

Part 3. Resolutions

I. Resolution on Taiwan's Future

Ratified at the 2nd Session of the 8th DPP National Congress on May 8 and 9, 1999

1. Preface

After years of hard work and struggles, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) and the people of Taiwan have compelled the Nationalist Kuomintang (KMT) to renounce Martial Law and one-party authoritarian and embrace democratic reforms. This has brought about a series of political restructuring, from the direct general election in 1992, the presidential election by popular vote in 1996, to constitutional amendments and abolition of the provincial government, making Taiwan a de facto democratic state. In retrospect of past achievements and experiences, and in response to new trends and environment, while looking onward to the future development and outlook, the DPP continues its push for reforming the state institutions and further define Taiwan's position and path going forward. We hereby state our opinions and propositions on the future of Taiwan at this juncture of time, in a bid of meeting the challenges of the new century on the basis of the existing foundation and achievements.

2. Our Propositions

- (1). Taiwan is an independent and sovereign state. Changes in the status quo of independence should be decided by all residents in Taiwan via a referendum.
- (2). Taiwan does not belong to the People's Republic

- of China. China's unilateral advocacy of the "One China Principle" and "One Country, Two Systems" fundamentally does not apply to Taiwan.
- (3). Taiwan shall proactively engage in the international community and strive to gain international recognition and admission to the United Nations and other international organizations.
- (4). Taiwan should renounce the "One-China" proposition to avoid confusion in the international community, and to prevent China from using it as a pretext for annexation.
- (5). Taiwan shall complete the legalization of referendum as soon as possible, so as to realize direct civil rights and, when necessary, consolidate the consensus of the people and express the will of the people.
- (6). All circles in Taiwan should establish nonpartisan consensus on foreign policy and integrate limited resources to cope with the suppression and coercion from the ambitious China.
- (7). Taiwan and China should, through dialogues on all fronts, seek in depth mutual understanding and trade, economic reciprocity and cooperation, and establish a framework for peace, in the direction of long-term stability and peace between the two sides.

3. Background

Independence and autonomy of sovereignty are the preconditions for national security, social development and wellbeing of the people. Taiwan is an independent sovereign state. It is a historical fact and a de facto status

that neither Taiwan nor the PRC belongs to one another. This is not only the condition for the existential survival of Taiwan, but also the basis for developing democratic politics and creating economic miracles.

In 1991, riding the tide of the end of the Cold War that saw full-on victory of freedom, democracy and self-determination, the DPP revised its Party Platform to advocate the independence and sovereignty of Taiwan, making three major propositions: to redefine the nation's boundaries, to revamp the constitutional system, and to develop a new national awareness. Although it was besmirched as a heresy at that time, in less than 10 years, Taiwan's independence and sovereignty has become a consensus among the society at large. These propositions and derived principles have quickly become the backbone of the constitutional system and legal structure.

Taiwan is an independent sovereign state whose jurisdiction lies only in the territories of Taiwan, Penghu, Kinmen and Matsu and its affiliated islands, as well as its territorial waters and adjacent waters in conformity with international law. Although Taiwan is called the Republic of China under the current Constitution, it does not belong to the PRC, and nor does PRC belong to Taiwan. Changes in the status quo of independence must be decided by all residents in Taiwan via a referendum.

Given the aforementioned new social consensus, externally, our country is no longer adamant that the "Republic of China" is the one and only name of the country. Instead our country has extensively participated in various official and non-official international

organizations with various names. Internally, after dispelling the myth of having Kuomintang as the "only legitimate government in all of China", Taiwan has engaged in a series of constitutional restructuring, including complete re-election of the parliament, direct presidential election, suspending and abolishing the provincial government. In developing new national awareness, we have also promoted the inclusion of local content in the learning materials for public education and reshaped our people's awareness of Taiwanese history and heritage. In 1998, the country enacted the Law on the Territorial Sea to define the territorial waters and the territory, and announced that it would no longer ban the use of "Taiwan" in the naming of associations nationwide. The principle of a sovereign and independent Taiwan has fully demonstrated its superiority and obtained conclusive legitimacy. The foresight of the DPP's 1991 Party Platform has since been fully substantiated.

On this day of 1999, fiery feuds between the ruling and opposition parties over national identity have abated, despite the unfinished works of the system reform. Yet it has opened up new opportunities for nonpartisan endeavors to push Taiwan onto the world stage. Presently, in the face of pressure from China, the opinions of ruling and opposition parties have converged, where the different values in national identity have given way to the policy making of ensuring national security and independent sovereignty of Taiwan.

The end of the Cold War, the sweeping victory of free and democratic thinking, rising democratization of Taiwan

and growing public opposition towards reunification play into safeguarding Taiwan's status quo and raising its position in the world. However, a significant growth in China's national strength and its continuing stubborn hegemony are major hurdles for the future of Taiwan. The DPP believes that with the unpredictability of international politics and the various factors at stake, Taiwan must assess the situation before taking the next step and make proper plans for a safe, cautious and progressive policy towards China.

