The DPP was successful in attracting an important number of votes in the 1990s, during the first rounds of multiparty elections in Taiwan. Those DPP candidates who campaigned in favor of the country’s independence and sovereignty were the most successful ones: “In 1989, eight members of the New Tide Faction joined together to form the pro-independence New National Alliance to contest seats in the December legislative election. All eight were elected, a stunning accomplishment” (Rigger 2001, 124). The party was successful in “stealing” votes from the dominant KMT: in 1991 the DPP obtained 23.9 percent of the vote for the National Assembly elections, and by 1996 this percentage had increased to 29.8 (data in Taiwan-Communiqué 1996). Following the logic of the theory of programmatic capacity, I end this section noting that in the 1990s the KMT adopted many of the policies advocated by the DPP:

By the mid-1990s, all of the concrete items on the DPP’s reform agenda had been achieved, and the party was forced to find new issues to attract members and voters. The KMT has tended to co-opt DPP issue positions that prove popular with voters, including domestic policy proposals such as national health care and foreign policy initiatives such as the U[N]ited N[ations] bid. (Rigger 2001, 151; emphasis added)

**Turkey’s Democrat Party**

Mustafa Kemal founded the Republican People’s Party (RPP) in 1923, an organization that would dominate Turkish politics for a quarter of a century. The RPP was, like the PRI in Mexico, a conglomerate of different political groups, including the urban middle class, the state bureaucracy, landowners, and army officers (Ahmad 1977, 1–2). However, unlike the Mexican dominant party, the RPP was never able to develop a structure capable of effectively fostering elite collective action or incorporating the population—via corporatist arrangements—into the party organization. The reason for this was that, contrary to what Calles did in Mexico in 1929, Kemal “felt little need to develop the party organization. The [RPP] leaders did not devote considerable energy to opening up branches across the country. . . . Throughout the 1920s, the