

# INAUGURAL ADDRESSES

by ROC presidents since 1996

【中華民國總統就職演說全文】

Speeches by democratically elected ROC heads of states

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A **WONDERFUL TAIWAN FORUM** publication

Compiled by Tilman Aretz

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# Inaugural addresses by ROC presidents since 1996



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## ■ OVERVIEW

Ninth term ROC president (*Zhonghua minguo dijiuren zongtong* 中華民國第九任總統)

Lee Teng-hui 李登輝 [*Li Denghui*] (1923-2020, Taiwan), party affiliation during presidential term: Chinese Nationalist Party/Kuomintang (*Zhongguo guomindang* 中國國民黨/*guomindang* 國民黨, abbrev. KMT)

1996 (May 20), inaugural address—English translation ‘Manage the Great Taiwan, Nurture a New Chinese Culture’; Chinese original *jingying da Taiwan, jianli xin zhongyuan* 《經營大台灣，建立新中原》

Tenth term ROC president (*Zhonghua minguo dishiren zongtong* 中華民國第十任總統)

Chen Shui-bian 陳水扁 (b. 1950, Taiwan), party affiliation during presidential term: Democratic Progressive Party (*minzhu jinbudang* 民主進步黨/*minjindang* 民進黨, abbrev. DPP)

2000 (May 20), inaugural address—English translation ‘Taiwan Stands Up: Toward the Dawn of a Rising Era’; Chinese original *Taiwan zhanqilai—yingjie xiangshang tishengde xin shidai* 《台灣站起來——迎接向上提升的新時代》 => the term ROC (*Zhonghua minguo* 中華民國) was mentioned nine times. in the Chinese original

Eleventh term ROC president (*Zhonghua minguo dishiyiren zongtong* 中華民國第十一任總統)

Chen Shui-bian (second consecutive term), party affiliation during presidential term: DPP

2004 (May 20), inaugural address—English translation ‘Paving the Way for a Sustainable Taiwan’; Chinese original *wei yongxu Taiwan dianji* 《為永續台灣奠基》 => the term ROC mentioned nine times. in the Chinese original

Twelfth term ROC president (*Zhonghua minguo dishierren zongtong* 中華民國第十二任總統)

Ma Ying-jeou 馬英九 [*Ma Yingjiu*] (b. 1950, Hong Kong/Hunan), party affiliation during presidential term: KMT

2008 (May 20), inaugural address—English translation ‘Taiwan’s Renaissance’; Chinese original *renmin fenqi, Taiwan xinsheng* 《人民奮起，台灣新生》

Thirteenth term ROC president (*Zhonghua minguo dishisanren zongtong* 中華民國第十三任總統)

Ma Ying-jeou (second consecutive term), party affiliation during presidential term: KMT

2012 (May 20), inaugural address—English translation ‘Upholding Ideals, Working Together for Reform and Creating Greater Well-being for Taiwan’; Chinese original *jianzhi lixiang, xishou gaige, daqao xingfu Taiwan* 《堅持理想、攜手改革、打造幸福臺灣》

Fourteenth term ROC president (*Zhonghua minguo dishisiren zongtong* 中華民國第十四任總統)

Tsai Ing-wen 蔡英文 [*Cai Yingwen*] (b. 1956, Taiwan), party affiliation during presidential term: DPP

2016 (May 20), inaugural address—English translation ‘N/A’; Chinese original *dailing Taiwan yiqi wancheng xinshidai* 《帶領台灣一起完成新時代》

Fifteenth term ROC president (*Zhonghua minguo dishiwuren zongtong* 中華民國第十五任總統)

Tsai Ing-wen (second consecutive term), party affiliation during presidential term: DPP

2020 (May 20), inaugural address—English translation ‘N/A’; Chinese original N/A

Sixteenth term ROC president (*Zhonghua minguo dishiliuren zongtong* 中華民國第十六任總統)

Lai Ching-te 賴清德 [*Lai Qingde*] (b. 1959, Taiwan), party affiliation during presidential term: DPP

2024 (May 20), inaugural address—English translation ‘Building a democratic, peaceful, and prosperous new Taiwan’;

Chinese original *dazao minzhu heping fanrongde xin Taiwan* 《打造民主和平繁榮的新台灣》

## ■ SPEECH STATISTICS

### Number of words in Chinese original/English translation

	<i>Chinese original</i>	<i>English translation</i>	<i>Mention of ‘ROC’</i>	<i>Mention of ‘Taiwan’</i>
Lee 1996	4,355 words	2,853 words	10 times	13 times
Chen 2000	5,319 words	3,451 words	9 times	41 times
Chen 2004	5,664 words	4,369 words	9 times	48 times
Ma 2008	3,685 words	2,176 words	9 times	49 times
Ma 2012	5,933 words	4,445 words	12 times	42 times
Tsai 2016	5,982 words	3,656 words	5 times	41 times
Tsai 2020	5,897 words	3,771 words	5 times	50 times
Lai 2024	5,277 words	3,891 words	12 times	88 times

The number of times the terms ‘ROC’ (*Zhonghua minguo* 中華民國) and ‘Taiwan’ (台灣/臺灣) were mentioned refers to the Chinese original only, not to the English translation.



## ■ 1996—LEE TENG-HUI

Your Majesty, Your Excellencies, Distinguished Guests, My Fellow Countrymen, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Today we are assembled here to jubilantly and solemnly celebrate the inauguration of the President and the Vice President before all our compatriots. This gathering marks not only the commencement of the ninth-term Presidency and Vice Presidency, but also a fresh beginning for the future of the country and the people.

Today, the 21.3 million people in this country formally march into the new era of “popular sovereignty.”

Today, the Chinese people enter a new frontier full of hope.

Today, we in Taiwan firmly tell the world, with great pride and self-confidence:

—We now stand on the apex of democratic reform and will remain there resolutely.

—We have proved eloquently that the Chinese are capable of practicing democracy.

—We have effectively expanded the influence of the international democratic camp and made significant contributions to the cause of freedom and democracy.

Therefore, this gathering of today does not celebrate the victory of any candidate, or any political party for that matter. It honors a triumph of democracy for the 21.3 million people. It salutes the confirmation of freedom and dignity—the most fundamental human values—in the Taiwan, Penghu, Kinmen and Matsu area.

My fellow countrymen: The doors have opened to full democracy, with all its vigor in full swing. Today, most deserving of a salute are the people of the Republic of China:

—A salute to them for being so resolute and decisive when it comes to the future of the country.

—A salute to them for being so firm and determined when it comes to the defense of democracy.



—A salute to them for being so calm and invincible when it comes to facing up to threats.

From now on, the people as a whole, rather than any individual or any political party, will be invested with the ruling power of the nation. This is free will in full play, the fullest realization of “popular sovereignty,” the real “compliance with the will of Heaven and response to human wishes,” the getting rid of the old and ringing in the new. All the glory belongs to the people.

My fellow countrymen: At this very fresh start of history, we pledge ourselves to launch the new era with a new determination and new deeds. This is our common homeland, and this is the fundamental support we draw upon in our struggle for survival. Fifty years of a common destiny forged in fortune and misfortune have united us all into a closely bound and interdependent community. The first-ever popular presidential election has reconfirmed our collective consciousness that we in Taiwan have to work together as one man.

How to make this land of ours more beautiful and how to make its inhabitants feel safer and live a happier and more harmonious life is the common responsibility of the 21.3 million people!

“Whatever the people desire is always in my heart.” I am fully aware of the needs of the people and I pledge myself to do my best to deserve their trust. But no individual or political party can single-handedly decide a policy of far-reaching importance to the country. The government will soon invite opinion leaders and other representatives from various quarters to exchange views on major topics of future national development. The consensus that emerges from such meetings will launch the country into a new era.

The election is over, but the promises made during the campaign will be kept and fulfilled as soon as possible. Building a modern country entails the services of all available talents. I am convinced that only when upright, insightful, capable and experienced people, regardless of their political affiliation or social group, participate in the leadership of the government will political stability and national growth be ensured.