The DPP maintains that amidst the trending demand for reconciliation, stability and prosperity, it is impossible for both Taiwan and China to continue barring themselves from the tides of time. Nor is it possible for two countries that share geographic proximity, mutual economic benefit and the same cultural roots to remain hostile towards each other and erecting barriers. Ultimately, the DPP's China policy aims to establish a Taiwan-China relation that is reciprocal rather than discriminatory, peaceful rather than confrontational, and equal rather than subordinate. The DPP looks forward to the Chinese government acknowledging the wishes of the people in Taiwan and the historical facts about Taiwan's independence and sovereignty. The DPP asks the Chinese people to dispose of outdated nationalist and ideological frameworks and sincerely respect the desire of the people of Taiwan and their pursuit of prosperity and development under a free and democratic system. The DPP also hopes that in the coming new century, Taiwan and China will abandon their mistrust and antagonism. Taiwan and China will focus on geopolitics, regional stability and economic interests and create a promising prospect of symbiotic development, mutual trust and mutual benefit built upon longstanding historical, cultural and ancestral roots. ⑤

II. Resolution on Turning a New Page in Taiwan's Economy

Ratified at the 2nd Session of the 9th DPP National Congress on Oct. 20, 2001

Preface

Owing to the tireless endeavors of many Taiwanese people and pioneering democracy activists, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) was finally able to achieve the first ever transfer of political powers in Taiwan at the turn of the century in the year 2000, ending the Kuomintang's half-century-long one-party rule. Democracy as a universal value has officially taken root in Taiwan. However, the economic challenges that follow require us to stay diligent. At the dawn of this new century, as a new global economic order begins to take shape, it is critical that Taiwan's pre-existing economic structure also undergoes a thorough overhaul. Taiwan must speed up reforms of the current economic system as well as systemization and institutionalization work, particularly when faced with challenges arising from Taiwan's entry to the World Trade Organization and the formation of global economic blocs.

As we now stand at a historical turning point for Taiwan's social and economic development, the DPP hereby proposes its "Resolution on Creating a New Scenario for Taiwan's Economy," which is based on a summary of prior experience and successes and aims to create new opportunities for Taiwan's growth as a country. With this resolution we want to publicly illustrate the DPP's views and propositions regarding Taiwan's development at the

current stage, hoping to fortify the fruits of Taiwanese democracy, trigger another succession of economic miracles, and build a bright future together with the people of Taiwan.

Our Propositions

1. Build a knowledge industry-based nation

- (1). In response to major changes in the economic and industrial structures, we propose to reform education programs to actively cultivate domestic talent in the fields of science, technology and marketing management fields, establish a mechanism enabling collaboration between industry, government and academia, build a strengthened platform to facilitate supply chain conformity and integrate monetary flow, improve companies' global logistics management capabilities, and build Taiwan up to become a global logistics hub for information and technology.
- (2). We propose to build upon Taiwan's current state of industrial development to make Taiwan a manufacturing, research and development center for high-value products, taking advantage of high-quality labor from local companies, quick and flexible delivery and response capabilities, and tightly-knit supply chains.
- (3). We propose to turn Taiwan into a "green technology island" by actively revamping the nation's sea, land and air transportation and fiberoptic broadband networks, as well as developing regional green

- energy industries, which will help to facilitate the free flow of information and provide each locality with autonomous and ample supplies of water and electricity.
- (4). We want to follow the market liberalization trend and gradually diversify our financial and investment products, direct long-term capital into the domestic capital market, and combine foreign capital with local advantages in technology and management to promote Taiwan as an asset management hub in the Asia-Pacific region.
- (5). We propose to proactively resolve the obstacles plaguing traditional industries, push for strategic collaboration between small and medium enterprises, and connect businesses both within and outside their own sector to enable the exchange of information and resources, as well as collaboration on developing new management techniques and products. We aim to push forward the signing of bilateral free trade agreements with other countries under a regional economic cooperation framework, thus strengthening Taiwan's ability to integrate industries in the Asia-Pacific region and in turn sharpen the country's competitive edge.
- (6). We propose to devise proper plans to protect Taiwan's water resources, eco-system and environment to ensure that Taiwan remains a sustainable home for all. These include using eco-science technology to stabilize slopes with vegetation, carrying out a thorough nation-wide

- geological survey to reinforce soil and water conservation, improving the current system for national land development by consolidating existing governmental agencies to form a new one that is solely responsible for land use planning, creating new laws for national land protection and water and soil conservation, and completing the National Geographic Information System (NGIS).
- (7). We propose to take advantage of the information industry's existing global management capabilities and methods, and assist the agricultural industry in forming partnerships with businesses in the logistics, processing, medical and travel sectors so that they can trade complementary resources and expand the overseas market for high-quality agricultural products. At the same time, we aim to actively develop key biotechnologies, establish a patent database for biological knowledge and patent rights to agro-production technologies, speed up legislative work on biotech-related laws and protective measures, and work on preserving special species, in order to turn Taiwan into a global biotechnology hub.

2. Liberalize the economy

(8). In preparation to join the World Trade Organization, we propose to actively amend various laws to improve our financial system and transparency of government and corporate information, and be in sync with international regulations and standards to

- develop a market mechanism that will make Taiwan a free market economy that is open, efficient and conducive to fair competition.
- (9). We propose to eliminate any irrational and inappropriate state intervention. Instead, the government shall voluntarily provide correct information to the public to minimize the negative impact on the economy caused by expectations.
- (10). Clear laws and regulations must be put in place to oversee the mergers and acquisitions of financial institutions and other related corporations, to ensure the protection of citizens' rights and improve economic transparency.
- (11). On the basis of financial stability and discipline, a fair and efficient tax system, and balanced regional finances, we aim to readjust the structure and scale of government spending, push for tax reforms, eliminate fiscal deficit, and achieve mid- to long-term fiscal balance.

3. Social justice and welfare

- (12). We aim to protect the minimum wage, guarantee laborers' rights, actively amend relevant labor laws, and, through well-organized unions and orderly forms of collective bargaining, gradually establish a satisfactory mechanism for management-labor negotiations.
- (13). We propose to actively consolidate government and private resources to allow all workers to enjoy a safe work environment and humane labor conditions,

- and provide them with lifetime learning and selfimprovement opportunities.
- (14). We propose to construct a social security system that will safeguard the survival and dignity of the unemployed, and actively reform the pension system so that every worker can enjoy a dignified life after retirement.
- (15). We propose solid supporting measures in response to the impact that Taiwan's entry to the WTO may have on the agriculture, forestry, fishing, livestock as well as traditional manufacturing, high-tech and service industries. In addition, with respect to international rules and basic guidelines for human rights, we intend to include labor conditions in the trade regulations to safeguard the rights of all workers in Taiwan.

