Party Organization, Cohesion and Resilience: Explaining the Rise and Fall of the Kuomintang (KMT) Party In Taiwan

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Abstract

To explain the resilience of hegemonic party regimes, scholars have turned to coercion; economic crisis; incentive structures; incumbency advantages; opposition party failures and electoral engineering strategies as possible explanations. Yet, current approaches often take the origins of party institutions as given and overlook the role of party organization that foster discipline and cohesion – an institutional precondition for regime resilience. Based on Panebianco's (1988) organizational theory and Hirschman's (1970) work on "exit, voice and loyalty", this paper views a political party as an organization and posits that to survive, a party must institutionalize a system of incentive and sanction and a mix of "voice" and "exit" options. This means that a party must distribute selective incentives (prestigious party positions) to party careerists and collective incentives (value infusion) to party followers to foster loyalty. And when incentives are scarce, dissatisfied elites may protest (voice) or exit. In response, the party must rectify its poor performance or apply sanction to enforce cohesion. In each political party, there is an "optimal mix" of incentive and sanction, voice and exit options. This "optimal mix" is dependent on its model of party organization and party-building strategies in response to internal and external pressures. As a preliminary study on the relationship between party organization and regime resilience, this paper examines how one of the world's wealthiest and most durable hegemonic parties - the Kuomintang Party (KMT) in Taiwan - gave way to destructive intra-party conflicts and lost governing power after five decades of uninterrupted rule. Specifically, it compares how changes in the KMT's elite recruitment and disciplinary system under the leadership of Chiang Ching-Kuo (1975-1988) and Lee Teng-hui (1988-2000) affected elite co-operative behaviour and contributed to the party's dramatic downfall in 2000.

"Political Domination is determined by its pattern of political recruitment."

Amos Perlmutter (1981, 69)

Introduction

Hegemonic party regime[1] or otherwise known as electoral autocracy is the most persistent and common form of authoritarianism today (Brownlee 2004; Huntington and Moore 1970; Magaloni 2006). Hegemonic party regime refers to a polity where one party dominates access to political office and control over policy, though other parties may exist and compete as minor players in semi-competitive[2], tightly controlled electoral arena. To explain the persistence of hegemonic parties, scholars have considered coercion; incentive structures; incumbency advantages; opposition party failures and electoral engineering strategies as possible explanations[3]. But current approaches often take the origins of party institutions as given and overlook the role of party organization that foster elite unity for its long-term political survival. For instance, Geddes' (2003) path-breaking study on the breakdown of authoritarian breakdown posits that single-party regimes are more durable than military regimes and personal autocracies because of its incentive structures that unite party elites. Yet, her game-theoretical explanation is silent on the origins of party institutions[4] that constraint non-cooperative behaviour.[5] As Smith notes, "treating party institutions as prior variables makes it nearly impossible to figure out the incentives within such regimes might come or not come, to look very much like the Stag Hunt game" (2005, 427). A complete incentive-based theory needs to identify the organization structure in which actors operate and consider the type of incentives that motivate co-operation and disincentives that enforce compliance.

Barring exogenous economic shocks or forceful regime change, the greatest threat to authoritarian durability comes from within the ruling regime. Internal splits, factionalism and leadership succession problems are known causes of authoritarian breakdown (O'Donnell and Schmitter 1986, 15-17; Przeworkski 1991, 51-94; Remmer 1989). To explain the resilience of hegemonic party regimes, my paper investigates how the Kuomintang Party (KMT)[6] – one of the world's wealthiest[7] and most durable[8] hegemonic

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[1] My definition of hegemonic party regime is similar to "competitive" or "electoral autocracies" used by Levitsky and Way (2002) and Schedler (2006). It is distinct from closed, non-competitive party regimes such as China or Vietnam where opposition parties are not permitted to exist or allowed to compete with the hegemonic party on equal terms (Sartori 1976, 230; Schedler 2006, 3).

[2] A semi-competitive structure allows for limited option of voice (to make oneself heard) and exit (to leave one party for another).

[3] See Alagappa 2003; Geddes 2003; Greene 2007; Haggard and Kaufman 1995; and Megaloni 2006.

[4] Following North (1990, 3-4), I view institutions as rules of the game that shape interaction and "reduce uncertainty by providing a structure to everyday life". They are formal and informal rules and procedures that structure political conduct.

[5] See Elster's (1989) critique of rational choice theory and its assumptions of methodological individualism that fail to explain motivation and behavior. He argues that behaviours such as wishful thinking, sour grapes and lack of foresight may defy rationality and result in non-cooperative behaviour.

[6] The data in this paper is drawn from archival documents and in-depth interviews with leading academics, politicians and members of the KMT Party in Taiwan from April to December 2007.

[7] In 2007, the KMT was reported to have assets worth more than NT$27 billion (US$821 million). "Crisis Hit KMT still Richest Party", *Taipei Times*, 18 July 2007.

parties, that broke down as a result of destructive intra-party conflicts. My approach builds on Geddes' focus on behavioural incentives that encourage party elites to unite in hegemonic party regimes. However, my explanation goes beyond Geddes' in three ways, as it: 1) highlights the role of party organization; 2) identifies the processes and mechanisms that motivate elite co-operation and 3) differentiates the incentive and sanction system that encourage compliance. Specifically, it examines how both elite recruitment and party discipline act as an incentive and sanction system to foster party loyalty and cohesion[9]. The aim is to highlight the institutional imperatives - rules of the game that shape the opportunity structure for "voice" and "exit" in hegemonic party regimes (Hirschman 1970).

The KMT party is selected for study, as it is an example of how a hegemonic party regime failed to persist as a result of weak party institutionalization. My initial findings based on the KMT's experience supports Huntington's observation that institution building is a necessary condition for the long-term political survival of hegemonic parties (1970, 513). Organized as a quasi-Leninist party, the KMT had ruled Taiwan under martial law[10] for thirty-nine years. However, after the departure of strongman Chiang Ching-kuo (CCK) in 1988, the party gave way to internal party infightings and external rising opposition challenges that adversely affected its electoral dominance over the National Assembly and Legislative Yuan. As Panebianco reminds us, institutionalization entails a "routinization of charisma", a transfer of authority from the leader to the party, and few charismatic parties led by personalist leaders survive this transfer (1988, 53). The KMT's organizational experience suggests that the lack of established and routinized procedures for elite recruitment during CCK's period of rule, combined with lax party discipline during Lee Teng-hui's (LTH) rule exacerbated elite infightings in the late 1980s. The series of open party splits and defections cumulated to its loss of presidency to the opposition party, Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) in year 2000.