The times are changing, so is the social climate. Keeping in the old grooves while refraining from any innovation is doomed to failure. Political maneuvering has no place in political interaction, nor can self-interest have any role in deciding upon a political position. No quarrels can be started under the pretense of representing the will of the voters. A boycott certainly is not the equivalent of checks and balances. The ideal of democracy we are pursuing means not just effective checks and balances; it demands hand-in-hand cooperation for the welfare of the people among the political parties.

Four years will soon pass. We have no time for wavering or waiting. For the purpose of laying a solid and secure foundation for the country and bequeathing a happy and comfortable life to the future generations, let us get off to a very good start today—May 20, 1996.

Firstly, we have to broaden and deepen the democratic exercise. Horizontally, we will share our democratic experience with all Chinese and international friends. Vertically, we will proceed to phase 2 constitutional reform, promote clean elections, ensure clean and efficient government, enhance law and order, restructure the political landscape, and strengthen the multiparty political system, so as to guarantee stability and development for democracy.

Economic growth and political democracy are equally important. Without continued success in economic development, we risk losing everything. We have to make sure that the plan for turning Taiwan into a hub for business operations in the Asia-Pacific region will proceed on schedule so that this country may from a position of strength play a role to be reckoned with in the international community and in the process of national unification. In the meanwhile we have to plan ahead for national development well into the next century, nurture a liberalized and internationalized economic regime in as short as possible a period of time, foster a low-tax, obstacle-free business climate, renovate the land system, improve the small and medium businesses, and greatly enhance national competitiveness. Only when thus prepared will we be able to compete in a new Asia-Pacific age of mutual benefit and co-prosperity, thus becoming an indispensable partner for prosperity and development internationally.

At the same time we do not intend to neglect development in non-economic sectors. Our top priorities will be the judicial system, education, culture, and social restructuring, which will have to move ahead in tandem.

Judicial reform should be based above all on the rule of law. All judicial judgments have to be fair and make sure that all are equal before the law. The rule of law being the foundation of democracy, the cause of democracy will be compromised to a serious extent if court rulings are not trusted by the people. The reform will also guarantee full respect for any fundamental human rights including those of prisoners and parties to a law suit. Rectitude and efficiency in the court and prosecutorial system will have to be drastically improved.

Reform in education aims to put into practice a concept of education that imparts happiness, contentment, pluralism and mutual respect. Such education is designed to develop potentialities, respect individualism, promote

humanism, and encourage creativeness. All unreasonable restrictions will be removed to allow the emergence of the life education system. Ample room will be reserved for individual originality and personal traits to ensure the continued pursuit of self-growth and self-realization. The new generation will be assisted to know their homeland, love their country and foster a broad international view. Fortified in this manner they can better meet international challenges and map out a bright future for their country in an increasingly competitive global village.

My fellow countrymen: After 5,000 years the Chinese are still going strong solely because they derive sustenance from an excellent culture. Under the strong impact of Western civilization since the mid-19th century, Chinese culture has gone through tribulations and shocks giving rise to a sharp decline in national confidence. Bearing this in mind, I have never stopped thinking about cultural regeneration. I am hoping that the people of Taiwan will nurture a new life culture as well as a broad and long-sighted view of life. The new Chinese culture, with moorings in the immense Chinese heritage, will draw upon Western cultural essence to facilitate adapting to the new climate of the next century.

This is the essence of the concept of “manage the great Taiwan, nurture a new Chinese culture.” All the major cultures originated in a very restricted area. The 5,000-year Chinese culture also rose from a small region called Chung Yuan. Uniquely situated at the confluence of mainland and maritime cultures, Taiwan has been able in recent decades to preserve traditional culture on the one hand and to come into wide contact with Western democracy and science and modern business culture on the other. Equipped with a much higher level of education and development than in other parts of China, Taiwan is set to gradually exercise its leadership role in cultural development and take upon itself the responsibility for nurturing a new Chinese culture.

Managing the great Taiwan can nurture not just a new culture, but also a new society. With political democracy, Taiwan’s society has become robustly pluralistic. The vigor thus released will provide nourishment for new social life and bring about further progress.

We will regenerate family ethics and build up a strong sense of community beginning at the grass roots. This will enable us to have a harmonious and communicative society where all members can have the joy of family life. People will also be encouraged to live a simple life and treasure all available resources. The land should be used based upon optimum planning, and nature conservation should be promoted to make it possible for future generations to savor the beauty of the landscape. In the same spirit, we will take better care of the disadvantaged groups in the interests of social harmony and human dignity. We also want to have in place a social security system, fair to all and sure to endure, that provides for freedom from want. But this system can only be installed gradually, depending upon the availability of funding support.

At the very time when we are engaged in the task of developing the Republic of China on Taiwan, the overseas Chinese are never out of mind. We do our very best continuing to assist them in developing their careers. The welfare of the Chinese in Hong Kong and Macao has always been of great concern to us. We are ready to lend them a helping hand to help maintain democracy, freedom and prosperity in this area.

Today the existence and development of the Republic of China on Taiwan has won international recognition and respect. In the new international order of today, such basic tenets as democracy, human rights, peace and renunciation of force are universally adhered to; they are in full accord with the ideals upon which our country was founded. We will continue to promote pragmatic diplomacy in compliance with the principles of goodwill and reciprocity. By so doing we will secure for our 21.3 million people enough room for existence and development as well as the respect and treatment they deserve in the international arena.

My fellow countrymen: China has suffered a lot in the 20th century. In the initial stages, it was buffeted with a series of invasions, and over the last 50 years an ideological gap has been responsible for the Chinese-fighting-Chinese tragedy, resulting in confrontation and enmity among the Chinese. I have been of the view that on the threshold of the 21st century the two sides of the Taiwan Straits should work for ending this historical tragedy and ushering in a new epoch when Chinese should help each other.

It is this consideration that over the past years has been guiding our initiative in promoting a win-win strategy for expanding cross-straits relations leading to eventual national unification, but we are doing this on the premise that the Taiwan, Penghu, Kinmen and Matsu area is well protected and the welfare of its people safeguarded. Unfortunately, the cross-straits relationship has experienced bumps from time to time because the Chinese Communists have refused to admit the very fact that the Republic of China does exist in the area. Beginning last year, the Chinese Communists, because of their opposition to democracy, launched against myself a smear campaign using false charges to damage my credibility, but I simply ignore their irrational behavior and remain patient. An eye for an eye is no solution to an historical question of 50 years.

In an attempt to influence the outcome of the first popular presidential election in March, the Chinese Communists conducted a series of military exercises against Taiwan, but unrivaled restraint prevailed in this country. We know that it is imperative that peace and stability be maintained in the Asia-Pacific region. More important, we would not like to see the sudden disappearance of the economic growth in mainland China that has been made possible with great difficulty by its openness policy over the years. Patience on the part of the 21.3 million people is not tantamount to cowardice. Because we believe quiet tolerance is the only way to dispel enmity bred by confrontation. We will never negotiate under threat of attack, but we do not fear to negotiate. Our position is that dialogue will lead to the resolution of any issues between the two sides of the Taiwan Straits.

The Republic of China has always been a sovereign state. Disputes across the Straits center around system and lifestyle; they have nothing to do with ethnic or cultural identity. Here in this country it is totally unnecessary or impossible to adopt the so-called course of “Taiwan independence.” For over 40 years, the two sides of the Straits have been two separate jurisdictions due to various historical factors, but it is also true that both sides pursue eventual national unification. Only when both sides face up to the facts and engage in dialogue with profound sincerity and patience will they be able to find the solution to the unification question and work for the common welfare of the Chinese people.

Today, I will seriously call upon the two sides of the Straits to deal straightforwardly with the momentous question of how to terminate the state of hostility between them, which will then make a crucial contribution to the historic task of unification. In the future, at the call of my country and with the support of its people, I would like to embark upon a journey of peace to mainland China taking with me the consensus and will of the 21.3 million people. I am also ready to meet with the top leadership of the Chinese Communists for a direct exchange of views in order to open up a new era of communication and cooperation between the two sides and ensure peace, stability and prosperity in the Asia-Pacific region.