4. Government ethics and efficiency

- (16). We propose to reevaluate the government's role, downsizing staffing and expediting the restructuring of executive departments. We intend to modify the way the government operates, organizes itself, and hires to make it highly flexible and respond quickly to changes. Furthermore, we aim to reassess the current mode of decentralization in a bid of simplifying the administrative hierarchy, distributing resources reasonably to each locality and completing the reconstruction of government.
- (17). We propose to adopt corporate management techniques and make the performance evaluation

system for civil servants more reasonable to encourage better services and efficiency from government agencies. We also propose to create an agency solely responsible for government ethics as soon as possible, which can actively combat and eliminate corruption, and help to build an effective, transparent and equitable government.

5. Global outreach for trade

- (18). We propose to proactively utilize Taiwan's longestablished pool of management professionals, past experiences in economic development, as well as knowledge and innovation power to help developing countries around the world grow their own industries and economy, and strengthen Taiwanese businesses' trading and logistic presence in the global economy.
- (19). As we embrace the era of globalization, we propose to include the Chinese market and its resources in our strategic plan to expand Taiwanese industries across the world. This shall be done under the framework of the WTO, adhering to the principles from our 1999 "Resolution on Taiwan's Future," staying firm on the Taiwan-centric stance and following our policy of "proactive liberalization with effective management."
- (20). We propose to fully utilize foreign capital and trade and technology networks, combined with the advantage of Taiwan's familiarity with Chinese culture and knowledge, to actively entice

foreign investors to consider Taiwan as a hub for procurement, information sharing, and research and development. We anticipate Taiwan to play a key role in the "New Silk Road of the 21st Century," coordinating division of labor among Chinese industries across the globe as it integrates into the world economy and demonstrates its capabilities as an international economic and trade leader.

Background

The need for economic transition

Economic and trade development is not only crucial to the prosperity of Taiwan as an island nation, but also for every Taiwanese citizen's livelihood and welfare.

Since the Asian financial crisis in 1997, Taiwan has been facing pressure to restructure its industries. In particular, the globalized economy and rapid circulation of capital make it unrealistic for Taiwanese businesses to continue with the old way of doing business abroad, which involves striking out into the world alone with few resources while endlessly exploiting Taiwan's domestic resources as a means of outcompeting others for foreign deals. Contrarily, Taiwan should take advantage of its wealth of professional knowledge and information to build a knowledge-based economy. It must proactively liberalize its market, establish clear rules, and at the same time protect its citizens' basic right to survival in society, in order to become a truly unsinkable ship in the Asia-Pacific or even global economy and trading circles.

Direction of economic reform

In 2000, bolstered by the Taiwanese people's desire for progress, the Democratic Progressive Party successfully overturned the previous one-party rule and became the new ruling party. However, the people's desire is not just about the switch in the ruling parties. More importantly, Taiwan's socioeconomic structure has now reached a critical stage where more reforms are necessary.

In response to the Taiwanese people's passionate hopes for improvement, and to concretely address the new worldwide economic and trade situation in this age of globalization, the DPP posits that Taiwan's economic reforms must head toward the direction of "proactive liberalization with global outreach," and proposes the following key guiding principles for reforms: "nation built upon knowledge-based industries," "economic liberalization," "social justice and welfare," "ethical and efficient government," and "global economic and trade outreach."

Revamp outdated economy with new concept of "proactive liberalization with effective management"

The world that Taiwan faces today is no longer the clearly segregated and polarized one from twenty years ago. The method of striking out alone to do business overseas is also no longer applicable in this age of globalization. The terrorist attack on the World Trade Center towers in New York further gives evidence to the high level of interdependency between countries in this new global economy. Therefore, we need a fresh

mentality and new methods to operate in this evolving international market. The various political, social and economic struggles that Taiwan is dealing with today are precisely the result of an outdated system and ideological control by the political rulers in the past. We believe that in order for Taiwan to become an international logistics hub, it must be more proactive and open. More effective and thorough management is also necessary for Taiwan's economy to stay intact and autonomous. The previous economic and trade system advised businesses to "resist haste and exercise patience," but dramatic shifts in today's global socioeconomic environment and the lack of effective management standards and clear guidelines is now causing Taiwan to lose capital at a rapid pace, while industrial development is at a standstill. Therefore, our new approach toward creating another economic miracle is "proactive liberalization with effective management," while always prioritizing Taiwan and defending our national security.

Build a new Taiwanese economy with knowledge and skills

Although Taiwan has had remarkable economic achievements in the past, it has neglected to develop its natural environment in a sustainable manner. Despite being hailed as an important high-tech hub, Taiwan has become more dangerous than it was twenty or thirty years ago, with landslides and floods constantly threatening the lives and properties of its residents. Therefore, we must replace the outdated mode of economic development with a knowledge-based economy centered upon professional

knowledge, skills and accurate communication of information. We want to take advantage of Taiwan's impressive electronic and technology industries and transform Taiwan into a green tech island that can serve as the world's information and logistics center.