To show the relationship between party organization and regime resilience, my paper will be divided into two parts: first, it introduces key hypotheses from organization theory and discusses the linkages between elite unity, discipline and party institutionalization. Specifically, it focuses on patterns of elite recruitment and party discipline as indicators of incentive and sanction structure that motivate elite co-operation. Second, it considers the party origins and organization of the KMT as a quasi-Leninist party. Next, my "incentive and sanction" hypotheses will be applied to examine the effects of elite recruitment (selection of party chairman, central committees) and party discipline on elite co-operative behaviour in the KMT from 1972 to 2000. The number of disciplinary cases will be used as an indicator of party's enforcement mechanism and the number of factions, party splits and defections are used as proxies for party cohesion for the same time period.

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[8] A regime is considered authoritarian if opposition parties have been banned or subjected to serious harassment or institutional disadvantage, or if the ruling party has never lost two-thirds of legislative seats in all elections before 1985 (Geddes 2003, 71).

[9] See Ozbudun (1970, 306-308) for definition and measurement of party cohesion in Western democracies.

[10] From 1949 to 1987, Taiwan was ruled under martial law in the name of the "Temporary Provisions Effective During the Period of Communist Rebellion" (动员戡乱时期临时条款).

Party Institutionalization, Recruitment and Discipline

Drawing largely from Panebianco's (1988) organization theory and Hirschman's (1970) work on "exit, voice and loyalty", my paper offers some hypotheses on the effects of elite recruitment and disciplinary systems on elite cohesion. Following Ozbudun, I distinguish between party cohesion and discipline. Party cohesion is defined as "the extent to which, in a given situation, group members can be observed to work together for the group's goals in one and the same way" (1970, 305). Cohesion is a broad term that embraces: 1) the degree to which elite co-operate (elite unity), and 2) the compliance of members with party goals or leader's preferences (party loyalty). Party discipline on the other hand refers to a special type of cohesion achieved through enforcement or a system of sanctions by which enforced cohesion is attained (Ozbudun 1970, 305). Conventionally, the study of party cohesion in pluralistic parties has been based on party vote or roll-call analysis in the legislature.[11] However such approach is not useful in hegemonic party regimes, as legislatures usually play a minor role and opposition parties pose no formidable threat to the ruling party. Hence, to understand the cohesion of hegemonic parties, it is more critical to look beyond legislative behaviour and observe the factional politics or elite-power struggles within the party.

This paper considers a political party as an organization and distinguishes it from being an institution. It posits that it is only through time that a party, as an organization becomes an institution or becomes institutionalized[12] (Randall and Svasand 2002, 12). Different scholars have used the terms institution and institutionalization differently. Here, I define institutionalization[13] as a process by which rules or patterns become routinized, stablized or entrenched (Levitsky 1998, 80; North 1990; O'Donnell 1996). It is a process by which actors' expectations are regularized and stabilized around those rules and practices. When rules, procedures or patterns of behavior are institutionalized, they come to be repeated and predictable, and stable sets of expectations form around them. As Panebianco's (1988, 54) argues, "all parties must institutionalize to a certain extent in order to survive". Hence, for a political party to survive, it must from the start, distribute selective incentives (prestigious positions, internal career opportunities) to some of its ambitious members and collective incentives (sense of belonging or value infusion) to its activists and supporters.[14] Without the consolidation of this incentive system – comprising of selective and collective incentives – party institutionalization cannot take place and organization survival is at stake. These observations lead to first hypothesis.

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[11] For example, quantitative methods of measuring party cohesion include "party vote" (Lowell 1902); "index of cohesion" (Rice 1928) or "index of party loyalty" (Turner 1951).

[12] Some see institutions as rules of the game while others see them as formal organizations; patterned behaviour or as "myths" and ideational structures (Huntington 1970; Levistsky 1998; Mainwaring and Scully 1995; Panebianco 1988; Keohane 1969; Randall and Svasand 2002; Hall and Taylor 1996).

[13] Huntington (1968, 12) and Panebianco (1988) are the two fathers of the concept of institutionalization. This paper combines insights from both scholars, and Levitsky (1998); Randall and Svasand (2002).

[14] Panebianco (1988, 53) defines party institutionalization refers to a process whereby a party ceases to be a means to certain ends; the preservation and survival of the party becomes a goal and is "valuable in and of itself". This "value infusion" dimension is also shared by Gunther and Hopkin (2002) and Selznick (1957).

> H1: Party institutionalization entails the consolidation of incentive system - the routinization of elite recruitment, infusion of organizational values and loyalty.

The incentive system in a party is complex as it could range from private incentives such as material rewards of patronage to the satisfaction of being involved in collective affairs. As an initial test of the effect of party institutionalization on hegemonic party survival, my paper focuses on the routinization of elite recruitment as a form of selective incentives.[15] Recruitment is one of Panebianco's "zones of uncertainty" that threatens organizational survival as the control over who can and cannot join the party and the rules of career advancement are fundamental trump cards of organizational power and stability (1988, 33)[16]. Based on party publications and published documents on the rules governing the KMT's elite recruitment of party chairman, central standing committee (CSC) and central committee (CC), my paper will assess the extent of routinization of elite recruitment in continuous terms. [17] This means that if there are formal (party charters) and informal rules (patronage network), established guidelines (education qualifications, seniority or ethnicity) in the selection of candidates for top leadership positions, and these rules and procedures are accepted without contestation by a large majority of party members, then, elite recruitment is considered well-institutionalized. Conversely, if these rules are constantly circumvented or manipulated to suit the short term needs of one individual or groups of social class; or challenged by a large majority of party members, then, elite recruitment is deemed weakly-institutionalized.

This paper posits that strong routinization of elite recruitment encourages elite unity. And weak routinization of elite recruitment leads to factionalism and elite disunity. The logic is this: when the rules and procedures guiding party recruitment and career paths are established and predictable, they represent a form of guarantee such that an disadvantaged candidate can appeal to the rule or established norm to defend themselves from the whims and fancies of a particular leader or dominant coalition. The guarantee of appeal and the possibility of punishment for violating party rules are likely to constraint opportunism or candidates to "parachute" from outside the party. In this way, institutionalized elite recruitment acts as a form of a power-sharing arrangement between elites that encourage stability of commitment.

Clear career paths encourage elite unity, as ambitious "careerists" know that if they stick around long enough, they may have a chance at the top party positions. Recognizing the value of co-operation – the awareness that incentives are made available by collective action with other party members – discourage exit and encourage loyalty (Gunther and Hopkins 2002, 197). Established procedures and criteria for elite recruitment encourage elite compliance, as playing by the rules increases a careerist's future prospects of ascension to top party leadership position. As Barber says, "Party allegiance is motivated in party by vague hopes that sometime in future, an administrative decision, a local bill

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[15] As Levitsky (1998, 85) suggests, there is less risk of tautology if we adopt the routinization definition as opposed to "value infusion" definition as the outcome to be explained (cohesion) is not treated as an aspect of institutionalization.