My fellow countrymen: We in Taiwan have realized the Chinese dream. The Chinese of the 20th century have been striving for the realization of a happy, wealthy China and of Dr. Sun Yat-sen’s “popular sovereignty” ideal. For 50 years, we have created in the Taiwan, Penghu, Kinmen and Matsu area an eye-catching “economic miracle” and achieved a world-acclaimed democratic reform. The Chinese who were regarded as dictatorial, feudalistic, penurious, and backward by Western countries one century ago have by now created in the Taiwan area a new land of democracy, wealth and progress, proudly enjoying enthusiastic recognition from the world. This stands for not just a proud achievement of our 21.3 million people; it marks a crucial departure for the Chinese people to rise again to a new height of glory. We believe that whatever is achieved by the Chinese in Taiwan can also be achieved by the Chinese in mainland China. We are willing to provide our developmental experience as an aid in mapping out the direction of development in mainland China. The fruits of our hard work can be used to assist in enhancing the welfare of millions of our compatriots on the mainland. The Chinese on the two sides can thus join forces for the benefit of the prosperity and development of the Chinese nation as a whole.

My fellow countrymen: I wish to take this opportunity to express my heartfelt gratitude for the trust you have reposed in me. Today, I have accepted with humility and solemnity the office of the ninth-term President of the Republic of China at the swearing-in ceremony this morning. I fully understand the meaning of this office as well as the duties of this office. I pledge myself to the complete performance of my duties to the best of my power. I would never fail you! Meanwhile, I sincerely call upon all my fellow citizens to give me wholehearted, unselfish and patient support so that we may stride forward hand in hand into the 21st century. I am convinced that during the next century the Chinese people will be able to achieve the historic enterprise of peaceful unification and do their very part for the peace and development of the world.

May I wish the Republic of China continued prosperity and all the distinguished guests health and happiness.

Thank you!

各位遠道而來的友邦元首、各位特使、外交團的各位使節、各位貴賓、各位親愛的父老兄弟姐妹：

今天，我們相聚一堂，在廣大同胞的面前，以莊嚴歡欣的心情，舉行慶祝就職大會。這個盛會，不僅是中華民國第九任總統、副總統任期的開始，更是國家前途與民族命運嶄新的開端。

今天，兩千一百三十萬同胞，正式邁進「主權在民」的新時代。

今天，中華民族進入一個充滿希望的新境界。

今天，在台灣的我們，以無比的驕傲與自信，堅定地告訴全世界：

我們已經成功地站上民主興革的高峰，且將屹立不搖！

我們已經清楚地證明中國人有能力施行民主制度，運用民主政治！

我們已經有效地擴大了國際民主陣營的力量，對全人類的自由民主，做出了積極的貢獻！

所以，今天的這個慶典，不是為了慶祝任何一個候選人的勝利，不是為了慶祝任何一個政黨的勝利，而是為了慶祝我們兩千一百三十萬同胞追求民主的共同勝利！是為了人類最基本的價值——自由與尊嚴，在台澎金馬獲得肯定而歡呼！

親愛的全國同胞們：民主的大門已經全然開啟，民主的活力正沛然奔放。今天最應該接受喝采的是每一位中華民國的國民。

喝采大家思考國家的未來，如此果斷，毫不猶豫。

喝采大家捍衛民主的決心，如此堅定，毫不動搖。

喝采大家面臨強權的威脅，如此鎮靜，毫不屈服。

從此，統治國家的權力屬於人民全體，不是個人、不是政黨。這是「自由意志」的充分發揮，是「主權在民」的完全落實，是真正的「順乎天，應乎人」，真正的革故鼎新。一切的榮耀，歸於所有的人民。

各位親愛的父老兄弟姊妹：在這個歷史的新起點，我們要以新的決心、新的作為，開展新的時代。這裡是我們共同的家園，是我們生存奮鬥的根本憑藉。五十年來的禍福相共，已經讓我們成為密不可分的生命共同體；而第一次由人民直選總統，更讓我們確立了以台灣為主體的奮鬥意識。

如何讓這塊土地更美麗，讓生活在這裡的人民更安全、更和諧、更幸福，是兩千一百三十萬同胞的共同責任！

「民之所欲，長在我心」，登輝對全國同胞的需求，有充分的領會，也一定會全力以赴，達成付託。然而，影響國家發展深遠的重大政策，不是由一個人或一個政黨就可以決定。因此，登輝將儘快責成政府，針對國家未來發展的重要課題，廣邀各界意見領袖與代表，共商大計，建立共識，開創國家新局。

競選活動雖已結束，但是競選時所作的承諾，一定要切實信守，早日實現。要建設一個現代化國家，有賴各方人才的投入。為追求政局的安定與國力的壯大，登輝認為，政府決策階層的工作，也要不分黨派，不分族群，延攬各界品德良好，能力卓越，見識宏遠，經驗豐富的人才，來擴大參與。

時代已經改變，社會環境也在變。墨守成規，不思突破，注定將被淘汰。我們不能用權謀的眼光，推度政治互動；不能以私利的考量，決定政治立場。打開不能代表民意，杯葛也並非就是制衡。我們所追求的民主政治理想，除了有效的監督制衡之外，也要力求不同黨派能夠為了民眾福祉，共同攜手奮進。

四年的時光，轉眼就會過去，我們沒有時間可以猶疑，也沒有時間可以等待。為了國家長治久安的基礎，為了後代幸福安樂的未來，就從今天中華民國八十五年五月二十日起，我們要有一個積極的開始。

首先，我們要提升民主運作的廣度與深度。以廣度而言，我們要與海內外所有的中國人及國際人士，分享民主經驗。以深度而言，我們必須推動第二階段的憲政改革，澄清選舉文化，強化廉能政府，改善社會治安，調整政治生態，落實政黨政治，以確保民主政治的穩定與發展。

經濟發展與政治民主，同等重要。沒有成功的經濟發展，我們會失去一切。為了厚植國家實力，讓中華民國能在國際社會，以至未來國家統一的過程中，扮演舉足輕重的角色，我們必須依據既定時程，如期發展台灣成為「亞太營運中心」，並且同步規劃推動跨世紀的國家建設，儘速營造自由化與國際化的經濟體系，建設低稅負、無障礙的企業投資環境，改革土地制度，壯大中小企業，提升國家競爭力，以迎向互利共榮的亞太新世紀，成為國際繁榮發展不可或缺的重要夥伴。

為求均衡發展，我們也將致力內政的革新，並以司法、教育、文化與社會重建為重點，同步並進。

司法改革首要強化法治精神，尤其要站在人民的立場，落實司法審判的公平，真正做到法律之前，人人平等。法治精神是民主政治的基礎，如果司法審判不能受到人民充分的信賴，民主政治勢必受到嚴重的斷傷。司法改革也絕對不能輕忽任何基本人權，包括受刑人及涉訟人在內，均應得到完整的尊重。對於審檢體系的清廉與效率，更要痛下決心，具體改善。

教育改革的重點，則在實踐快樂、滿足、多元，相互尊重的教育理念，以啟發潛能、尊重人本、發展個性、鼓勵創造為目標，解除不合理的束縛，建立終生學習的制度，讓個人創意與特性有充分發揮的空間，不斷追求自我的成長與實現。我們要導引新生的一代，認識自己的鄉土，熱愛自己的國家，培養寬廣的國際視野，以在競爭日益激烈的「地球村」中，順利迎接國際挑戰，開拓國家光明前景。

全國同胞們：中華民族能歷五千年而不墜，端賴優秀文化的維繫。然而自十九世紀中葉以來，中華文化在西方文明的強烈衝擊下，備經危疑震撼，致使部分國人的信心動搖，國勢低落。所以，登輝無時無刻不在思考文化的重建與新生。希望在台灣地區的同胞，能建立新的生活文化，培養長遠宏大的人生價值觀，並以我國浩瀚的文化傳統為基礎，汲取西方文化精髓，融合而成新的中華文化，以適應進入二十一世紀後的國內外新環境。

這也就是「經營大台灣，建立新中原」的理念所在。環顧世界文明史上的幾個重要文化，大都發源於一個小的地域，中華民族五千年優秀文化，也起源於中原一隅之地，台灣位於大陸文化與海洋文化的匯集點，近數十年來，因時局變化機緣，不但充分保存固有文化傳統，並且廣泛接觸西方民主、科學及現