In the age of the knowledge economy, much importance is placed on continuous self-motivated learning, as well as wholesome and intact channels for logistic and information flows. We must replace the outdated mentality that a single skill is enough to get a person through a lifetime, and drastically revolutionize our rigid education system. Information sharing and collaborating on research and development projects between different departments and companies from different industries of varying sizes are also key to industrial growth in this new era. Furthermore, the most important rules of economic development in this new age are to consume natural resources with care and reason, conserve precious species, and promote green energy and related industries.

Reform the government structure, liberalize the economy and create a sound social security mechanism

The essence of the globalization era is the high level of liberalization and a free trade system without bounds. Due to the rise of bloc economies and a globalized market, many multinational companies must build information and logistics centers in multiple economic regions to conveniently distribute and manage their funds, products and information. Taiwan happens to enjoy a strategic location in the Asia-Pacific region, so it can and should

strive to become the information and logistics hub for multinational companies here, especially in this new global economy. To achieve this strategic economic goal, Taiwan must speed up the liberalization of its own economy, do better in institutionalizing and systemizing economic order, eliminate inappropriate government intervention, combat economic activities affiliated with special privileges and party-run businesses, improve the financial and tax systems, and accelerate legislative action on relevant financial regulations to make corporations more financially transparent.

The government must be able to guarantee the people's most basic rights and dignity despite the new shift in the international economic and trade environment and the structural changes that Taiwan's industries are currently undergoing. The DPP maintains that on the one hand, we must stand our ground with regards to our position on minimum wage and protect the basic living standards of all workers, and speed up legislative work on related labor laws to ensure thorough protection of workers' rights; on the other hand, the government must design a proper social security mechanism and reform the pension system to ensure that all citizens can enjoy a dignified life after retirement.

Today in the year 2001, the socioeconomic, political and international environment that Taiwan faces is significantly different from that of twenty or thirty years ago. Confronted with an ever-changing global economic and trading situation as well as increasingly complex social and economic issues, we must hasten to reform

Taiwan's current government structure and political system to ensure the country's survival. Our central government is still organized around the Kuomintang's archaic government system from 1949, and the centrallocal conflicts resulting from decades of state power centralization plus a legislature rife with corruption are obstacles preventing Taiwan from moving forward. Therefore, we must actively revamp the civil service system, adjust the way we organize the central government, set a clear limit on overall staff size, and rebuild the government using corporate principles. We must establish a government agency charged with overseeing ethics to stop the powers of corruption and inappropriate interest peddling from seeping into government organizations, increase efforts in fighting corruption and investigating bribery, and push for reforming the electoral system, all to create an efficient and ethical government.

Leverage cultural and technological advantages to build the new Silk Road of the 21st century

After both countries on either side of the Taiwan Strait have joined the WTO, Taiwan will no longer be able to avoid the challenges of dealing with the Chinese market. Based on the conclusion from our "Seminar on China's Policies" in February 1998—the party consensus was to "strengthen our core and head west"—as well as the essence of our 1999 "Resolution on Taiwan's Future," the DPP believes that both sides should conduct business and other exchanges along the principles of "reciprocity, peace and equality." Following our "proactive

liberalization with effective management" principle, the DPP proposes, within the framework of the WTO, that Taiwanese companies should be encouraged to make newly emerging markets their manufacturing base while promoting their main offices in Taiwan to the role of R&D and logistics centers for information and technology, as their new global expansion strategy under the latest trend of international labor division. More importantly, Taiwan should actively use her cultural and knowledge-based advantages to attract foreign capital and corporations to Taiwan and become the "new Silk Road of the 21st century." This will put Taiwan in a position to coordinate all the ethnic Chinese-run industries, integrate the mainstream societies of every country, and prove her leadership prowess in trading. In the past, Western merchants had to travel the long and winding Silk Road to access China for trade; in the future, international investors can work with Taiwanese companies' talents and technologies, and use Taiwan as a base for their financial, informational, R&D and procurement needs, and manage the logistics of their Asia-Pacific and even global capital.

A new era has arrived. Ushering in the age of the globalized economy, we want advancement for Taiwan, dignity for our people and progressive values and justice for our society. The switch of ruling parties in 2000 was only the beginning of a new future for Taiwan. The DPP recognizes that a new global economic and trading system is taking shape, and we the Taiwanese must identify our advantages and understand that the movement to reform our social, economic and political systems is an enormous

undertaking. Only by intensifying reforms and focusing on new knowledge and information can we revive the prosperity Taiwan once enjoyed; only by continuing to liberalize while embracing democracy and efficiency can we lead the way in this new global market. Let us continue to wave the banner of revolution and make Taiwan the Asia-Pacific region's key stabilizing force in the 21st century.



III. Resolution on Ethnic Diversity and National Unity

Ratified at the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 11th DPP National Congress on September 26, 2004

Preface

The 2004 presidential election put a complete end to the colonialism and party-state regime that had oppressed Taiwanese culture and civil rights for centuries. Finally, a new country is formed based on the collective will of all citizens. The Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) has completed its democratization efforts with the support of the Taiwanese people, and as a result, created opportunities for reviving Taiwan's ethnic and cultural diversity.

Since its founding, the DPP has insisted on the legitimacy of the Taiwanese identity, protested cultural hegemony under the ruling oligarchy, and strived to rebuild a society in which different ethnic and cultural groups could survive and flourish. The DPP has also responded to the collective wishes of Taiwan's many indigenous groups by being the first political party in Taiwan to add native culture and languages to school curriculums, reconstruct aboriginal identities and revive Hakka culture and pride. We are strongly aware that there would be no Taiwanization without diversity. In order to strengthen Taiwan's democracy, boost our cultural soft power and allow all ethno-cultural groups to coexist and prosper in this new country, the DPP shall further develop the propositions

on multiculturalism in its Party Platform. By creating a civil society where all ethnicities are willing to accept one another and work together to build this country, we will be able to accomplish social and cultural reforms—our next mission following political democratization.