[16] See Panebianco for the six "zones of uncertainty" or resources of organizational power that might disrupt the internal balance of power in a party (1988, 34-36).

[17] See Meleshevich (2007, 11-18) for summary of the various ways to measure institutionalization.

passed – the leadership would remember his yeoman service in the party ranks" (1966, 350). It encourages co-operative relations as it insures the careerist of an equal chance to control and distribute incentives to their followers in future.

If the recruitment procedures and criteria are constantly modified or manipulated to benefit certain individual or group of individuals, the party's opportunity structure becomes unpredictable. Without a strong "centre" in the party, a plurality of groups or factions[18] will emerge to fight over "who gets in or not" in the party's higher echelon. The lack of clear criteria to guide the nomination and selection of candidates opens up space for speculations and "procedural battles" (clashes between groups adhering to different interpretations of the same rule) over who gets the plump jobs. Constant "procedural battles" between elites lead to factionalism, and may be destabilizing (Panebianco 1988, 39). These considerations are summarized as follows:

> H2: Strong routinization of elite recruitment encourages elite unity. Conversely, weak institutionalized elite recruitment fosters power struggles and factionalism.

However, incentive alone is insufficient. If a party depends solely on incentive system or quid pro quo exchange of party positions, party cohesion may soon be disrupted. Because, at any one time, there are far too few desirable positions available for distribution for the number of ambitious careerists (Barber 1966, 350). Where incentives are scarce, elites may withdraw from participation and endanger the survival of the party. However, the possibility of "exit" depends on the availability of options outside the party and effectiveness of "voice" within the party[19] (Hirschman 1970, 80). For party elites, exit options refer to availability of other viable parties that can offer similar career prospects or incentives. If dissatisfied party elite has limited exit options, then, it is likely that he would stay than leave the party. For example, in closed regimes, there is no exit option. Party defection is impossible as there is no equivalent alternative. The prospect of setting a new party entails high cost, as opposition party leaders face persecution from the ruling regime that prohibits opposition parties[20]. In closed regimes where party loyalty is highly regarded and decisions made by senior party bodies are binding for lower ranking members, negative sanctions act as enforcement mechanism to ensure compliance.

Like closed regimes, hegemonic parties may also rely on negative sanction to maintain elite unity. While pluralist parties in democracies have party "whips" that allow party leaders to deal with potential rebels; hegemonic parties rely on sanctions such as peer pressure; meetings with senior party leaders; serious warnings; membership suspensions; termination of party rights and expulsions as disciplinary measures. The use or threat of negative sanction deters deviant behaviour and encourages cohesion. Negative sanctions

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[18] Factions exist to voice claims within the party. These claims may be aimed at personalities or policies. Panebianco distinguishes factions (organized groups) from tendencies (loosely organized groups) argues that factionalism carries the danger the indiscipline and incoherence (1988, 38-9).

[19] Following Gunther and Hopkin, I distinguish between "voice" as formal organizational influence (role in party decision-making) and "nosier" version of voice as protest against the party leadership (2002, 198).

[20] This explains why closed regimes manifest high party cohesion, as dissatisfied elites are more likely to remain and co-operate.

are most effective when party members fear reprisals, ostracism or hopes for favour in future (Barber 1966, 354). As Ozbudun observes, "The only parties which have not adopted disciplinary measures are also the least cohesive ones" (1970, 331). The role of negative sanction on party cohesion may be hypothesized as follows:

H3: Besides incentives, party discipline is necessary to enforce party cohesion.

Unlike closed regimes, hegemonic parties operate in semi-competitive electoral market[21]. The ruling elite affords the appearance of competitive politics but not in substance. Hence, while elite has voice and exit options, they are limited as opposition parties are minor players and are unlikely to offer similar career prospects or incentives as the hegemonic party. Given this consideration, dissatisfied elite is likely to remain in the party and exercise his "voice" to influence party policy. The availability of voice in hegemonic parties depends on the party's organizational structure and the elite's status or bargaining power[22]. While open rebellion is unacceptable, other forms of protests may take the form of factions (strongly organized groups) or tendencies (weakly organized groups) (Panebianco 1988, 38). Factionalism signifies a form of "voice" in preference to exit in hegemonic parties, and may be destablizing. Voice thus precedes exit, and allows the party a chance to rectify its poor performance (Hirschman 1970, 82-4).

If the party fails to meet the factional demands then, factionalism may lead to splits. The option of "exit" is the last resort as it entails high costs. As Hirschman suggests, in each political party, there is an "optimal mix" of voice and exit options. When there is sufficient opportunity for voice to affect party policy, the exit of dissatisfied elites will be prevented; elite unity will be maintained (1970, 74). In sum, a successful hegemonic party must provide an "optimal mix" of incentive and sanction, voice and exit options to maintain party cohesion. The ability to maintain an "optimal mix" depends on the party's internal organizational structure and its party building strategy to adapt to internal and external pressures. All these suggest that a party's organizational structure has important implications for the political outcomes and payoffs to party elites and members in return for their participation. These observations lead to the following final hypothesis.

H4: The co-operative framework between elites depends the "optimal mix" of incentive and sanction and the availability of voice and exit options. This optimal mix depends on the party's organizational structure and its party building strategy in respond to internal and external pressures.

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[21] Hegemonic party permit other parties to exist, but only as second-class, licensed parties. Opposition parties are not permitted to compete with the hegemonic party in antagonistic terms nor on equal terms. An alternation of power is not an option. For example, Sartori emphasized the asymmetry in power between the hegemonic party and its "satellites." A hegemonic party regime is viewed as a two-level system in which one party tolerates and discretionally allocates a fraction of its power to subordinate political groups. (Sartori 1976, 230; Schedler 2006).

[22] As Gunther and Hopkins (2002, 199) observe, "the extent to which structured opportunities for voice are available can have a dramatic effect on the loyalty of party members (especially elites) with exit options. Party models become much more than abstract questions of organizational forms: they can determine the extent to which different groups of party members are willing to subordinate their individual interests to the collective authority of the organization."

