da-dao*, *Sisy Chen’s World News Weekly*, *Taiwan’s Big Forum*, Sanlih E-Television’s *News Report* have clear-cut stands and great influence.

II. Taiwan’s Political Configuration after the Metropolitan Elections of 2010

1. The Metropolitan Elections of 2010 have a fairly big influence on Taiwan’s political configuration

The Metropolitan Elections not only affect the redistribution of local resources, but are also vital to the balance of political power and resources between the blue coalition and the green coalition. A *United Daily News* editorial asserts that “in terms of the campaign content,” the Metropolitan Elections “were a superficial act; but in terms of the results, they were a very influential election.”⁶ King Pu-tsung, then the Secretary-General of KMT thinks: “The Metropolitan Elections are competition between political parties; they also choose between routes of development.”⁷ The Metropolitan Elections have great influence on the power balance between the blue coalition and the green coalition, as well as on the 2012 election. The DPP has more confidence in 2012; Tsai Ing-wen wins more popularity, becomes “the new generation popular queen.”⁸

⁶ 社论：“这是一场内容肤浅但影响深远的选举”，台湾《联合报》，2010年11月23日，A2。

⁷ “金溥聪：五都选战是发展路线的选择”，<http://www.chinareviewnews.com>, 2010-08-04。

⁸ 林政忠：“蔡苏对决”，台湾《联合报》，2010年11月28日，A10。

2. Internal competition and integration in the pan-blue coalition and pan-green coalition

First of all, the KMT readjusted personnel and policy. It started with the readjustment of personnel. Succeeded by Liao Liou-yi, King Pu-tung resigned from the post of the Secretary-General of KMT to avoid affecting KMT unity in the case of a possible loss in the election. Another task was to plan the political future for Wang Jin-pyng. Secondly, the KMT confirmed its policies, particularly its basic cross-straits policy. For instance, the KMT stressed the constancy of open cross-straits policies. Ma released the “New Year’s Day Message” and “Lunar New Year’s Day Message”; the KMT also reassured to stand by the “1992 Consensus” and publicize Chinese culture. All these measures are meant to stabilize the support base of the KMT. Thirdly, the KMT analyzed its achievements. It tries to make the public “feel the recovery” by showing the economic data.

On the other hand, the competition inside the DPP has become more intensified. Firstly, in response to the change of rules of the “legislative” and “presidential” elections, the DPP carried out its primary in the form of opinion polls. As a result, Chairwoman Tsai Ing-wen beat the “Independence Faction” represented by Annette Lu Hsiu-lien. Secondly, there was a competition of prevailing cross-straits policy between Tsai’s “10-Year Policy Platform,” Frank Hsieh Chang-ting’s “Constitutional Consensus,” Lu’s “1996 Consensus,” and Su’s “Taiwan Consensus.” Thirdly, Tsai and Su had an intensive competition in the primary. In the end, Tsai won by a very small margin with the tactic of “support ONLY me,” but she was hurt pretty badly too. People describe Tsai as “having the chairwoman’s body, Chen Shui-bien’s brain, Hsieh’s faction tactics,” “combining Chen’s arbitrariness, Hsieh’s sneakiness, and the Independence Faction’s persistence.”⁹

3. Blue-green confrontation is endless

One, the two coalitions had disputes over the results of the Metropolitan Elections. The DPP pleaded to overrule the results of the elections in Taipei, New Taipei City, and Taichung due to the Lien Sheng-wen shot case.

Two, the blue coalition and the green coalition confronted each other over the issue of Wu Shu-chen’s going to prison on February 18.

Three, the blue-green confront each other over Taiwan’s nuclear energy policy. The KMT insists to use nuclear energy reasonably under the reassurance of nuclear safety. Tsai agreed to resume the construction of the Fourth Nuclear Power Plant, but is not willing to change her “nuke-free home” policy. Even Lee Tung-hui, who has always been supportive of Tsai, has raised the question of “how to

⁹ 社论：“这样的蔡英文还能支持吗？” ，台湾《中央日报》网络版，2011年4月17日。

‘denuclearize?’” Nuclear plants produce 10% of Taiwan’s power, without nuclear power, a quarter of Taiwan’s factories have to be shut down.

Four, the blue-green confrontation on Chen Shui-bien’s “missing file” issue.

III. Policy Development toward the Mainland of Taiwan’s Blue and Green Coalitions

A. *Ma Ying-jeou’s mainland policy*

1. How to define the cross-straits relations? Ma argues that “basically, we think that the relationship between the two sides is not a two-China relationship, but a special relationship between the two sides across the strait. Since [??] our Constitution does not allow another country to exist in our territory; similarly, their Constitution does not allow another country to exist in their lawful territory. We have a very special relationship, but not a country-to-country relationship. This is very important. Thus we cannot be both recognized by any foreign country,[...]Mexico included.”¹⁰ This was the first time Ma, since taking power, made clear that he disagreed with the “two-China policy.”

