



Items in the Chinese Press Regarding the Basic Program of the Democratic Progressive Party

October 1991

LL File No. 1992-0262
LRA-D-PUB-000904

This report is provided for reference purposes only.
It does not constitute legal advice and does not represent the official
opinion of the United States Government. The information provided
reflects research undertaken as of the date of writing.
It has not been updated.

ITEMS IN THE CHINESE PRESS REGARDING THE BASIC PROGRAM OF THE DEMOCRATIC PROGRESSIVE PARTY

Item 1. "Full Text of the Basic Program for a Sovereign, Independent, and Self-Governing (*tzu-chu*, which can also be translated as independent) Republic of Taiwan"

The Basic Program for Establishing a Sovereign, Independent, and Self-Governing Republic of Taiwan, revised and adopted by the first session of the fifth Party Congress of the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP):

A 1. Basic Program. Our views are as follows.

- 1) To establish a sovereign, independent, and self-governing Republic of Taiwan

The affirmation of a state's territorial sovereignty and the status of its citizens is a pre-condition for a modern sovereign nation to establish legal and political order at home and develop its foreign relations abroad. The sovereignty and independence of Taiwan does not belong to the People's Republic of China (PRC), nor does Taiwan's sovereignty extend to mainland China. This is not only a historical fact but a reality. At the same time, it is also the common understanding of the international community. Taiwan from the beginning should have, based on the fact of having sovereignty and independence, made a constitution for establishing the country; only then could the dignity and security of the Taiwan community and the individual national, as well as the people's pursuit of freedom, democracy, happiness, and justice, have been protected and realized. However, because the Kuomintang (KMT, Nationalist Party) has always relied on the fiction of being "the only legitimate government of all China" and maintained the grandiose but impractical plan of "the constitutional regime of five powers of the Republic of China," it has had a pretext to maintain its anti-democratic rule and prerogatives. This KMT practice of violating the reality of Taiwan's sovereignty not only has created an impasse in constitutional reform at home, but abroad has stirred up Communist China's ambition to take over Taiwan. In the international community, because this practice violated both international law and international political reality, as a result it could not participate in the international community in a normal fashion. It even caused confusion in the concept of a Taiwan people and state and blocked its cultural development. Therefore, we advocate:

- 1) In accordance with the reality of Taiwan's sovereignty, create an independent nation, make a new Constitution, enable the legal and political system to coincide with Taiwan's social reality, and return to the international community in accordance with the principles of international law.
- 2) In accordance with the reality of the sovereignty of Taiwan, redefine new boundaries for the territorial sovereignty of the state of Taiwan as well as the scope of its sovereignty over the people, so that both sides of the Taiwan Strait can establish a legal order in accordance with international law and protect the rights and interests of the people of the two sides in their dealings with each other.
- 3) Using the Taiwan community as the basis in accordance with the principle of protecting cultural pluralistic development, readjust the substance of the education of its nationals so that the people's understanding of their state, society, and culture naturally can ripen [text unclear] and a national

consciousness that coincides with reality be established.

- 4) Based on the principle of national sovereignty, we advocate establishing a sovereign, self-reliant, self-governing Republic of Taiwan and enact a new Constitution. The decision on our advocacy shall be made by all the residents of Taiwan in the form of a plebiscite.

B. In the Basic Program "V. Peaceful and Independent National Defense and Diplomacy," "Since Communist China has entered the United Nations..." should be amended to "Since the People's Republic of China has entered the United Nations...."

C. Item 3 of the Basic Program's "V. Peaceful and Independent National Defense and Diplomacy" should be deleted.

The future of Taiwan shall be decided by all the residents of Taiwan in accordance with the "International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights." In accordance with the principle stated in this covenant, all people should have the right of self-determination and be able to freely decide their political status and also freely pursue their economic, social, and cultural development. The future of Taiwan shall be commonly decided by all the residents of Taiwan in the form of freedom, self-government, universality, justice, and equality. No government or joining of governments has the right to decide where Taiwan's political affiliation belongs.

D. Article 1 of the operational program should be amended as follows:

Oppose the PRC's threatening Taiwan with the use of force. Both sides of the Taiwan Strait shall use their equal status and a rational attitude to jointly maintain a permanent peace.

E. Article 3 of the operational program should be amended as follows:

Using the name Taiwan, actively strive to rejoin the United Nations. Observe the United Nations charter and international treaties in order to return to the international community on the principle of equality and reciprocity.