代工商業社會文化。再加上台灣的教育水準與發展程度，遠超越中國其他地區，勢必逐漸發揮文化主導功能，進而擔負起文化「新中原」的重任。

大台灣的經營，不僅在培育新文化，更在重建新社會。隨著政治的民主開放，台灣社會已呈現蓬勃的多元化景象。我們要運用多元化所釋放的活力，孕育新的社會生命力量，帶動社會的發展與進步。

我們要從基層開始，重振家庭倫理，建立社區意識，確立和諧感通的新社會，使民眾能真正享有家園生活之樂。我們也將從永續發展的觀點，提倡節約簡樸，珍惜現有資源，妥善規劃國土利用，加強生態環境保育，讓後代子孫永遠保有鄉土之美。我們更將本著促進社會和諧與維護人格尊嚴的原則，加強關懷照顧弱勢團體，並依據財政負擔的能力，循序建立均衡公平、可長可久的社會安全制度，讓全民享有免於匱乏的自由。

當然，我們全心全力在台灣建設中華民國的同時，也不會忘記海外的中國人。我們將盡全力，繼續協助華僑在海外的發展。而港澳地區同胞的生活福祉，更是我們關懷的重點。我們將隨時伸出相互扶持的手，共同維護此一地區的民主、自由、繁榮。

今天，中華民國在台灣的生存與發展，已受到國際社會的肯定與尊重。在新的國際秩序之中，講求民主、尊重人權、崇尚和平，拋棄武力是共同遵守的信條，這與我們的立國精神，正相一致。因此，我們將秉持善意，依循互利的原則，繼續推動務實外交，使我們兩千一百三十萬同胞，擁有必要的生存與發展空間，並進一步在國際社會中獲得應有的尊敬與待遇。

各位親愛的父老兄弟姊妹：二十世紀的中國，是一個苦難的國家。先是外患不斷，而後，五十年來，又因意識形態的不同，造成「中國人打中國人」的悲劇，積累了同胞手足間的對立與仇恨。登輝一向主張，在邁進二十一世紀的前夕，海峽雙方都應致力結束歷史的悲劇，開創「中國人幫中國人」的新局。

因此，六年來，在確保台澎金馬安全與維護全民福祉的前提下，我們無時不以積極主動的作為，務實雙贏的思考，發展兩岸關係，推進國家統一大業。但是，由於中共始終無視於中華民國在台澎金馬地區存在的事實，致使海峽兩岸關係的發展，時生波折。

去年以來，為了反對民主，中共對登輝個人發動一波又一波「欲加之罪、何患無辭」的誣讒，但是登輝忍辱負重，不予理會。因為以其人之道還治其人，解決不了累積五十年的歷史問題。

為了影響我們第一次民選總統的選情，中共進行一次又一次的軍事演習，但是我們表現了無比的自制。因為我們知道必須維持亞太地區的和平安定，更重要的是，我們不願意看到中國大陸改革開放後，好不容易建立起來的經濟成果，前功盡棄。兩千一百三十萬同胞的堅忍，不是懦弱。因為我們深信，和平寬容是化解對立仇恨的唯一手段。我們不會受威脅而談判，但是絕不畏懼談判。我們主張，只有透過對談溝通，才能真正解決海峽兩岸的問題。

中華民國本來就是一個主權國家。海峽兩岸沒有民族與文化認同問題，有的只是制度與生活方式之爭。在這裡，我們根本沒有必要，也不可能採行所謂「台獨」的路線。四十多年來，海峽兩岸因為歷史因素，而隔海分治，乃是事實；但是海峽雙方都以追求國家統一為目標，也是事實。兩岸唯有面對這些事實，以最大的誠意與耐心，進行對談溝通，化異求同，才能真正解決國家統一的問題，謀求中華民族的共同福祉。

今天，登輝要鄭重呼籲：海峽兩岸，都應該正視處理結束敵對狀態這項重大問題，以便為追求國家統一的歷史大業，作出關鍵性的貢獻。在未來，只要國家需要，人民支持，登輝願意帶著兩千一百三十萬同胞的共識與意志，訪問中國大陸，從事和平之旅。同時，為了打開海峽兩岸溝通、合作的新紀元，為了確保亞太地區的和平、安定、繁榮，登輝也願意與中共最高領導當局見面，直接交換意見。

全國同胞們：今天我們在台灣實現了中國人的夢想！二十世紀的中國人，奮力追求的是，建設富強康樂的新中國，與實踐中山先生「主權在民」的理想。五十年來，我們在台澎金馬的艱苦奮鬥，創造了舉世矚目的「經濟奇蹟」，完成了世人推崇的民主改革。百年以前，在踏入二十世紀之初，曾被西方國家認定為專制、封建、貧窮、落後的中國人，已經在台澎金馬地區開創了民主、富足、進步的新局，傲然面對世人的讚譽。這不但是我們兩千一百三十萬同胞共同的光榮，更是中華民族振衰起敝，再創新機運的關鍵。我們相信，同樣是中華民族的一份子，在台灣做得到的，在中國大陸也可以做到。因此，我們願意以建設的經驗，導引中國大陸發展的方向，以進步的成果，協助億萬同胞改善生活福祉，進而集合兩岸中國人之力，共謀中華民族的繁榮與發展！

各位親愛的父老兄弟姊妹：登輝要再度對同胞們給予的信賴，表示衷心的感激。今天，登輝以謙卑嚴肅的心情，在宣誓儀式中，接下中華民國第九任總統的重任。我充分瞭解這項職務的意義所在，也完全明白其所包含的責任，我保證將全力以赴，克盡職守，不負國人厚望；同時，也懇求全國同胞真誠、無私、寬容地支持，讓我們能攜手並進，昂然邁向二十一世紀！登輝深信，在二十一世紀，中國人必能完成和平統一的歷史大業，為世界和平與發展，善盡更大的心力！

敬祝中華民國國運昌隆！各位貴賓健康愉快！

謝謝大家！

2000—CHEN SHUI-BIAN



Leaders of our friendly nations, honored guests and compatriots from Taiwan and abroad;

This is a glorious moment; it is also a moment of dignity and hope.

I thank our honored guests, who have come here from afar, as well as those friends from around the world who love democracy and care about Taiwan, for sharing this glorious moment with us.

We are here today, not just to celebrate an inauguration, but to witness the hard-won democratic values, and to witness the beginning of a new era.

On the eve of the 21st Century, the people of Taiwan have completed a historic alternation of political parties in power. This is not only the first of its kind in the history of the Republic of China, but also an epochal landmark for Chinese communities around the world. Taiwan has not only set a new model for the Asian experience of democracy, but has also added a moving example to the third wave of democracy the world over.

The election for the 10th-term President of the Republic of China has clearly shown the world that the fruits of freedom and democracy are not easily come by. Twenty-three million people with an unwavering will have allayed enmity with love, overcome intimidation with hope, and conquered fear with faith.

With our sacred votes, we have proven to the world that freedom and democracy are indisputable universal values, and that peace is humanity's highest goal.

The outcome of Taiwan's Year 2000 presidential election is not the victory of an individual or a political party. It is a victory of the people, a victory for democracy, because we have, while at the focus of global attention, transcended fear, threats and oppression and bravely risen to our feet together.

Taiwan stands up, demonstrating a firmness of purpose and faith in democracy.

Taiwan stands up, representing the self-confidence of the people and the dignity of the country.

Taiwan stands up, symbolizing the quest for hope and the realization of dreams.

Dear compatriots, let's always remember this moment; let's always remember to value and feel gratitude for it, because the fruits of democracy did not come out of the blue. It was realized by going through many perils and dangers, and by experiencing countless hardships. If not for the fearless sacrifice of our democratic forebears, if not for the unswerving faith of the tens of millions of Taiwanese people in freedom and democracy, we could not possibly be standing on our beloved land today and celebrate a glorious occasion that belongs to all the people.

Today, it is as if we are standing before a fresh new gate in history. In the process of democratization, the Taiwanese people have created a brand-new key to our shared destiny. The new century's gates of hope are soon to open. We are humble but not submissive. We are full of self-confidence but not the slightest bit of self-satisfaction.