2. What is the foundation of cross-straits dialogues? Ma thinks that the two sides across the strait “have sovereignty disagreements, which cannot be solved now. But we can make a temporary resolution, which is the ‘1992 Consensus’ reached on the mainland in 1992. The consensus suggests that we both recognize the principle of ‘one China,’ but we have different interpretations of the meaning of ‘one China.’ We have not had answers for questions such as whether we can solve the sovereignty issue, how and when to solve it, etc. But we should not waste our energy and time in questions like those; instead, we should focus on more urgent issues. That is the policy we are pushing forward now.”¹¹

3. What is Ma’s principle for the policy toward the mainland? Basically, Ma believes in the “theory of maintaining the status-quo.” He says that “my mainland policy is to maintain the status-quo under the framework of the ROC Constitution, meaning no reunification, no independence, and no war. My main considerations are Taiwan and the people’s benefits.”¹² To explain Ma’s “Three nos policy”: no reunification means that “I will not discuss the issue of reunification with the CPC during my presidency”; no independence means that “we will not pursue Taiwan’s

¹⁰ 马英九 8 月 26 日接受墨西哥太阳报系集团董事长巴斯克斯专访，台湾“中央社”，2008 年 9 月 3 日台北电。

¹¹ 马英九 8 月 26 日接受墨西哥太阳报系集团董事长巴斯克斯专访，台湾“中央社”，2008 年 9 月 3 日台北电。

¹² 台湾《自由时报》，2008 年 11 月 20 日。

jurisprudential independence”; no war means that “we oppose any plan to solve the Taiwan issue by force.”¹³

4. What is Ma’s opinion on issues including the “three direct links” and economic cooperation? Ma’s team “adopts the idea of minimizing threats by maximizing cross-straits opportunities.” It hopes to bring peace to the strait and rights and benefits to the people across the strait with better political relations, trade, agreements, and systematic communication.¹⁴

The Ma Ying-jeou team’s mainland policy has several characteristics. First, establish political trust between the two sides; set the negotiating procedure as “economy first, politics second.” The two sides “will not change the procedure of economy first, politics second; the priority is to establish the foundation of mutual trust gradually.”¹⁵ Second, adhere to the “Constitution of ROC.” Ma says that “I think the method to create a peaceful Taiwan Strait...”¹⁶ Even the DPP members admit that Ma “has sent out a signal during his campaign and in his inauguration speech that the ROC is in Taiwan, or even that the ROC *is* Taiwan. Starting with this point, his strategic value is democracy and peace, stressing the two sides across the strait have disputes merely about system differences. His strategic goals are no reunification, no independence, and no war. His strategic choices are opening-up is of higher priority than sovereignty, and the cross-straits relationship is of higher priority than diplomacy. His foundation of interactions with the mainland is the ‘1992 Consensus.’”¹⁷ Third, choose economy over politics. Hsu Hsin-Liang points out that “Ma Ying-jeou and Su Chi are ideologically anti-communist and pro-American. If Ma and Su were close to the mainland, we should have just let Lien Chan manage cross-straits relations. Ma bases his cross-straits policy on economic needs. People may think Ma has Chinese nationalist ideas. In fact, Ma first recognizes himself as a ‘Harvardian’ over any other identities, holding American elitist opinion.”¹⁸ Chang Yia-Chung thinks that Ma “has been holding the strategy of two ‘balance policies’ since he took power, trying to balance the relationships between economy and politics, and the United States and the CPC.”¹⁹ Ma Ying-jeou’s strategic concept is “economy first, politics second”; or even better, “economy only, no politics” in his first term. His

¹³ 马英九 8 月 26 日接受墨西哥太阳报系集团董事长巴斯克斯专访，台湾“中央社”，2008 年 9 月 3 日台北电。

¹⁴ “陈云林成功访台对未来两岸关系发展的影响”，香港《中国评论》，2008 年 12 月号，第 20-21 页。

¹⁵ 台湾《中国时报》，2008 年 10 月 19 日。

¹⁶ 台湾《自由时报》，2008 年 11 月 20 日。

¹⁷ 李文忠：“还能期待马政府维新？”台湾《中国时报》，2008 年 9 月 3 日。

¹⁸ 台湾《财讯》月刊，2008 年 9 月号，第 79 页。

¹⁹ 张亚中：“马政府，小心摔下跷跷板”，台湾《联合报》，2008 年 10 月 6 日。

specific methods include enhancing economic communication and trying to shelving political disputes between the two sides.²⁰