Party Origins of The KMT

As most scholars agree, origins of strong parties are usually found in the struggles that brought them to power (Dogan and Higley 1998; LaPalombara and Weiner 1966). For example, Panebianco (1988, 50) argues that a party's organizational characteristics depend more upon its history, the origins of its organization and its consolidation, than any other factor. Likewise, my paper posits that the KMT's early struggles and humiliating defeat in mainland China influenced its adoption of quasi-Leninist organization structure; leadership-centred decision-making style and ideological orientation (Interview with Shaui[23], 13 Nov 2007; Tien 1989, 67). The KMT began as an "externally created party"[24] as it was formed by Sun-Yat Sen and a group of Chinese in-exile in 1912 in opposition to the Qing dynasty and later, against Yuan Shi-kai's government. Embattled by civil war against warlords, the battle fatigued KMT was provided a lifeline only after the Communist government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) extended military, economic aid and training at a critical time in the early 1920s.[25] The Soviet aid that the KMT received allowed the party to conduct its first major re-organization, transforming it into a Leninist-style party and "democratic centralism" was adopted as the primary decision-making principle. This meant that the party was centrally control as decisions flowed from one central leader from the Central Committee downwards, all the way down to the party cell (Dickson 1996, 45). Alongside with the extensive organizational changes, Sun also introduced the Three Principles of the People (San-Min-Chi-I) as the official ideology of the party – a *defacto* form of *"collective incentive"* to build loyalty towards the KMT.

After the party's pre-1949 civil war experiences against the warlords and its humiliating loss of the mainland to the Chinese Communists, the KMT under Chiang Kai-shek (CKS) was committed to the goal of liberating the Chinese mainland from Communist control[26]. Consisting mainly of mainlanders, the KMT only had a total of 34,382 members in 1949, when it first moved to Taiwan. Then, the KMT was perceived as an "outsider" party by the indigenous Taiwanese. To address the failings and loss of mainland China, CKS commissioned a Party Reconstruction Committee on 5 August 1950 to transform the organizational structure and political socialization processes of all party members[27]. Obsessed with unifying China under the KMT's rule, the party underwent a second major re-organization in 1950 to 1952. It was during these two crucial years that the KMT strengthened its party organization, eliminated all its divisive factions; created a network of party organizations in the government and military; a cadre system, a cadre school and made the cell the basic work and training unit of the party in Leninist style. Besides, CKS

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[23] Shaui Hua-min is a KMT Legislator from the Legislator Yuan and a former general of the ROC Armed Forces, Armour Brigade. Shao's father was also a general with the ROC Armed Forces who served under CKS in mainland China.

[24] Duverger (1959) distinguishes between internally created parties (by pre-existing parliamentary elites) and externally created parties (by non-political groups and associations).

[25] The Soviets provided 300,000 roubles and 40 Soviet officers as instructors and advisors, and the curriculum include political indoctrination as well as military training. See Long (1999, 41-45) for the political background leading up to the KMT's first re-organization efforts in 1924.

[26] See Roy (2002) for the political history of the KMT.

[27] See 7th Plenum of the KMT Central Executive Committee Party Report, 1952.

also asserted civilian control over the military by disbanding the warlord or province-based military units and established rotation and fixed tenure for command (Dickson 1997, 60). To prevent coups, the military enlisted indigenous Taiwanese as soldiers; and Chinese mainlanders in the officer corps[28]. The preference to keep minority mainlanders in key political or official positions excluded majority Taiwanese from sensitive postings not only in the military but also in the party and the state bureaucracies[29]. As Panebianco (1988, 4) reminds us, a principal cause of intra-party conflicts lies in the party's internal system of inequalities. The exclusionary practice of discriminating Taiwanese from holding high-level political positions was to become a source of antagonism between the two ethnic sub-groups in and outside the party for many years to come[30].

Organizational Structure of the KMT

Presently, the KMT, which celebrated its centennial on November 24, 1994, is the largest party in Taiwan with an approximately 1.05 million members. Organizationally, the KMT's National Congress is of highest authority and has the power to amend the party charter, determine the party platform and other important resolutions, and elect the party chairman and 210 Central Committee (CC) members. The National Congress approves the vice chairmen and members of the Central Advisory Council, all of whom are nominated by the party chairman. The Central Standing Committee (CSC), represents the Central Committee when it is not in session, is the most influential KMT organization. The organizations under the secretary-general include the Policy Committee, National Research Institute, Culture and Communications Affairs Committee, and Organization and Development Committee.[31]

Structured like a Leninist party, the KMT party organization is highly centralized with a hierarchy of party apparatus dispersed throughout the state-structure and society, with its grass roots organizations based on network of cells. Party membership was open to those who pledge to carry out party decisions, participate in party's activities and pay membership dues regularly. The party has a pyramidal structure that parallels the government hierarchy. At the top of the party, an elected National Congress served as the supreme organ, which discharged its functions between sessions through the CSC. Its penetrative capacity is seen in its formation of party groups in social organizations where it exerts its influence and facilitates its policies. Internally, control committees were responsible for enforcing discipline amongst the rank and files at all levels of the party (Tai, 1970, 409).

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[28] The terms Taiwanese and mainlander are used to distinguish the Chinese who came to Taiwan before or after 1945.

[29] One survey conducted in 1967 showed that mainlanders held 82 percent of the positions in the military, police and national security agencies, and 34 percent in public administration and the professions (Long 1991, 63).

[30] The unequal political power between the two ethnic sub-groups culminated into a series of bloody riots on 28 February 1947 (t "228 Incident"). See Wang (2004) and Wu (1995) for more analysis.

[31] Refer to KMT party website for more details, available at http://www.kmt.org.tw/.

Yet, while the KMT adopted a Leninist party structure, it was ideologically anti-communist. First, San Min Chu I as a political ideology was not elaborate or organized; and did not play an overwhelming role in the everyday lives of the people. As Tsang notes, "the KMT was rebuilt on the foundation of Confucianism" (1999, 4). Second, there seems to be few indicators or ideological justification for the KMT to completely control all aspects of a person's life like a totalitarian state. Scholars argue that the KMT was unable to establish the complete party discipline and degree of social control as the Chinese Communist Party as it had expanded too rapidly (Tsang 1999, 5; Hsu 1993, 3). Third, the KMT also assumed no direct involvement of the government in the economy, unlike the communist party that monopolizes the economy. The KMT economic policy based on the "Four-Year Plan" may be interpreted as Marxist-Leninist. But in reality, the KMT elite promoted a "planned free economy" rather than a "command economy" (Tsang 6). The private sector remained dominated by export-oriented, small and medium enterprises (Chu 2002, 197) [32]. Moreover, the KMT's early party elites were mostly from merchant, gentry or landlord families; not natural allies of proletarian revolutionaries (Long 1991, 44). All these factors suggest the KMT was a quasi-Leninist party organization – in form but not in substance.

The following sections will now compare the changes in the elite recruitment, best understood through the study of the selection of party chairman, CC and CSC under the under CCK and LTH's party leadership, and its effects on intra-party cohesion.