Since that moment on March 18 when the election results came to light, I have accepted the mandate of all Taiwanese people in a most earnest and humble frame of mind, and have vowed to devote all my efforts, understanding and courage to assuming the heavy responsibility of this country's future.

I personally understand that the significance of the alternation of political parties and the peaceful transition of power lies not in that it is a change of personnel or political parties. Nor that it is a dynastic change. Rather, it is the return of state and government power to the people through a democratic procedure. The people are the true masters of the country, which no individual or political party can possess. From the head of state to the rank-and-file civil servant—the government exists for all the people and serves all the people.

The alternation of political parties does not mean an all-out negation of the past. We should be fair in evaluating the contributions made by those in power throughout the ages. Mr. Lee Teng-hui deserves our highest praise and heartfelt honor for his promotion of democratic reforms and for his excellent performance during his twelve years of leadership.

Taiwan society has rallied and participated energetically in the election. Despite the diverse views and stances, all individuals share the same intent—to come forward for the sake of their political ideas and the country's future. We believe that the end of an election is the beginning of reconciliation. After the curtain falls on emotional campaigns, rationality should prevail. Under the supreme principles of national interests and the welfare of the people, those in power and in opposition should both fulfill their duties by the people and realize the ideals of fair competition in party politics, as well as the checks and balances of democratic politics.

A democratic society with fair competition, tolerance and trust is the strongest impetus for a nation's development. Placing national interests above those of political parties, we should solidify the will of the people and seek consensus among the ruling and opposition parties, to promote the country's development and reforms.

"A government for all people" and "rule by the clean and upright" were my promises to the people during the election period. It is also an important key for Taiwan society in stepping over its fault lines and exalting to a higher level in the future.

The spirit of a "government for all people" lies in the fact that "the government exists for the people." The people are the masters and shareholders of the state. The government should rule on the basis of majority public opinion. The interests of the people are absolutely above those of any political party or individual.

I have always taken pride in being a member of the Democratic Progressive Party, but from the moment I take my oath and assume the president's post, I will put all my efforts into fulfilling my role as a "president for all people." As in the formation of the new government, we employ people according to their talents and do not discriminate on the basis of ethnicity, gender or party affiliation. We will also place the welfare of the populace as our primary goal in future.

The topmost initiatives of my promise to "rule by the clean and upright" are to eliminate "black gold"—the involvement of organized crime in politics—and to eradicate vote-buying. For a long time, the Taiwanese people have been deeply repelled by money politics and the interference of organized crime. A grassroots vote-buying culture has also robbed the people of their right to elect the wise and the able. These have tainted the development of Taiwan's democracy.

Today, I am willing to promise hereby that the new government will eliminate vote-buying and crack down on "black gold" politics, so that Taiwan can rise above such downward sinking forces. We must give the people a clean political environment.

In the area of government reforms, we need to establish a government that is clean, efficient, far-sighted, dynamic, highly flexible and responsive, in order to ensure Taiwan's competitiveness in the face of increasingly fierce global competition. The age of "large and capable" governments has now passed, replaced by "small and effective" governments, which have established partnership relations with the people. We should accelerate the streamlining of government functions and organization and actively expand the role of public participation.

This will not only allow the public to fully utilize their energy but also significantly reduce the government's burdens.

Similar partnership relations should also be set up between the central and local governments. We want to break the authoritarian attitudes from the days of centralized, money-controlled power. We want to realize the spirit of local autonomy, where the local and central governments share resources and responsibilities, where "the central government will not do what the local governments can do." Whether in the east, west, north or south, or whether on Taiwan Proper or on offshore islands, all will get balanced, pluralistic development, and the gap between urban and rural areas will decrease.

Of course, we should understand that the government is no panacea for all problems. The driving force for economic development and societal progress comes from the people. Over the past half-century, the Taiwanese people have toiled hard to create an economic miracle that has won global applause, and to lay the foundation for the survival and development of the Republic of China. Today, facing the impact of the fast-changing information technologies and trade liberalization, Taiwan's industrial development must move toward a knowledge-based economy. High-tech industries need to be constantly innovative, while traditional industries need to undergo transformation and upgrading.

The future government should not necessarily play the role of a "leader" or "manager." On the contrary, it should be the "supporter" and "service-provider," as expected by private enterprises. The responsibility of a modern government is to raise administrative efficiency, improve the domestic investment environment, and maintain financial order and stock market stability, so as to allow economic development to move toward full liberalization and internationalization with fair competition. By observing these principles, the vitality of the public will naturally bloom and create a new phase in Taiwan's economic miracle.

Apart from consolidating our democratic achievements, promoting government reforms, and raising economic competitiveness, the new government's foremost objective should be to adhere to public opinion and implement reforms, so that the people on this land can live in more dignity, more self-confidence and better quality.

Let our society be not only safe, harmonious and prosperous, but also meet the principles of fairness and justice. As we cultivate the ever-growing abilities of our citizens, we will let our next generation learn in an environment

filled with happiness and hope.

The 21st Century will be a time when “the right to a quality life” and “refined lifestyles” are much emphasized. The government will have to bring up solutions for all issues relating to the people’s lives, such as social order, social welfare, environmental protection, land planning, waste treatment, cleaning up rivers and community-building. It will also have to implement these solutions thoroughly.

At present, we need to immediately improve social order and environmental protection, which are important indicators of the quality of life. Building a new social order, we will let the people live and work in peace and without fear. Finding a balance between ecological preservation and economic development, we will develop Taiwan into a sustainable green silicon island.

The integrity of the judiciary is a staunch line of defense for democratic politics and social justice. An impartial, independent judicial system is a safeguard for social order and a defender of the people’s rights. At present, we still have a long way to go in our judicial reforms. Our compatriots should continue to give the judiciary their calls to action and their ardent expectations. At the same time, we should also restrain our administrative authority and give the judiciary room to operate independently and without interference.

Human resources are Taiwan’s most important resources. Talent is the foundation of the country’s competitiveness, while education is a long-term plan for empowering the people. We will seek a consensus among the ruling and opposition parties, academia and the public to carry on with educational reforms and build a healthy, proactive, lively and innovative education system, which will allow Taiwan to cultivate first-class, outstanding talents amid the fierce international competition. We will let Taiwan move gradually toward a “learning organization” and a “knowledge-based society.” We will also encourage people to take up lifetime learning to fully develop their potential and creativity.

Grassroots community organizations have now been developing around the country, working to explore and preserve the history, culture, geography and ecology of their localities. These are all part of Taiwan culture, whether they are local cultures, mass cultures or high cultures. Due to special historical and geographical factors, Taiwan possesses a wealth of diversified cultural elements. But cultural development is not something that can bring immediate success. Rather, it has to be accumulated bit by bit. We must open our hearts with tolerance and respect, so that our diverse ethnic groups and different regional cultures communicate with each other, and so that Taiwan’s local cultures connect with the cultures of Chinese-speaking communities and other world cultures, and create a new milieu of “a cultural Taiwan in a modern century.”

The September 21 earthquake that occurred last year brought to our land and our compatriots an unprecedented catastrophe, the pain of which is yet to heal. The new government will brook no delay in the reconstruction of disaster areas, including industrial and spiritual recovery. We will work to ensure that care is extended to every victim and rebuild every destroyed place. Here, we would also like to express our highest respect again for all individuals and non-governmental organizations that have selflessly contributed to the rescue and reconstruction work after the disaster. Amid the fierce power of Nature, we have seen Taiwan’s most beautiful compassion, strongest faith and greatest trust. Our compatriots have been injured and wounded during the September 21 earthquake, but with the spirit of a “volunteer Taiwan,” Taiwan’s new family will stand up resolutely on its feet once again.

Dear compatriots, 400 years ago, Taiwan was called “Formosa”—the beautiful island—for its lustrous landscape. Today, Taiwan is manifesting the elegance of a democratic island, once again attracting global attention, as the people on this land create a new page in our history.

We believe that the Republic of China, with its democratic achievements and technological and economic prowess, can certainly continue to play an indispensable role in the international community. In addition to strengthening the existing relations with friendly nations, we want to actively participate in all types of international non-governmental organizations. Through humanitarian care, economic cooperation, cultural exchanges and various other methods, we will actively participate in international affairs, expand Taiwan’s room for survival in the international arena, and contribute to the welfare of the international community.