B. The DPP's mainland policy

1. How to define the cross-straits relations? First, insist on the “independence of Taiwan’s sovereignty” and cover up the “independence movement” with the “new localization idea.” Interviewed by internet media in 2009, Tsai Ing-wen said: “I believe that the forerunners of the independence movement wrote the party program to make sure the 23 million residents have independent sovereignty, which cannot be interfered with by any one. In the name of the independence movement or others, this is the most common consensus of the society.”²¹ Thus, “independent sovereignty” is the core of Tsai’s cross-straits policy. Second, insist to decide “reunification or independence” by “referendum.” Tsai has always been insisting that the future of Taiwan should be decided by a “referendum.” At the 22nd anniversary of the founding of the DPP on September 26, 2008, Tsai asserted that there should be three principles in dealing with the issue of Taiwan’s “sovereignty”: one, all the choices in the future shall be open; none of them shall be expelled ahead of time, including “independence.” Second, “people of Taiwan have the right to decide their own future.” Third, “Taiwan’s future shall and only shall be decided by people of Taiwan.”

2. What is the DPP’s view on cross-straits trade? First, the DPP “politicizes” economic issues, accusing Ma Ying-jeou of “trading Taiwan’s sovereignty for cross-straits trade.” When the second Chen-Chiang summit was held in November 2008, Tsai opposed it openly. She also published an article “Why Don’t We Welcome Chen Yunlin?” in which she connected the so-called “sovereignty problem” with four economic issues the two sides were about to sign at the summit, and requested Ma to invite Chen Yunlin to Taiwan after he cleared the doubts regarding the “sovereignty issue.” Second, the DPP strongly opposes ECFA, attributing all of Taiwan’s economic problems to Ma’s “selling out of Taiwan.” Tsai says that “over the last ten years, Taiwan’s wages have not been raised because of the increase of the production of the mainland and emerging countries. Prices are rising constantly, while the wages keep low, even job opportunities are less and less.”²²

3. What is the DPP’s view on cross-straits communications and interactions? First, with all measures, the DPP opposes to cross-straits communication in the name of

²⁰ 张亚中：“马政府，小心摔下跷跷板”，台湾《联合报》，2008年10月6日。

²¹ 林修全：“‘主权独立’社会最大公约数”，台湾《联合晚报》，2009年1月15日，A2版。

²² 苏文：“蔡英文：民进党再站起来 将来会更好”，台湾《民众日报》，2008年7月2日。

“protecting sovereignty independence.” One of the extreme examples is “1106 besieging Taipei,” the most severe violent activity in Taiwan in recent 10 years. Because of the incident, Tsai got the nickname “Violent Little Ing.” Second, the DPP insists that cross-straits communications have to be integrated into Taiwan’s “international communications.” Tsai says that “China is China, Taiwan is Taiwan. We have to be clear about it; we have to balance other foreign relations.”²³

The DPP’s mainland policy has several characteristics. First, oppose cross-straits communications with violence in the name of “protecting sovereignty independence.” DPP members also criticize the KMT and Ma under all circumstances to “protect sovereignty.” Second, sugarcoat “locking-up” with “opening-up.” During Chen Shui-bian’s second term, he tried to shift the attention from his corruption case by endlessly challenging the bottom line of the cross-straits relationship. Thus the public was given the impression that the DPP only opposes cross-straits communications and advocates “independence.” To reshape DPP’s political image, Tsai announces that “DPP’s cross-straits policy has always been steady and gradual opening-up.”²⁴ She also said that “Taiwan is transforming, the DPP needs to transform too. In the next two years, the DPP will develop a practical policy toward China under the principles of “peaceful communication” and “sovereignty independence,” to pursue the whole public’s recognition and support.” However, from the fact that the DPP has not released the restriction for DPP public officials traveling to the mainland, we can tell that the “opening-up” is a false statement. Third, cover up the “reunification-independence” disagreement with “class” theory. Tsai intentionally interpreted that Ma’s opening-up policy, especially ECFA, causes unequal distribution of benefits. Big enterprises benefit a lot, while medium-and-small-sized enterprises, central and south areas, and middle and lower classes lack development. The unemployment rate also increases because of it. Tsai stresses that the DPP’s cross-straits policy is based on “fairness and justice” and “taking care of the weaker side.” She tries to illustrate Taiwan’s “theory of polarization between rich and poor” with the view of “classes.”