Role and Selection of Party Chairman

In the KMT, the chairman [33] has supreme authority over most policy matters and personnel appointments; including the selection of major members into the Central Standing Committee (CSC) and Central Committee (CC). He appoints all senior party officials, including the secretary general of the CSC. The chairman also runs the party bureaucracy, however, the extent of his accountability to the Congress is unclear. The party's vertical political structure allows the chairman to wield enormous power with few institutional constraints (Tien 1989, 73). As Chu observes, while power is theoretically supposed to rise from the party base, in reality, control still flows downwards from the chairman to the party hierarchy (2001, 283). Even to date, the KMT Chairman wields enormous power as he has an annual budget of NT$7billion (US $220mil) at his disposal.

CCK's Chairmanship (1975-1988). CCK was CKS's anointed successor and it was signalled to the party from an early stage. CCK was placed in many important positions in the defence and security department in the government and became a CSC member in the party in 1957. By 1960s, CCK was already assuming a lot of daily administration and running of the KMT affairs (Hsu 1993, 13). CCK was picked not only because he was CKS's son but also because of his quiet determination and willingness to be under CKS's

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[32] See Cheng and Chu (2002) for a detailed analysis of the state-business relationship in Taiwan since 1945.
[33] Sun created the position of "Tsung Li" (Director General and later renamed as "Tsung tsai" in 1938) in 1914 with unlimited power. The instituted office of "*Tsung Li*" – stipulated that all party members should follow the direction of "*Tsung Li*", who as the chairman of both the National Congress and CEC, had the right to make final decisions on matter brought before the body (Tai 1970, 408).

shadow[34] (Interview with Shaui, 20 Nov 2007). The transition of power from CKS to CCK was gradual and widely accepted as a natural state of affairs by the cadre members.[35] Consequently, CCK's nomination of party chairmanship in 1975 after CKS's death came as no surprise.

The KMT during CCK's rule may be what Panebianco considers a "situational charismatic"[36] party as the party chairman was the authorized interpreter of the party's policy and that ensures him great control over the organization (1988, 52). On a regime level, CCK's era was closed to being personalistic[37], as the major decisions concerning access to office and fruits of office depended largely on the discretion of the leader. As Tien (1989, 75) agreed, "to ensure the regime's political stability, the ruling political elite, particularly the mainlanders, have relied heavily on the charisma of Chiang Kai-shek and Chiang Ching-Kuo to provide legitimacy." Elite recruitment assumed a centripetal movement as the locus of power is highly centralized. As Huang (1996. 122) notes, "Neither Chiang Kai-shek nor Chiang Ching-kuo permitted challenges to their authority within the KMT, and although both were known to consult with close advisers, both made almost all important decisions within the party alone." The lack of transparency or formality in the procedures for electing party chairmanship during CCK's rule suggests that access to top leadership position was weakly institutionalized. In this case, the absence of institutionalization of elite recruitment still led to cohesion as leadership substituted institutions in the early formative years (Panebianco 1988, 52).

Party cohesion is assured by the fact that those who benefit from the leader's support and faith have access to the leader's "inner circle". Personalist charisma replaces institution that provides the gel for elites to stick together. Like CKS, CCK was a strongman who eliminated factionalism and ensured a strong centre in the party[38]. After CCK assumed chairmanship, factionalism[39] had limited space to play itself out. Factionalism was eradicated as CCK was against any form of factionalism or cliques (Interview with Shaui 20 Nov 2007 and Yu, 28 Nov 2007)[40]. At the local level, factions were deliberately

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[34] There were other contenders to succeed CKS. For example, General Chiang Wei-kuo, the adoptive son of CKS. CKS was said to have put CCK and CWK through a series of tests to assess their leadership ability. Eventually, CWK's involvement in a coup disqualified his candidacy (Winckler 1988, 159).

[35] To avoid accusations of nepotism, CCK did not assume presidency immediately after CKS's passing. Instead, Yen Chia-kan was appointed as a seat-warmer president for three years from 1975 to 1978.

[36] Panebianco differentiates "situational charismatic" from purely charismatic or personalistic party where the party has no autonomous existence apart from its leader and is entirely at his mercy. In situational charismatic party, other actors maintain a certain degree of control over the organization (1988, 52).

[37] A personalist regime is dominated by a leader with near monopoly over policy and personnel decisions despite the existence of a support party (Geddes 2003, 53).

[38] A controversial article in 1982, entitled "Who will be Chiang Ching-kuo's successor?" described CCK as the "centre of Taiwan's stability". *Tsung Heng* July 1982, 34-53.

[39] There are two types of factions in Taiwan, central and local. Here, I am only concerned with factions at the central or legislative level. For an in-depth analysis of local factionalism on the KMT's electoral strategy, see Bosco (1994); Tien (1986, 149-150) and Kuo (1995).

[40] There were different factions or "warlords" that accompanied CKS from China that CCK had to deal with. However, with the help of his father, CCK purged his rivals such as Wu Guo Chen, Army Commander General Sun- Li-Jen and Chen Cheng and other KMT old guards to consolidate his power. By 1965, factionalism petered out, not to resurface again until mid 1980s (Cheng and Chou 2000, 42-66). With the death of Chen Cheng in 1965, the estimated 165 members that belonged to the powerful United Caucus

insulated from central politics and anyone breaching was purged as in the Lei Chen[41] incident in 1961. Legally, the suspension of national elections was a great deterrent for local elites to align with factions at the national level. Factions from three national bodies also could not coalesce because of turf wars. Factional squabbles during this time were confined to deliberation and interpellation. Balance was maintained through the assignment of committee chairmanships and subcommittee convenorships. Besides, noncompliant members also faced excommunication and expulsion from party. The level of party discipline from 1972 to 2000 will be discussed later.

LTH's Chairmanship (1988-2000). The power of the KMT chairman was strong until Lee Teng-hui (LTH) succeeded CCK after his death on 13 January 1988. Unlike CKS, CCK did not officially designate a successor nor did he groom anyone overtly, despite his illness (Chang 1984, 426). As his illness deteriorated, the candidates for succession were left to speculations.[42] When CCK announced Lee as his running mate for the presidential election on 15 Feb 1984, it came as a surprise to many, as he was not one of the speculated potential candidates. As a first Vice-President of Taiwanese background with short political career, party cadres saw Lee as a seat warmer without tangible power base[43]. As CCK was adverse to ambitious careerists, Lee's appointment was perhaps "safe" bet as he was viewed as a "compliant and harmless" technocrat (Interview with Chang, 26 Sep 2007). Without clear guidelines or criteria for leadership succession, CCK's death left the KMT without a party chairman for six months. And consequently, Lee's nomination as party chairman in the 13th Party Congress from 7 to 13 July 1988 was mired in controversy. It was only after much bickering that the CSC decided to endorse Lee and rejected calls to elect a Mainlander as vice-Chairman or to elect the Chairman based on secret ballot (Domes 1989, 347). Like previous procedures, the delegates of the National Congress endorsed Lee's chairmanship by standing and applauding in open acclamation.[44] To address the institutional void in leadership succession, a procedural revision was later endorsed during the 13th Party Congress that revised Article 23 of the Party Charter, adding the clause that, "if the post of chairman becomes vacant, the Central Committee will hold a plenary session to elect an acting chairman to officiate the next Party Chairman"[45].