Our Propositions

- (1). Reflecting on Taiwan's history of persecution is a critical step for the future of all ethnic groups. The dominance of Han people over the Taiwanese aborigines and oppressive rule over the island by foreign powers in the early years led to the loss of many ethnic languages, cultures and identities, as well as ethnic conflicts that exist to this day. We must reflect upon this aspect of history before we can create a safe realm for all ethno-cultural groups in Taiwan to thrive and grow.
- (2). Construction of a Taiwanese identity does not equate nativism. Since the start of the DPP's rule, we have been actively implementing native culture and language curriculums and earnestly driving Hakka and aboriginal policies to reconstruct a Taiwan-centric cultural identity. This should not be misconstrued as a narrow form of localism, and certainly not extreme nativism.
- (3). Stop blaming Mainland Chinese immigrants for the Kuomintang's acts of oppression. Past persecution was carried out by a handful of the KMT's elite inner cliques, not by any particular ethnic group, and therefore mainland Chinese immigrants in

- Taiwan should not be collectively blamed. We must work together to clarify historical truths and restore dignity to all ethnic groups that have been victimized.
- (4). Abandon assimilation policies and work towards peaceful coexistence and mutual prosperity. Understanding that ethno-cultural diversity is an asset to our nation, we are eliminating oppressive assimilation and one-sided integration policies, and instead advocating multicultural policies that respect differences and promote peaceful coexistence and mutual prosperity among Taiwan's ethnic groups.
- (5). National identity should be built upon the foundation of civic awareness. After having established national sovereignty via democratization, Taiwan is no longer occupied by a foreign power, but is now faced with the challenge of resisting annexation. National identity should be built upon civic awareness created through coming together to fight for democracy and contribute to the Taiwan experience, and should transcend the divide between Taiwan-born and China-born ethnic groups. The DPP is acutely conscious of and assumes the historical responsibility for this paradigm shift.
- (6). Supporters of the ROC identity and supporters of the Taiwanese identity should accept each other. The sovereignty of the Republic of China (ROC) belongs to all citizens of Taiwan and not another regime. Thus, identifying with Taiwan and identifying with the ROC are expressions of the same national

- identity, and supporters from both camps should respect, understand and accept one another, instead of misconstruing this as an ethnic conflict.
- (7). Ethnically discriminatory words and behaviors should be condemned. Every citizen's ethnic identity and civil rights should be respected, and discriminatory speech or acts against a member of any ethnic group should be condemned and sanctioned. It goes without saying that rules supporting and protecting national unity and security should be established through democratic procedures.
- (8). Every ethnic group is the master of Taiwan. Many aboriginal, Hakka and Hoklo people have long considered Taiwan their native homeland, and mainland Chinese and other foreign-born immigrants are increasingly calling Taiwan their new home as well. The Taiwanese identity is created through the collective participation of all ethnic groups, and therefore every ethnic group is the master of Taiwan, and every native language is a language of Taiwan.
- (9). Encourage more interactions between ethnic groups to strengthen interethnic relations. The government shall continue to support every ethnic group in developing and passing on its culture, and actively pioneer the creation of a public realm that will allow for interethnic cultural exchange, which will in turn foster tolerance and respect for cultural diversity and improve interethnic relations among the people

of Taiwan.

diverse country in the world. The Taiwan government shall respond to globalization by actively implementing multicultural policies and turn Taiwan into an ethnically and culturally diverse country that other countries in the world may strive to emulate. After democratization, Taiwan shall now become a new country that is culturally diverse yet unified in spirit.

Background

Taiwan is a society that has historically been colonized by foreign powers. The incessant oppression and control by these foreign dominant cultures and values led to the decline of Taiwan's native culture and threatened to wipe out the dignity and identity of local ethnic groups. Through the democratic movements of late, the people of Taiwan have created a nation that is not only a constitutional democracy but also liberated from oligarchical control. The ethnic groups in Taiwan have been able to steadily recover their self-identities and rebuild Taiwan's diverse local cultures. This historical experience of gradually bolstering national identity and dignity through resistance is a precious asset that belongs to people of all ethnic groups in Taiwan.

Construction of the Taiwanese identity is achieved through resisting past colonial and authoritarian control and oppression, and through reflecting upon the effects of globalization and internationalization, but not by xenophobically rejecting newly arrived ethnic groups and the cultural richness that they contribute to Taiwan.

We believe that within Taiwan, the age of resistance has come to an end, and a new age of reconstruction is about to begin. In this new era, no ethnic group or culture should be superior to another, and more importantly, we should realize that we are all in the same boat and stop any exclusion or slandering of other ethnic groups. We must acknowledge any feelings of dissatisfaction, injustice or insecurity each ethnic group might experience based on subjective or objective contexts, protect the equality and dignity of every ethnic group, and make each ethnic group's collective memory a part of the memories shared across all ethnicities. By the same principle, no single ethnic group should become a new victim of oppression by being made to bear the blame for past authoritarian rulers' actions.

In the face of their nation's tragic fate, many post-war new immigrants to Taiwan fought side by side with the Taiwanese aborigines, the Hakka and the Hoklo to defy Communist authoritarian rule and pursue democracy and freedom. Their joint efforts to defend Taiwan created a solemn page in Taiwan's history, and the fact that different ethnic groups made history together in this way perfectly demonstrates that we all share a vested future in Taiwan.

People of all ethnic groups not only contribute a variety of cultural elements and nourishment to Taiwanese society, but also fulfill their civic duties under the country's democratic constitutional system. Every person is an indispensable part of the Taiwanese identity. In other words, Taiwan's national unity is woven together by ethnic diversity, and only by ensuring space for different ethnic and cultural groups to flourish can we, with mutual respect, build a harmonious society that all can identify with, secure our constitutional democracy and achieve "unity within diversity."