Besides, we are also willing to promise a more active contribution in safeguarding international human rights. The Republic of China cannot and will not remain outside global human rights trends. We will abide by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Convention for Civil and Political Rights, and the Vienna Declaration and Program of Action. We will bring the Republic of China back into the international human rights system.

The new government will request the Legislative Yuan to pass and ratify the International Bill of Rights as a domestic law of Taiwan, so that it will formally become the “Taiwan Bill of Rights.” We hope to set up an independent national human rights commission in Taiwan, thereby realizing an action long advocated by the United Nations. We will also invite two outstanding non-governmental organizations, the International Commission of Jurists and Amnesty International, to assist us in our measures to protect human rights and make the Republic of China into a new indicator for human rights in the 21st Century.

We firmly believe that in any time or any corner of the world, the meaning and values of freedom, democracy and human rights cannot be ignored or changed.

The history of the 20th Century left us with a major lesson—that war is a failure of humanity. Waged for whatever purpose or whatever imperious reasons, war is the greatest harm to freedom, democracy and human rights.

Over the past one hundred plus years, China has suffered imperialist aggression, which left indelible wounds in her history. Taiwan’s destiny has been even more arduous, tormented by brute force and the rule of colonialist regimes. These similar historical experiences should bring mutual understanding between the people on both sides of the Taiwan Strait, setting a solid foundation for pursuing freedom, democracy and human rights together. However, due to long periods of separation, the two sides have developed vastly different political systems and lifestyles, obstructing empathy and friendship between the people on the two sides, and even creating a wall of divisiveness and confrontation.

Today, as the Cold War has ended, it is time for the two sides to cast aside the hostilities left from the old era. We do not need to wait further because now is a new opportunity for the two sides to create an era of reconciliation together.

The people across the Taiwan Strait share the same ancestral, cultural, and historical background. While upholding the principles of democracy and parity, building upon the existing foundations, and constructing conditions for cooperation through goodwill, we believe that the leaders on both sides possess enough wisdom and creativity to jointly deal with the question of a future “one China.”

I fully understand that as the popularly elected 10th-term President of the Republic of China, I must abide by the Constitution, maintain the sovereignty, dignity and security of our country, and ensure the well-being of all citizens. Therefore, as long as the CCP regime has no intention to use military force against Taiwan, I pledge that during my term in office, I will not declare independence, I will not change the national title, I will not push forth the inclusion of the so-called “state-to-state” description in the Constitution, and I will not promote a referendum to change the status quo in regards to the question of independence or unification. Furthermore, the abolition of the National Unification Council or the Guidelines for National Unification will not be an issue.

History has illustrated that war will only create hatred and enmity, with absolutely no benefit to the development of mutual relations. Chinese people emphasize the difference between statesmanship and hegemony, believing in the philosophy that a government which employs benevolence “will please those near and appeal to those from afar,” and “when those afar will not submit, then one must practice kindness and virtue to attract them.” Such Chinese wisdom will remain universal words of value.

Under the leadership of Mr. Deng Xiaoping and Mr. Jiang Zemin, the mainland has created a miracle of economic openness. In Taiwan, over a half century, not only have we created a miracle economy, we have also created the political marvel of democracy. On such a basis, as long as the governments and people on both sides of the Taiwan Strait can interact more, following the principles of “goodwill reconciliation, active cooperation, and permanent peace,” while at the same time respecting the free choice of the people and excluding unnecessary obstacles, both sides of the Strait can make great contributions to the prosperity and stability of the Asia Pacific Region. Both sides will also create a glorious civilization for the world’s humanity.

Dear compatriots, we hope so much to share the moving scene of this moment with all Chinese-speaking people around the world. The wide Ketagalan Boulevard before us was bristling with security guards only a few years ago. The building behind me used to be the Governor General’s Mansion during the colonial era. Today, we gather here to extol the glory and joy of democracy with songs of the earth and the voice of the people. With a little reflection, our compatriots should be able to appreciate the deep and far-reaching meaning of this moment:

Authoritarianism and force can only bring surrender for one time, while democracy and freedom are values that will endure forever.

Only by adhering to the will of the people can we pioneer the paths of history and build enduring architecture.

Today, as a son of a tenant farmer and with a poor family background, I have struggled and grown on this land and, after experiencing defeat and tribulation, I have finally won the trust of the people to take up the great

responsibility leading the country. My individual achievements are minor, but the message is valuable because each citizen of Formosa is a “child of Taiwan” just like me. In whatever difficult environment, Taiwan will be like a selfless, loving mother, who never stops giving us opportunities and who helps us achieve our beautiful dreams.

The spirit of the “child of Taiwan” reveals to us that even though Taiwan, Penghu, Kinmen and Matsu are tiny islands on the rim of the Pacific, the map of our dreams knows no limits. It extends all the way to the end of the horizon, as long as our 23 million compatriots fear no hardship and move forward hand in hand.

Dear compatriots, this magnificent moment belongs to all the people. All grace and glory belongs to Taiwan—our eternal Mother. Together, let's extend our gratitude to the earth and respect to the people.

Long live freedom and democracy!

Long live the people of Taiwan!

We pray for the prosperity of the Republic of China, and for the health and happiness of all compatriots and all honored guests!

各位友邦元首、各位貴賓、各位親愛的海內外同胞：

這是一個光榮的時刻，也是一個莊嚴而充滿希望的時刻。

感謝遠道而來的各位嘉賓，以及全世界熱愛民主、關心台灣的朋友，與我們一起分享此刻的榮耀。

我們今天在這裡，不只是為了慶祝一個就職典禮，而是為了見證得來不易的民主價值，見證一個新時代的開始。

在二十一世紀來臨的前夕，台灣人民用民主的選票完成了歷史性的政黨輪替。這不僅是中華民國歷史上的第一次，更是全球華人社會劃時代的里程碑。台灣不只為亞洲的民主經驗樹立了新典範，也為全世界第三波的民主潮流增添了一個感人的例證。

中華民國第十任總統選舉的過程讓全世界清楚的看到，自由民主的果實如此得來不易。兩千三百萬人民以無比堅定的意志，用愛弭平敵意、以希望克服威脅、用信心戰勝了恐懼。

我們用神聖的選票向全世界證明，自由民主是顛撲不滅的普世價值，追求和平更是人類理性的最高目標。

公元 2000 年台灣總統大選的結果，不是個人的勝利或政黨的勝利，而是人民的勝利、民主的勝利。因為，我們在舉世注目的焦點中，一起超越了恐懼、威脅和壓迫，勇敢的站起來！

台灣站起來，展現著理性的堅持和民主的信仰。

台灣站起來，代表著人民的自信和國家的尊嚴。

台灣站起來，象徵著希望的追求和夢想的實現。

親愛的同胞，讓我們永遠記得這一刻，永遠記得珍惜和感恩，因為民主的成果並非憑空而來，而是走過艱難險阻、歷經千辛萬苦才得以實現。如果沒有民主前輩們前仆後繼的無畏犧牲、沒有千萬人民對於自由民主的堅定信仰，我們今天就不可能站在自己親愛的土地上，慶祝這一個屬於全民的光榮盛典。

今天，我們彷彿站在一座嶄新的歷史門前。台灣人民透過民主錘鍊的過程，為我們共同的命運打造了一把全新的鑰匙。新世紀的希望之門即將開啟。我們如此謙卑，但絕不退縮。我們充滿自信，但沒有絲毫自滿。

從三月十八日選舉結果揭曉的那一刻開始，阿扁以最嚴肅而謙卑的心情接受全民的付託，誓言必將竭盡個人的心力、智慧和勇氣，來承擔國家未來的重責大任。

個人深切的瞭解，政黨輪替、政權和平轉移的意義絕對不只是「換人換黨」的人事更替，更不是「改朝換代」的權力轉移，而是透過民主的程序，把國家和政府的權力交還給人民。人民才是國家真正的主人，不是任何個人或政黨所能佔有；政府是為人民而存在的，從國家元首到基層公務員都是全民的公僕。

政黨輪替並不代表對於過去的全盤否定。歷來的執政者為國家人民的付出，我們都應該給予公正的評價。李登輝先生過去十二年主政期間所推動的民主改革與卓越政績，也應該獲得國人最高的推崇與衷心的感念。