The KMT under Lee's early chairmanship from 1988 to 1993 saw intense power struggles and leadership reshuffles (Tien and Chu 1993, 13-15). As a result of Lee's lack of seniority and Taiwanese background, he failed to forge consensus amongst the party elites (Wu 1995, 103). Efforts from the party's old guards, mainly mainlander Chinese

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Clique declined substantially. Besides, the CC Clique, claiming a total membership of 66 members also dwindled with time (Winkler 1988, 156).

[41] A former close aide of CKS, Lei Chen was sentenced by a military court to 10 years for his criticisms of KMT and attempts to set up a political party amongst the Taiwanese. His magazine was consequently banned (Tsang 1999, 10).

[42] Speculators identified General Wang Sheng and Premier Sun Yun-suan as potential candidates (Chang 1984, 438). Also see *Tsung Heng*, July 1982, 34-53. *Tsung Heng* (The Encounter) was later suspended from publication by the government for broaching on issues of leadership succession.

[43] Refer to Lin and Tedards (2003, 28-30) for the initial power struggles within the KMT.

[44] See "President Li unlikely to win party leadership." *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 28 Jan 1988. It was also reported some members protested to Lee's election by sitting down. *China Times*, 8 July 1988.

[45] "The Charter of The KMT." *China Post*, 12 July 1988.

worked to sideline Lee and factionalism flourished. Unlike Chiang's era, the KMT top echelon began to split. Notably, three factions emerged: "Mainstream" faction led by LTH; "Non-mainstream" led by party old guards and Wisdom Coalition faction led by legislators who supported the mainstream faction (Lin and Tedards 2003, 28-9). Policy decisions were fought over bitterly by the different factions in the CSC. Some examples include the public spats over the election of an acting party chairman and issues of trade with the Soviet Union.[46] Significantly in 1989, Lee's failure to decide on the running mate for the presidential elections in March 1990 led to open conflicts.[47] Dissatisfied elites decided to "exit" and formed a Chinese New Party (NP) in August 1993. The defectors accused Lee of autocratic tendencies and for moving the party away from the party's founding goal – reunification with China. In 1999, the battle over presidential nomination tore the party apart again. When Lee nominated Lien Chan as KMT presidential candidate, James Soong, a charismatic, a former Lee supporter, defected (Clark 2001, 96). Having lost the nomination to the most powerful position, Soong left the party and ran as an independent in 2000 Presidential Elections. Soong's decision to exit resulted in major split votes and led to the KMT's loss in the presidential bid in 2000. Consequently, in September 2001, Lee, himself, was expelled from the KMT for splitting the party and backing the formation of the Taiwan Solidarity Union (TSU) party[48]. Please refer to the chart in the next page for a summary of the timeline of the different party re-organizations and party splits in the KMT.

Figure 1.1: Significant party developments in the KMT (1970s to 2005)
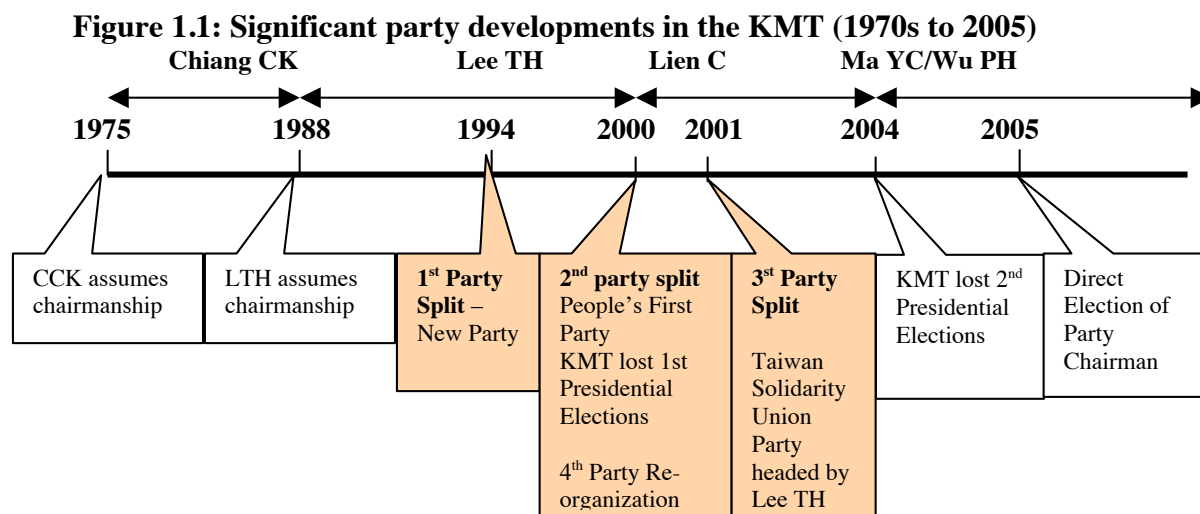
To mend the deep rifts in the KMT after the party's humiliating defeat in 2000, the KMT underwent massive party re-organization in 2000. The party charter was revised several times to institutionalize a more competitive and fairer process in the election of the KMT chairman. One of major reform efforts included the revision of the party charter in 2001, which allowed for a direct election of the party chairman by all due-paying party

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[46] *Xin Xin Wen*, *The Journalist*, 47: 9-13; 84: 12-15.
[47] See Wu (1995, 98); Lin and Tedards (27-30).
[48] "Taiwan's KMT expels former president." *BBC On-line*, 21 Sep 2001 and "KMT decides to strip Lee Teng-hui of party membership." *Kyodo Asian Political News*, Sept 24, 2001.

members. In 2001, Lien Chan[49], the sole candidate in the race, became the first popularly elected KMT party chairman to win 97 percent of votes cast by 530,000 party members. However, after Lien's failure to win the presidential bid the second time in 2004, he resigned as chairman. In 2005, KMT held its first competitive election for party chairmanship. Ma Ying-Jeou was popularly voted as party chairman with 72.4 per cent of vote, defeating his opponent, Wang Jin-pyng, the Speaker of Legislative Yuan by a 72% to 28% margin, a margin larger than anticipated by either camp.[50] Ma resigned from chairmanship after being indicted for corruption in Feb 2007[51]. Wu-Po Hsiung, another veteran KMT cadre member assumed the KMT chairmanship after winning 90% of votes cast, defeating KMT woman Legislator Hung Hsiu-chiu. Please refer to the Table 2.1 for a list of all the KMT chairmen and changes in the election methods since 1949 to date.