We very much believe that cultural diversity is an asset to human civilization as well as a proactive kind of soft power. In addition to providing ample resources to help our various ethnic groups preserve and pass on their unique languages and heritage, the government shall also create opportunities for ethnic minority cultures to gain more presence in the public realm and people's daily lives, allowing these cultures to evolve with the modern world through interaction with the rest of society. We have sufficient confidence in building an ethnically harmonious society where different ethnicities and cultures can support each other and, following our success with democratization, turn Taiwan into a new model of ethnic harmony and cultural diversity. §

IV. Resolution on Normalization of Taiwan as a Nation

Ratified at the $2^{\rm nd}$ Session of the $12^{\rm th}$ DPP National Congress on September 30, 2007

Taiwan is an independent sovereign state. Both Taiwan and China do not belong to, or govern, the other. However, the internal challenge of Kuomintang's (KMT) authoritarianism, coupled with the external challenge of Chinese hegemony, has resulted in five obstacles to Taiwan's normalization as a nation: (1) China threatens Taiwan's national sovereignty and security and attempts to block Taiwan's international participation, not only through its acts of aggression against Taiwan's military, diplomacy, economy, culture, and politics, but also through its One China Principle and Anti-Secession Law that unilaterally change the status quo across the Taiwan Strait, hence an anomaly in Taiwan's international relations. (2) Taiwan has thus far adopted the ill-timed constitutional structure of the Republic of China, which undermines the functioning of its democratically elected government, hence an anomaly in Taiwan's constitutional system. (3) Vestiges of the myths rooted in education and culture left behind by KMT's authoritarian regime, along with the suppression and stigmatization of local cultures, have hampered the development of a Taiwanese identity, hence an anomaly in Taiwan's national identity. (4) Preferential treatment of certain individuals and groups has compromised citizenship-based social solidarity, hence an anomaly in Taiwan's social justice. (5) KMT's decadeslong possession of its massive illegitimate party assets has fostered a culture of bribery in elections, and a singleparty state has proved detrimental to democracy, hence an anomaly in competition among Taiwan's political parties.

In the face of these five "anomalies," the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), as a progressive force that represents the people of Taiwan in safeguarding our independence, autonomy, and pursuit of justice, feels obligated to propose the "Resolution on the Normalization of Taiwan as a Nation" on the basis of the "Taiwan Independence Clause" and "Resolution on Taiwan's Future" in the Party Platform. The DPP shall take the initiative to rectify the name of the country, create a new constitution, join the United Nations, pursue transitional justice, and forge a Taiwanese identity in order to normalize Taiwan as a sovereign state. To these ends, our propositions are as follows:

(1). We shall start by seeing Taiwanese people as "a community with a shared destiny", thereby deepening the democratic values of Taiwan and consolidating Taiwanese consciousness. We shall recognize the obscurity of the Republic of China in the international community, seek to join international organizations such as the United Nations and the World Health Organization under the name of Taiwan, institute a new constitution, and hold a national referendum at an appropriate time to highlight Taiwan's status as a sovereign and

- independent state.
- (2). We shall use the Common Era year-numbering system to stay in sync with the international community.
- (3). We shall facilitate the development of a Taiwanese national identity through supporting local cultures and native languages of Taiwan, as well as implementing Taiwan-centric curricula at schools of all levels.
- (4). We shall prioritize national security, social justice, and sustainable development over economic development to ensure a life of happiness and dignity for the people of Taiwan.
- (5). We shall pursue transitional justice by removing political remnants of the authoritarian past, correcting uneven distribution of resources, reforming judicial and prosecutorial systems, recovering the illegitimate assets of the KMT, and restoring justice to victims of political persecution during the era of White Terror by conducting investigations into the truth.

It is DPP's belief that Taiwan shall keep abreast of the times and break the shackles of authoritarianism and unreasonable institutions. In seeking to rectify its name, overhaul the constitution, join the United Nations, cement transitional justice, and build a Taiwanese identity, Taiwan shall eventually establish itself as a great and normal democracy. ⑤

V. Resolution on Taiwan's Society and Economy for the New Generation

Ratified at the 2nd Session of the 12th DPP National Congress on Sep. 24, 2011

Preface

Since the mid-1990s, Taiwan has been facing obvious roadblocks in social and economic development. The citizens of Taiwan have in general been feeling the effects of job scarcity, stagnant salaries, skyrocketing housing prices, a widening income gap and deteriorating environment. Many have developed a severe sense of deprivation, and the younger generation are feeling insecure about the future.

The way in which Taiwan's society and economy have been developing for decades no longer safeguards the wellbeing of most citizens. Therefore, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) proposed in 2011 a Ten-Year Policy Outlook in preparation for its anticipated return to power. It is meant to be a blueprint in governance, and reform inducing new values. In this Resolution, the policy outlook shall serve as the DPP's pledge to Taiwan's next generation.

Background

We believe that Taiwan's next steps should involve dealing with five major imbalances within its society and economy:

(1). Structural imbalance within industries: Taiwanese

companies often employ cost-lowering strategies to compete, yet are eventually forced to move overseas en masse due to the pressures of globalization. On the surface, corporate profits drive GDP growth, but on the flip side, interest in domestic investments is weak, job opportunities are dwindling, employee salaries are stagnant, and the industrial structure is overly fixated on a small handful of industries that lack key technologies. These factors not only make Taiwan susceptible to the whims of the global economy, but also cause capital to flow into specific industries and neglect how important small and medium enterprises and traditional industries are to Taiwan's economy.