The DPP’s mainland policy also has several tendencies. First, cover up “Taiwan Independence Clause” with “10-Year Policy Platform.” Tsai tries to make the “10-Year Policy Platform” the DPP’s comprehensive political announcement for the next 10 years. In her article “To DPP in 2010,” Tsai writes that the “10-Year Policy Platform” is supposed to tell the public the DPP’s route and plan for Taiwan, including Taiwan’s status in globalization, the renovation of production,

²³ 朱真楷：“许信良：持续忽略中国 民进党难再起”，台湾《中国时报》，2009年6月29日。

²⁴ 杨伟中：“找回十一年前的民进党魂”，台湾《新新闻》，2009.6.11日—6.17，总第1162期，第13页。

jobs and education, balance of finance, plans dealing with aging society, earth planning and sustainable development, identification of cross-straits politics and trade, etc. In order to “showcase” the DPP’s ability to deal with cross-straits affairs, and to stop the KMT from owning the benefits of cross-straits improvement, in her “10-Year Policy Platform,” Tsai makes a cross-straits statement close to Chen Shui-bian’s “New Center Line.” The reason Tsai brought up the ideas of “harmony but different” and “pursuing agreement in harmony” is to show the voters that the DPP recognizes the importance of cross-straits peace and stability, and to dispel central voters’ concerns that the DPP’s “Taiwan Independence Clause” has a negative influence on cross-straits relations. However, the “10-Year Policy Platform” will not replace the “Taiwan Independence Clause.” Cheng Wen-Tsan also says that there is no plan to revise the party program. Instead, they rank resolution and party program at the same level; during election years, the DPP uses the campaign program as the party’s main document.

Second, use well-being issues to oppose the enlargement of cross-straits communication. According to the statistics released by the “Directorate-General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics,” in 2009, the average family income of the richest families in Taiwan was 1.825 million NTD, while the average family income of the poorest families was only 225 thousand NTD, making a new record in history of 8.22 times of difference.²⁵ The DPP thus hypes that “since signing ECFA with the mainland, Hong Kong has huge problems like property and finance bubbles and polarization between the rich and the poor,” saying that ECFA will cause worse distribution and higher unemployment rate.

C. There are obvious differences between the mainland policies of Tsai and Ma

Ma’s mainland policy recognizes the “1992 Consensus,” and opposes the “Taiwan independence.” On the other hand, Tsai’s DPP insists on the stand of “Taiwan independence,” dismissing the “1992 Consensus.”

Tsai Ing-wen brings up the “transformation” of the DPP’s cross-straits policy because she wants to run for the 2012 election. She hopes to fulfill the expectations of Taiwan society and media, to take the forefront of the media, and to even win support of the middle class and central voters. Therefore, one should not hope Tsai could lead DPP to really achieve the “transformation,” which is doomed to be more of a form than content.

²⁵ 薛翔之、陈洛薇：“8.22 倍！台湾贫富差距飙新高”，台湾《联合报》，2010 年 8 月 20 日，A3 版。

IV. Prediction of the 2012 Election

1. Nature

One, the 2012 election is a fight for power. The DPP wants to gain power, while the KMT wants to protect power. The DPP has established confidence to win, while the KMT has strengthened the sense of crisis not to lose.

Two, the 2012 election is a battle for the future of the cross-straits relations; it affects how to sustain the peaceful development across the strait.

2. Characteristics

One, Ma vs. Tsai. There shall only be Ma and Tsai running, if there is a third party, it will not affect the situation or be elected.

Two, blue-green confrontation. The election will still be the confrontation between the pan-blue coalition and the pan-green coalition in Taiwan society.

Three, “class struggle.” When Lu Hsiu-lien announced to run for office, she brought up the slogan of “say goodbye to poverty”; Hsu Hsin-Liang has said that “Taiwan’s real problem now” is “how to keep the economy growing and how to distribute wealth fairly.” Now, the gap between rich and poor in Taiwan is 28 times: in 2009, the average annual income of the highest-income group was 2.81 million NTD, while the average annual income of the lowest-income group was 99 thousand NTD. From 1999 to 2009, Taiwan’s average GDP growth is 3.2%, while the average income raise rate is 0.6%, making it an average of 132 NTD raise. Therefore, the DPP has to use “class struggle” to win support of the middle and lower class, and to accuse the KMT of “getting money.”

Four, the DPP is attacking, while the KMT is defending.

3. Tendencies

One, Ma Ying-jeou has slight advantages. This includes: the advantage of being in office, media presence and administrative resources, policy advantage and political achievements, achievement in the “surviving diplomacy”—113 countries and regions have set up visa free relations with Taiwan, three direct links and fast economic growth, etc. The most important reason is that there are more blue voters than green voters. Of course, the key is the voting intention of the supporters and choices of the central voters.

Two, Ma faces many challenges. First, internal challenges, including the relationship with the People First Party, integration inside the KMT, and level of support from different local factions. Second, how to deal with the polarization of Taiwan society? How to solve the deepening of the M-shape society? Third, Tsai, having a similar social image as Ma and being a woman, is a strong competition.

The basis of the DPP supporters is steady, and the DPP is very good at campaigning.

Three, the DPP faces difficulties which are hard to overcome. For example, the central voters have concerns on the DPP's cross-straits policy, they also have a painful memory of Chen Shui-bian's eight years in office. Tsai failed to distance herself from Chen's line, and the mainland and the international community have concerns about the future of the strait if the DPP takes power again, etc.