Table 1.1: Election of the KMT Party Chairman from 1949-2008

Name of Chairman	Home Province	Tenure	Reason for giving up Chairmanship	Election Method
Chiang Kai-shek	Mainlander	1938-1975	Death	Elected by the party congress in a one-man race (with the candidate being either the incumbent or his designated successor).
Chiang Ching-kuo	Mainlander	1975-1988	Death	
Lee Teng hui (Ph.d)	Taiwanese	1988-2000	Resigned and expelled	
Lien Chan (Ph.d)	Mainlander	2000-2001 (Acting CM) 24 Mar 2001 – 2005	Resigned, given the title of Honorary Chairman	The party charter revised and allowed direct election of party chairmen by all party members. (Lien was the sole candidate).
Ma Ying-Jeou (Ph.d)	Mainlander	2005-2007	Resigned because of corruption charges	Direct, competitive elections. All registered, due-paying KMT party members eligible to vote.
Wu Po-Hsiung	Taiwanese	2007-present		

Source: Compiled by author.

Recruitment into the Central Standing Committee and Central Committee

Organizationally, after the party chairman, the CSC is the top of the party's hierarchy and is a prestigious and powerful body that oversees and makes all the major decisions for the party. The CSC represents the CC when that body is not in session. The CSC is a small body (whose membership has changed from 10 from 1952 to a total of 35 in 1994, 35 by 1994 and 33 by 2005). From 7th to 13th Party Congress during CCK's rule, the party

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[49] Lien Chan is one of the richest men in Taiwan with a doctoral degree in Political Science from the University of Chicago. He was the only candidate running for chairman in 2001. *The KMT 16th Party Congress Report*, 2001, 20.

[50] "Hu Jintao congratulates Ma Ying-jeou, KMT's new leader." *Asia News*, 18 July 2005.

[51] Refer to *The KMT 17th Party Congress Report*.

chairman controlled the nomination and recruitment into the CSC and CC. Technically, the delegates of National Congress approve the CSC and CC nomination list by electing the candidates through block vote. But in reality, the delegates could only choose the CC members from a list provided by the chairman and rubberstamp the leader's decision accordingly. It was clear that there was centralization of decision-making control in the hands of a leader and weak institutionalized recruitment process during CCK's rule. Despite this, what was known is that education qualification was an important criterion for admission into CSC, as members held excellent education credentials.[52] Besides, military officers, party ideologues and heads of intelligence services appear to have priority for admission too.

Unlike the election for the party chairmanship, the nomination and selection systems for the CC and CSC were democratized after CCK's passing. As Domes (1989, 345) notes, the 13th Party Congress was significant as it was the first time in forty-three years that the delegates could elect the members of the CC through secret ballot. While the party chairman retained the right to nominate twice as many seats (180 candidates) in the CC, the delegates of the National Congress could recommended their own list of candidates (180 candidates) for all the seats, as along as each nomination has the joint signatures of two other members. On the basis of this double list of candidates, the delegates of the National Congress will elect the members of the CC by block vote. Comparatively, the method for electing CSC is less democratic than the CC. By 14th Party Congress, half of the seats were nominated by the leader while the other half were nominated by the joint signatures of the delegates (Huang 1995, 108-9). As for the CC, the delegates had more influence as they exercised limited vote instead of block vote.

Presently, the CSC of thirty-one members exercises final authority over all candidate nominations (county magistrates, city, National Assembly, Legislative Yuan, Provincial Assembly, and municipal councils). Since 2001, the elections into the CSC has been substantially democratized and taken on a more competitive and inclusive character. More efforts have been made to ensure adequate representation in the CSC from women, ethnic minority groups, youths, fisheries, labour and handicapped members. And to instil party discipline, the revised party charter since 2000 has also made provisions to bar those convicted of criminal or sexual offences from seeking nomination for public offices. The point of highlighting the selection and nomination process of the CSC and CC is to show the changing opportunity structures and rules and procedures guiding the route of advancement for "careerists" in the party in the last four decades. In the 1950s to late 1970s, the recruitment of elites has a centripetal movement as both Chiangs monopolize the appointment process. However, with the gradual revision of the party charter, institutions are put in placed to prevent any exclusion of social group based on ethnicity, class, occupation or gender. Please see Table 1.2 for a summary of the election methods of the CC and CSC.

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[52] See Tien (1989, 77-81) for more discussion on the education background of the CSC.

Table 1.2. Election Methods for the Central Committee and Central Standing Committee

Congress (Year)	Central Committee	Central Standing Committee
7th (1952) 8th (1957)* 9th (1963)* 10th (1969) 11th (1976) 130 12th (1981) 150	Twice as many candidates as seats, all nominated by leader and elected by block vote	Same number of candidates as seats, all nominated by leader and approved unanimously by delegates
13th (1988) 180	Twice as many candidates as seats, half nominated by leaders and half nominated by joint signature of delegates. Elected by block vote.	Twice as many candidates as seats, nominated by leader and elected by block vote
14th (1993) 210 15t (1998) 230	As above, but elected by limited vote.	Candidates for half the seats minus one nominated by leader and approved unanimously. For remaining seats, twice as many candidates as seats, half nominated by leader and half nominated by joint signature of delegates; elected by block vote.
16th (2000)	?	The new Party Charter stipulates that 40% of seats to be reserved for representatives from ethnic minorities, youth, fisheries, labour and women. New Charter also barred those convicted of criminal or sexual offences from seeking nomination for public offices. Party members who have been seriously disciplined or expelled cannot stand for election[53].
17th (2005)	?	First direct elections by party delegates.

Source: Data for 7th to 13th Party Congress from Huang (1995, 108). The rest are compiled by author from various KMT Party Reports and newspaper sources.

Party Discipline (1952 – 1998)

A study of party disciplinary cases in the KMT from 1952 to 1995 shows that party discipline was strictly enforced during CCK's period of rule. Please refer to the Table 1.3 and Figure 1.2 in the following pages. As Ozbudun reminds us, the parties that do not adopt disciplinary measures are also the least cohesive (1970, 331). The high number of disciplinary cases during CCK's rule indicates that party loyalty was highly regarded and strictly enforced (see Table 1.2). The range of disciplinary actions that the KMT used included warnings, suspension of membership rights and expulsions. Like most Leninist parties, the threat of expulsion was a potent weapon of party discipline. As Micaud says "Of all the ties that attach a man to the party…perhaps the strongest is a negative one, the fear of being rejected…Members are afraid to lose friends, to be outcasts and considered traitors to the cause" (1952, 339-340). The threat of expulsion and fear of being ostracised are forms of negative constraints against rogue behavior.