- Regional development imbalance: The government (2).has for a long time favored northern Taiwan over the south, which has resulted in job opportunities being concentrated in the north. This supply-and-demand imbalance and influx of hot money has caused housing prices in the greater Taipei metropolitan area to skyrocket, putting affordable housing out of reach of young people and regular middleclass households. In addition, the government's policy to sacrifice agriculture in exchange for industrial exports has not only weakened Taiwan's agrarian communities, but also created the bizarre phenomenon where farmers are incentivized to stop farming while the country grows dependent on imported food supplies.
- (3). Environmental and ecological imbalance: Taiwan's

environmental resources have for decades been exploited to enable economic development, resulting in the "privatization of profits and socialization of pollution" and serious damage to the ecosystem and the population's health. This structure not only increases Taiwan's reliance on imported energy and nuclear power, but also impedes Taiwan's efforts to develop a green economy.

- (4). State revenues and expenditures imbalance: Government debt has been accumulating rapidly in recent years, while there has been a deficiency in tax revenue. While the withdrawal of industries from Taiwan has affected tax revenue, erroneous tax incentives and industrial policies have further caused severe base erosion and distorted the tax system.
- (5). Income distribution imbalance: The government's policies overly favor large corporations, and excessive tax breaks have crippled the current tax system's ability to redistribute income. As intergenerational justice diminishes, the younger generation is finding it very difficult to prosper.

Our Propositions

If we do not change the current way of development, there will be an even bigger price to pay down the road. We hereby list seven major propositions regarding Taiwan's next-generation society and economy as our commitment to the nation's future generations.

(1). Use the "open Taiwanese identity" framework. We

shall use the Taiwanese identity as a starting point to reach out and form strategic and stable multilateral alliances with other nations, and learn from their success stories and progressive values. In the process of opening to the world, we must also enhance our own ability to innovate, research and develop, so that important technologies can stay and flourish in Taiwan. We must also protect our workers' rights when it comes to international labor division.

- (2). Take the environment and ecosystem into account. Social and economic development must not happen at the expense of the environment. Our generation's actions must not endanger the survival of the next generation. We must pursue the kind of sustainable development that can ensure balance and coexistence between the economy, society and ecosystem.
- (3). Create employment. Instead of blindly pursuing economic growth, the focus of economic development should be to create job opportunities. We recommend establishing a mode of industrial development that is driven by innovation and immersed in culture, one that encourages corporations to partake in local economic activities that fulfill social responsibilities, allow technologies to take root, create jobs and increment of salary levels.
- (4). Create a society based on social justice. In response to worsening wealth inequality, the government shall push for an overall reform of the tax system to

strengthen its income redistribution mechanism, and ensure that the public education system promotes social mobility. Moreover, under the trend of globalization, the government shall play a more proactive role in safeguarding its people's basic right to an adequate standard of living, distributing resources fairly and reviving confidence in the market economy.

- (5). Adhere to green fiscal policy principles. In addition to developing a green tax system under the premise of tax neutrality, the government shall increase its efforts in cutting spending that does not adhere to the principles of sustainable development, thus achieving a three-way win for fiscal sustainability, environmental protection and social justice/employment creation.
- (6). Preserve a diverse and democratic society. A diverse and democratic society exists to protect different voices and opinions, and keep the government in line when it comes to policy decisions. When controversy arises with a major public policy, the government shall seek consensus through negotiations, and when necessary, resolve it with a public vote.
- (7). Local economy as the power force. Our local industries should devote equal attention to cultivating each department, balance exports and domestic demand, and connect with the rest of the world. We shall recognize the agricultural industries' strategic value in driving economic growth,

providing job opportunities, ensuring food security, protecting the environment and maintaining social stability.

Taiwan is the Democratic Progress Party's permanent home. For the prosperity of our nation, we hereby promise the people of Taiwan that upon our return to power we shall devote ourselves to the realization of these ideals for next-generation social and economic development, in which:

The core focus is employment creation;
The objective is a fair distribution of resources, and
The premise is a love for and the will to preserve our nation's land.

Our actions will determine the future of Taiwan. The path to reforms may be full of obstacles, but we are ready to embrace the challenges, as we have made a resolute promise to the next generations of Taiwan. ⑤

VI. Resolution on Societal and Cross-Generational Win

Ratified at the 2nd Session of the 18th DPP National Congress on Sep 28, 2019

Preface

As the second decade of the 21st century has reached an end, Taiwan's political environment, socio-economic structure, as well as global economic trends, regional trends, and world order, have all undergone fundamental changes.

To strengthen the nation's internal durability and improve societal adaptability in the face of structural changes, the Democratic Progressive Party has proposed: the Ten-Year Political Platform and passed the Resolution on Taiwan's Society and Economy for the New Generation. In both proposals, the DPP integrated its party philosophy and civil society propositions as a blueprint for returning to power. After securing the election in 2016, the party has successively promoted many important political and socioeconomic projects for national transformation.

However, as domestic and international trends change, these projects are facing many challenges. Internally, the cracks between Taiwan's old and new economic models, social structure, or clash in values have surfaced one by one, causing anxiety among some and even ricocheting from others. The hesitant forces regarding the transformation also include many groups that are relatively vulnerable in the transformation process and require scrupulous attention. Externally, China's expansion and its uninterrupted infiltration, division, diplomatic suppression, and military intimidation have also intensified domestic differences and made existing reforms arduous.