在選舉的過程中，台灣社會高度動員、積極參與，儘管有不同的主張和立場，但是每一個人為了政治理念和國家前途挺身而出的初衷是一樣的。我們相信，選舉的結束是和解的開始，激情落幕之後應該是理性的抬頭。在國家利益與人民福祉的最高原則之下，未來不論是執政者或在野者，都應該能不負人民的付託、善盡本身的職責，實現政黨政治公平競爭、民主政治監督制衡的理想。

一個公平競爭、包容信任的民主社會，是國家進步的最大動能。在國家利益高於政黨利益的基礎之上，我們應該凝聚全民的意志與朝野的共識，著手推動國家的進步改革。

「全民政府、清流共治」是阿扁在選舉期間對人民的承諾，也是台灣社會未來要跨越斷層、向上提升的重要關鍵。

「全民政府」的精神在於「政府是為人民而存在的」，人民是國家的主人和股東，政府的施政必須以多數的民意為依歸。人民的利益絕對高於政黨的利益和個人的利益。

阿扁永遠以身為民主進步黨的黨員為榮，但是從宣誓就職的這一刻開始，個人將以全部的心力做好「全民總統」的角色。正如同全民新政府的組成，我們用人唯才、不分族群、不分性別、不分黨派，未來的各項施政也都必須以全民的福祉為目標。

「清流共治」的首要目標是要掃除黑金、杜絕賄選。長期以來，台灣社會黑白不分、黑道金權介入政治的情況已經遭致台灣人民的深惡痛絕。基層選舉買票賄選的文化，不僅剝奪了人民「選賢與能、當家作主」的權利，更讓台灣的民主發展蒙上污名。

今天，阿扁願意在此承諾，新政府將以最大的決心來消除賄選、打擊黑金，讓台灣社會徹底擺脫向下沈淪的力量，讓清流共治向上提升，還給人民一個清明的政治環境。

在活力政府的改造方面，面對日益激烈的全球化競爭，為了確保台灣的競爭力，我們必須建立一個廉潔、效能、有遠見、有活力、有高度彈性和應變力的新政府。「大有為」政府的時代已經過去，取而代之的應該是與民間建立夥伴關係的「小而能」政府。我們應該加速精簡政府的職能與組織，積極擴大民間扮演的角色。如此不僅可以讓民間的活力盡情發揮，也能大幅減輕政府的負擔。

同樣的夥伴關係也應該建立在中央與地方政府之間。我們要打破過去中央集權又集錢的威權心態，落實「地方能做、中央不做」的地方自治精神，讓地方與中央政府一起共享資源、一起承擔責任。無論東西南北、不分本島離島，都能夠獲得均衡多元的發展，拉近城鄉之間的距離。

當然，我們也應該瞭解，政府不是一切問題的答案，人民才是經濟發展與社會進步的原動力。過去半個世紀以來，台灣人民靠著胼手胝足的努力創造了舉世稱羨的經濟奇蹟，也奠定了中華民國生存發展的命脈。如今，面對資訊科技日新月異以及貿易自由化的衝擊，台灣的產業發展必然要走向知識經濟的時代，高科技的產業必須不斷創新，傳統的產業也必然要轉型升級。

未來的政府並不一定繼續扮演過去「領導者」和「管理者」的角色，反而應該像民間企業所期待的，政府是「支援者」和「服務者」。現代政府的責任在於提高行政的效能、改善國內的投資環境、維持金融秩序與股市的穩定，讓經濟的發展透過公平的競爭走向完全的自由化和國際化。循此原則，民間的活力自然能夠蓬勃興盛，再創下一個階段的經濟奇蹟。

除了鞏固民主的成果、推動政府的改造、提昇經濟的競爭力之外，新政府的首要施政目標應該是順應民意、厲行改革，讓這一塊土地上的人民生活得更有尊嚴、更有自信、更有品質。讓我們的社會不僅安全、和諧、富裕，也要符合公平正義。讓我們的下一代在充滿希望與快樂的教育環境中學習，培養國民不斷成長的競爭力。

二十一世紀將是強調「生活者權利」、「精緻化生活」的時代。舉凡與人民生活息息相關的治安改善、社會福利、環保生態、國土規劃、垃圾處理、河川整治、交通整頓、社區營造等問題，政府都必須提出一套解決方案，並透過公權力徹底加以落實。

當前我們必須立即提昇的是治安改善與環境保護這兩大生活品質的重要指標。建立社會新秩序，讓所有的老百姓都能安居樂業，生活沒有恐懼。在生態保育與經濟發展之間取得相容的平衡點，讓台灣成為永續發展的綠色矽島。

司法的尊嚴是民主政治與社會正義的堅強防線。一個公正、獨立的司法體系不僅是社會秩序的維護者，也是人民權益的捍衛者。目前司法的改革還有一段很長的路要走，國人必須繼續給予司法界嚴格的督促與殷切的期盼，在此同時，我們也應該節制行政權力，還給司法獨立運作、不受干擾的空間。

台灣最重要的資源是人力的資源，人才是國家競爭力的根本，教育是「藏富於民」的百年大計。我們將儘速凝聚朝野、學界與民間的共識，持續推動教改的希望工程，建立健康、積極、活潑、創新的教育體制，使台灣在激烈的國際競爭力之下，源源不斷地培育一流、優秀的人才。讓台灣社會逐漸走向「學習型組織」和「知識型社會」，鼓舞人民終身學習、求新求變，充分發揮個人的潛力與創造力。

目前在全國各地普遍發展的草根性社區組織，包括對地方歷史、人文、地理、生態的探索和維護，展現了人文台灣由下而上的民間活力。不管是地方文化、庶民文化或者精緻文化，都是台灣文化整體的一部份。台灣因為特殊的歷史與地理緣故，蘊含了最豐美多樣的文化元素，但是文化建設無法一蹴可幾，而是要靠一點一滴的累積。我們必須敞開心胸、包容尊重，讓多元族群與不同地域的文化相互感通，讓立足台灣的本土文化與華人文化、世界文化自然接軌，創造「文化台灣、世紀維新」的新格局。

去年發生的九二一大地震，讓我們心愛的土地和同胞歷經前所未有的浩劫，傷痛之深至今未能癒合。新政府對於災區的重建工作刻不容緩，包括產業的復甦和心靈的重建，必須做到最後一人的照顧、最後一處的重建完成為止。在此，我們也要對於災後救援與重建過程中，充滿大愛、無私奉獻的所有個人與民間團體，再次表達最高的敬意。在大自然的惡力中，我們看到了台灣最美的慈悲、最強的信念、最大的信任！九二一震災讓同胞受傷跌倒，但是在「志工台灣」的精神中，台灣新家庭一定會重新堅強的站起來！

親愛的同胞，四百年前，台灣因為瑰麗的山川風貌被世人稱為「福爾摩沙——美麗之島」。今天，因為這一塊土地上的人民所締造的歷史新頁，台灣重新展現了「民主之島」的風采，再次吸引了全世界的目光。

我們相信，以今日的民主成就加上科技經貿的實力，中華民國一定可以繼續在國際社會中扮演不可或缺的角色。除了持續加強與友邦的實質外交關係之外，我們更要積極參與各種非政府的國際組織。透過人道關懷、經貿合作與文化交流等各種方式，積極參與國際事務，擴大台灣在國際的生存空間，並且回饋國際社會。

除此之外，我們也願意承諾對於國際人權的維護做出更積極的貢獻。中華民國不能也不會自外於世界人權的潮流，我們將遵守包括「世界人權宣言」、「公民與政治權利國際公約」以及維也納世界人權會議的宣言和行動綱領，將中華民國重新納入國際人權體系。

新政府將敦請立法院通過批准「國際人權法典」，使其國內法化，成為正式的「台灣人權法典」。我們希望實現聯合國長期所推動的主張，在台灣設立獨立運作的國家人權委員會，並且邀請國際法律人委員會和國際特赦組織這兩個卓越的非政府人權組織，協助我們落實各項人權保護的措施，讓中華民國成為二十一世紀人權的新指標。