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[53] The inclusion of Article 43 in the Party Charter was reportedly revised to prevent James Soong, a defector from the KMT from re-joining the party to run for KMT chairmanship (Ke 2004, 133).

As seen from Table 1.3, there were comparatively more disciplinary cases during CCK's chairmanship than LTH's. Indeed, the average number of total disciplinary cases over a period of nine years (1977-1986) was 713 and the average number of expulsion was 84.

However, the number disciplinary cases dropped by more than 50 percent after Lee assumed chairmanship. For a period of seven years under Lee, the average number of total disciplinary cases went down to 305 and the average number of expulsion was only 16. As earlier discussed, the first three years after Lee took power, the party witnessed the most intense intra-party infightings and public opposition to his leadership. Factionalism was tolerated without checks. The rise of mainstream and non-mainstream factions and the formation of the Wisdom Club, the New Alliance/Chinese New Party and The Chinese Democratic Reformers Alliance (CDRA) and their factional disputes did not help their electoral performance in the National Assembly and Legislature Elections. The lack of enforcement mechanism to reign in the dissatisfied elites contributed to party disunity and incoherence. It may be argued that Lee's lax attitude towards party discipline could have contributed to the first party split in 1994, which led to a group of both old guards and young urban professionals to form the NP, who rebelled against Lee's leadership.

Table 1.3: Reasons and Punishment for Violating Party Discipline in 1952-1995

Party Chairman	Year	Expulsions	Total cases*
Chiang Kai-shek	1950-2	N.a.	1040
	1962	293	1156
	1976	187	537
Chiang Ching-kuo	1977	173	946
	1978	143	1037
	1979	73	614
	1980	91	469
	1981	82	362
	1982	79	739
	1983	144	516
	1984	86	1275
	1985	50	601
	1986	57	1,149
	Average	**83.8**	**713.1**
Lee Teng-hui	1988	33	375
	1989	33	267
	1991	5	86
	1992	14	212
	1993	17	92
	1994	4	822
	1995	9	282
	Average	**16.4**	**305.1**

*Includes expulsions, suspensions, warnings and serious warnings.

Sources: Annual Record of the Work of the KMT; KMT Central Committee Reports, Party History Commission, KMT Party Discipline Journals; various years. Data for 1950-2 are from Lin (1988, 81)

Figure 1.2. Trend Analysis of Disciplinary Cases in the KMT (1952 - 1998)
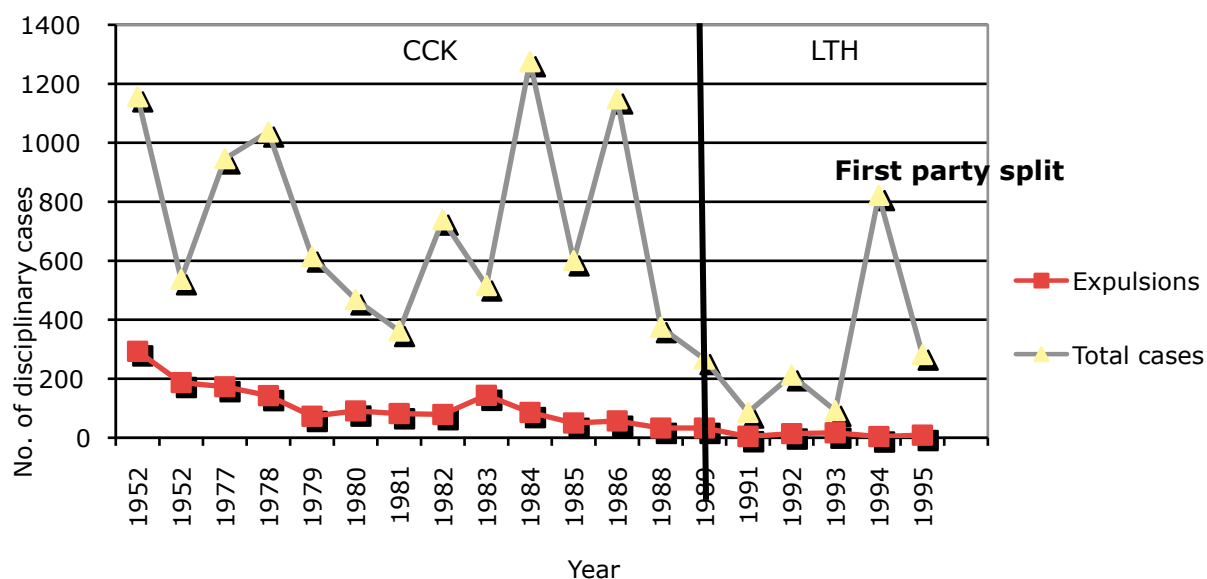
Conclusion

Mobilizing Panebianco's theory of party organization and Hirschman's work of "exit, voice and loyalty", my paper has attempted to identify the key mechanisms and processes that encourage intra-party co-operation. Specifically, this paper has focused on elite recruitment and party discipline – two key aspects of party organization to show how they affect elite co-operative behaviour. Party organization shapes the way power is held and exercised. It shapes the opportunity structure for access to top party positions and control of deviant behaviour; and for "voice" and "exit" options. This paper has compared how the KMT responded to the sudden departure of its strongman leader and defection of faction leaders in situations where incentives become scarce. And what the KMT case suggests is that institution building is critical for regime resilience. Without clear guidelines and procedures to guide access to top leadership positions, a party is prone to factionalism and instability. With the passing of CCK, decision-making authority in the KMT has gradually been transferred from the leader to the party. The "routinization of charisma" phenomenon indicates that the KMT is working towards a stronger party institutionalization as leadership succession is less based on the informal and ad-hoc decisions of one person or particular group. Access to top leadership positions is subject to more competitive electoral processes within the constraints of the party charter. A successful party must provide an optimal mix of incentive and sanction, voice and exit options to maintain cohesion. When incentives fail to induce compliant behaviour, sanction is needed to enforce cohesion. Since the KMT's humiliating defeat in 2000 presidential elections, it has made serious efforts to address its institutional weaknesses in elite recruitment and party discipline. With more than one million card-carrying members and increased efforts in party institutionalization, we could expect the KMT to rise from its fall, and remain a dominant and stable force in Taiwan for many years to come.

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