With the Chinese government's explicit goal of annexation, Taiwan's survival as a sovereign state, together with the peace and stability of the status quo, can no longer rely on unilateral goodwill or economic relationships that lack like-minded interests. Instead, we should depend on: upholding Taiwan's sovereignty fimly, the continuous consolidation of democratic governance, the transformational and strengthened socioeconomic structure, and the restructured regional and international roles. Only through such, can we achieve "societal enhancement and strengthen Taiwan's capacity in connecting with the world".

Towards reforms, it is necessary for us to consider how to effectively care for people of different classes and social standing. How to employ the framework of "fairness and sustainability" as the foundational basis for strengthening Taiwan's internal durability, and to pursue societal cooperation for cross-generational winwin situations, so that it will not exclude vulnerable groups in the transformation process. In such capacity, the Democratic Progressive Party summed up its first ruling term and proposed this resolution on Societal and Cross-Generational Win, illustrating the party's views and propositions on the subsequent stage of Taiwan's socioeconomic transformation to all social circles, to survive the transformative process and resist China's undemocratic expansion. By building a solid foundation, Taiwan will take on new world order challenges and shifting economic landscapes.

Background and Our Propositions

(1). Defend Taiwan's sovereignty and independence; actively consolidate democracy, security, and defense

We categorically reject the "One Country, Two Systems" proposition put forward by the Chinese government and firmly abide by the "Resolution on Taiwan's Future" passed by the party in 1999. We reaffirm that the right to self-determination belongs to the Taiwanese people, and on this basis, steadily promote relevant systemic reforms adapting to the status quo and future needs.

The party proposes that: in safeguarding Taiwan's security, we should continue to promote autonomous national defense projects, strengthen our self defense capabilities, and effectively deter infringements of Taiwan's sovereignty and security. In terms of safeguarding Taiwan's

democratic constitutional system from foreign infiltration and sabotage, amendments to the legal systems on national security and democratic defense mechanisms will be steadily pursued.

(2). Strengthen joint government and non-governmental governance; improve party-society interconnection mechanism

In the push for reform, we have come to recognize the existing deficiencies in the status quo. The limitations of the governmental system and the inertia of the administrative system are insufficient in dealing with the complex impediments under the new economic model and social structure. Furthermore, the current bureaucratic system lacks agility in responding to the protection of groups with weaker adaptive capacity during the transition period.

The party proposes that: "transitional governance" requires an increase in "public sector and private collaboration" and a complete "systemic reform" to form a government that is consistent with its powers, responsibilities, clear division of labor, meticulous decision-making, and generate policy impact. In addition to gradually promoting constitutional reform with social consensus, the Democratic Progressive Party will also improve its party platform, strengthen the connection

with the non-governmental sector, and build cooperative mechanisms between the administration and civil societies. This would help compensate for the challenges faced by different groups in the process of transformation, increase mutual understanding of institutional resources and limitations, and help facilitate the transformation in becoming comprehensive.

(3). Promote an impartial and sustainable socioeconomic transformation; promote a win-win situation for generations to come

Being aware that the global economy and industries are undergoing drastic restructuring, traditional production lines are facing new economic models, such as digital innovation, cross-border services, industrial chain transformation, and artificial intelligence, and not to mention the pending crisis of climate change.

The party proposes that: in response to new and complex challenges, such as industrial, labor, environmental protection, finance, land governance, and social welfare systems, it is necessary to review, adjust, and strengthen the overall inter-ministerial coordination mechanism of the bureaucratic system. Moreover, besides the flexibility of the bureaucratic system, the overall strengthening of a fair and sustainable social dynamic is equally important. We must steadily promote socio-economic transformation,

overcome the obstacles of the foundry production model, reduce excessive dependence on China's authoritarian economy, and avoid leaving vulnerable groups behind amidst transition.

(1). Adhere to the principles of democracy and human rights; share Taiwan's transformation experience and reposition itself internationally

Taiwan is not limited to just one side of the Taiwan Strait but aspires as a member of the Pacific, moreover, a member of the world. Taiwan's achievements in democratic consolidation, human rights protection, and close international economic and trade links are foundations for the continued deepening of relations between Taiwan and like-minded partners in the region. Even though Taiwan has achieved remarkable results in its present socio-economic transformation, China, on the other hand however, has continued to suppress our international participation. Nonetheless, these achievements are still sufficient in becoming the cornerstone of closer cooperation with countries around the world.

The party proposes that: Taiwan should position itself as a global citizen, assisting regional democratic development with the achievements of human rights and democratic development, and taking the United Nations Sustainable

Development Goals (SDGs) as the specific vision for Taiwan's socio-economic transformation in contributing to the world. Additionally, economic innovation and strengthening will deepen exchanges with the world and help more members of the global community in transitioning towards democracy, human rights, and sustainable development.

Closing Remarks

In summary of the results from the party's first-term (2016), we are reducing the burden on young people by improving salaries, tax reductions and implementing care programs; restoring historical truth and social reconciliation through transitional justice programs; aiming for a non-nuclear society, coal reduction, and green energy promotion; implementing annuity reforms to safeguard economic justice and the sustainability of national finances; safeguarding the constitutionally protected and publicly supported Marriage Equality Act; enhancing national defense autonomy in fortifying our defense capabilities. However, as domestic and international dynamics remain volatile, Taiwan has once again entered a crossroads in history. In the pursuit of transformation, people from different circles of life and generations have different ideas and sentiments regarding reform due to historical circumstances. For this reason,

the Democratic Progressive Party proposes that through the re-establishment of the above-mentioned values and the re-adjustment of the status quo, the goal is to achieve a win-win situation in Taiwan's society for generations to come, and use this as a goal in amplifying the notion of "strengthening Taiwan and connecting the world." The actions of such programs expand social dialogue and promote greater unity. To the best of our ability, we will implement the above program and move forward in building a firm foothold in the international community.