F. Article 26 of the operational program should be amended as follows:

Oppose one-party dictatorship and totalitarianism in any form. Do not use force or revolutionary means to engage in political struggle. All countries should peacefully coexist, engage in fair competition, and jointly strive for the stability and prosperity of the world.

Item 2. "Provision on Taiwan Independence Is Incorporated Into the Party Program -- Emphasizing That the Establishment of a Republic of Taiwan Be Established by Plebiscite," *Min chung jih pao* [The Commons Daily], Oct. 14, 1991.

The amendment of the Party Program proposed by Ch'en Shui-pien, emphasizing that "the establishment of a sovereign, independent, and self-governing Republic of Taiwan and the making of a new constitution be decided by all the residents of Taiwan in the form of a plebiscite by its citizens," was adopted at the Fifth Party Congress of the Democratic Progressive Party [on October 13] by secret ballot. With the exception of a few people, such as Lin Wen-lang, who openly objected to the idea, of 286 delegates at the meeting, the vote of acceptance by a show of hands was almost unanimous. The candidates for party chairman, Hsü Hsin-liang and Shih Ming-te, both voted in favor of the amendment. When Chairman Huang Hsin-chieh announced its adoption, people applauded.

The Mei-li-tao (Formosa) faction did not vigorously oppose the amendment, in order to gain more votes for its candidate for chairman; it only made some remarks about the timing. The New Tide faction incessantly maneuvered under the table; however, it also tried to stop people from making overly radical remarks in order to avoid the escalation of factional struggle. In making his timely last minute maneuver, Ch'en Shui-pien was supported by the majority of the party delegates.

After Lin Cho-shui, the sponsor of the Republic of Taiwan proposal, first explained it, those who were for it emphasized that it was timely to make the proposal and that it would also help the DPP secure more votes in the year-end election. Those who objected think that the time is not ripe for such a proposal and are afraid that it might adversely affect the DPP's election results and also give the KMT an excuse to attack the DPP.

During the course of the deliberation, Hsü Ming-te, who is in charge of fiscal matters of the DPP, openly opposed the proposal. He pointed out that the majority of people on Taiwan want stability and are against violence and chaos. However, he was hissed by some of the assembled people and then mutual recriminations occurred among the party delegates. The chairman even had to ask the police guards to maintain order.

At first Chairman Huang Hsin-chieh wanted to form a seven-man small group to be in charge of rewording the text, but because certain prominent party members, such as Yao Chia-wen and Hung Ch'i-ch'ang, successively demanded an immediate vote, the proposal was adopted.

Item 3. "Ch'en Shui-pien's 'Last Minute Maneuver' Is Approved," *Min chung jih pao* [The Commons Daily], Oct. 14, 1991.

This was a last-minute, timely maneuver. Ch'en Shui-pien said in a press conference that the proposal was within the scope of freedom of speech and freedom of association. He said that the future of Taiwan lies with its nationals. This is based on the spirit of national sovereignty and the principle in the constitution that sovereignty belongs to the people. Therefore, no government or state can one-sidedly decide the future of its people. The DPP only advocates that this be one of the choices. If self-determination by the people is deleted from the proposal, it would not be in accordance with the democratic process and the spirit of democracy.

A reporter asked Mr. Ch'en whether the DPP had taken into consideration pressure from the KMT, whether they know what the KMT might do in response, and whether the Mei-li-tao faction wanted him to make this move. Ch'en said that the answer to all three questions was no. Prior to making the proposal, he never had any contact with the KMT about it; in fact, the attitude of the KMT has never been one of their considerations. They only hope that this amendment could be supported by the majority of DPP delegates.

A reporter asked him what kind of action the KMT might take. Ch'en said that was not their problem; it is the KMT's problem. The KMT can take any action at any time; the question is whether they want to or not.

Another question was whether beforehand he had tried to communicate with the different factions of the DPP about the proposal. Ch'en said it had occurred to him that morning so he first discussed it with Lin Cho-shui, who made the original proposal, and after getting his consent, then communicated with Chang Tsun-hung. When he reached an understanding with both sides, he then made the proposal.

Summary translation
Prepared by Tao-tai Hsia, Chief, and
Wendy Zeldin, Legal Research Analyst
Far Eastern Law Division
Library of Congress
October 31, 1991