我們堅信，不管在任何一個時代、在地球的任何一個角落，自由、民主、人權的意義和價值都不能被漠視或改變。

二十世紀的歷史留給人類一個最大的教訓，那就是——戰爭是人類的失敗。不論目的何在、理由多麼冠冕堂皇，戰爭都是對自由、民主、人權最大的傷害。

過去一百多年來，中國曾經遭受帝國主義的侵略，留下難以抹滅的歷史傷痕。台灣的命運更加坎坷，曾經先後受到強權的欺凌和殖民政權的統治。如此相同的歷史遭遇，理應為兩岸人民之間的相互諒解，為共同追求自由、民主、人權的決心，奠下厚實的基礎。然而，因為長期的隔離，使得雙方發展出截然不同的政治制度和生活方式，從此阻斷了兩岸人民以同理心互相對待的情誼，甚至因為隔離而造成了對立的圍牆。

如今，冷戰已經結束，該是兩岸拋棄舊時代所遺留下來的敵意與對立的時候了。我們無須再等待，因為此刻就是兩岸共創和解時代的新契機。

海峽兩岸人民源自於相同的血緣、文化和歷史背景，我們相信雙方的領導人一定有足夠的智慧與創意，秉持民主對等的原則，在既有的基礎之上，以善意營造合作的條件，共同來處理未來「一個中國」的問題。

本人深切瞭解，身為民選的中華民國第十任總統，自當恪遵憲法，維護國家的主權、尊嚴與安全，確保全體國民的福祉。因此，只要中共無意對台動武，本人保證在任期之內，不會宣佈獨立，不會更改國號，不會推動兩國論入憲，不會推動改變現狀的統獨公投，也沒有廢除國統綱領與國統會的問題。

歷史證明，戰爭只會引來更多的仇恨與敵意，絲毫無助於彼此關係的發展。中國人強調王霸之分，相信行仁政必能使「近者悅、遠者來」、「遠人不服，則修文德以來之」的道理。這些中國人的智慧，即使到了下一個世紀，仍然是放諸四海皆準的至理名言。

大陸在鄧小平先生與江澤民先生的領導下，創造了經濟開放的奇蹟；而台灣在半個世紀以來，不僅創造了經濟奇蹟，也締造了民主的政治奇蹟。在此基礎上，兩岸的政府與人民若能多多交流，秉持「善意和解、積極合作、永久和平」的原則，尊重人民自由意志的選擇，排除不必要的種種障礙，海峽兩岸必能為亞太地區的繁榮與穩定做出重大的貢獻，也必將為全體人類創造更輝煌的東方文明。

親愛的同胞，我們多麼希望海內外的華人都能親身體驗、共同分享這一刻的動人情景。眼前開闊的凱達格蘭大道，數年之前仍然戒備森嚴；在我身後的這棟建築，曾經是殖民時代的總督府。今天，我們齊聚在這裡，用土地的樂章和人民的聲音來歌頌民主的光榮喜悅。如果用心體會，海內外同胞應該都能領悟這一刻所代表的深遠意義——

威權和武力只能讓人一時屈服，民主自由才是永垂不朽的價值。

唯有服膺人民的意志，才能開拓歷史的道路、打造不朽的建築。

今天，阿扁以一個佃農之子、貧寒的出身，能夠在這一塊土地上奮鬥成長，歷經挫折與考驗，終於贏得人民的信賴，承擔起領導國家的重責大任。個人的成就如此卑微，但其中隱含的寓意卻彌足可貴。因為，每一位福爾摩沙的子民都和阿扁一樣，都是「台灣之子」。不論在多麼艱困的環境中，台灣都像至愛無私的母親，從不間斷的賜予我們機會，帶領我們實現美好的夢想。

台灣之子的精神啟示著我們：儘管台澎金馬只是太平洋邊的蕞爾小島，只要兩千三百萬同胞不畏艱難、攜手向前，我們夢想的地圖將會無限遠大，一直延伸到地平線的盡頭。

親愛的同胞，這一刻的光榮屬於全體人民，所有的恩典都要歸於台灣——我們永遠的母親。讓我們一起對土地感恩、向人民致敬。

自由民主萬歲！

台灣人民萬歲！  
敬祝中華民國國運昌隆！全國同胞和各位嘉賓健康愉快！

## 2004—CHEN SHUI-BIAN

Heads of States, Diplomatic Envoys and Foreign Dignitaries, Distinguished Guests, and Fellow Citizens:

Firstly, I wish to thank our honorable guests, at home and from abroad, who have joined us today for the Inauguration Ceremony of the 11th-Term President and Vice President of the Republic of China. What we have come together to witness are the progressive steps of Taiwan's democracy, as well as a story, written jointly by the 23 million people of Taiwan—one that is extraordinary and truly remarkable.

On this joyous occasion of national celebration, I will assume the solemn duty bestowed upon me by the people. At this moment, that which fills my mind is not eloquent words of glory and exaltation, but rather, weighty thoughts of bigger responsibility, greater humility, and deeper self-reflection.

In the final year of the twentieth century, Taiwan crossed a historic doorsill, completing an unprecedented transfer of power between political parties, and ushering in a new era in our nation's democratic development. In that time of change over—between the old and the new century—our fledgling democracy found itself stumbling down a rugged path of trial and tribulation. Taiwan's maiden voyage into the new century came wrought with turbulence as the old and the new, the weak and the strong, the emergence of crisis and the rise of opportunity—all came clashing into co-existence.

In the eyes of Chinese societies and other emerging democratic states, Taiwan's democracy embodies not merely a democratic experimentation; it signifies an exemplary success. The standard of democracy achieved in Western nations is the tried result through the test of time. In comparison, Taiwan's newfound democracy, after weathering rough waters, has burgeoned into an even more precious accomplishment. Our experience also serves as testament that democracy does not come ready-made, nor is it a Utopian ideal. There is no express train to transport us to the final destination. Democratic advancement occurs only through constant and gradual endeavor, one step at a time.

In the initial stage of Taiwan's democratization—from lifting of the martial law, complete re-election of the national legislature to direct presidential election—we have vested sovereignty with the people and began fostering Taiwan's national identity. In the second stage, a greater emphasis is placed on the establishment of a civil society and on the rebuilding of unity through a sense of shared destiny.

From increased community and civic consciousness to broader participation in public affairs and national policymaking—including the holding of a referendum, the rights and duties of citizens in a civil society have been affirmed and further improved; and thereby, the development towards a more matured, rational, and responsive democracy. We must seek to establish a civil society, and through joint participation and collective efforts, to create an identity with this land and a common memory if we are to transcend the limitations of ethnicity, lineage, language and culture, and to build a new and unified sense of shared destiny.

In today's society, issues of identity and ethnicity are a serious matter that cannot be denied or deliberately overlooked. My colleagues and I, in the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) as the governing party, will lead the way in addressing such issues. We will take the first step and begin with candid self-reflection.

It was several hundred years ago that the generations before us traversed the "Black-water Channel" (Taiwan Strait) or crossed the great ocean to find a safe haven in Taiwan. No matter what year they arrived, regardless of their ancestral origins and their mother tongues, even in spite of their different hopes and dreams, all are our forefathers; all have settled down here and together faced a common destiny. Whether indigenous peoples or "new settlers," expatriates living abroad, foreign spouses or immigrant workers who labor under Taiwan's blazing sun—all have made a unique contribution to this land and each has become an indispensable member of our "New Taiwan" family.

Various ethnic groups, because of their disparate history and distinctive subcultures, understandably hold divergent views and values. Recognizing such inherent differences, we should embrace one another with more tolerance and understanding. The authoritarian government of the past exploited inequality among different ethnic groups, suppressing native languages and cultures. Nonetheless, we must acknowledge that except for a few



individuals in power, members of all ethnic groups have been victimized. The February 28 Incident and the “White Terror,” of which the victims include both the “Ben-sheng” (Taiwanese) and the “Wai-sheng” (Mainlanders), were not historical representations of subjugation by ethnic groups, rather, abuse of power by a ruling government.

The fabric of Taiwan society today is comprised mainly of diverse immigrant groups. It is not a minority-ruled colonial state; hence, no single ethnic group alone should undeservingly bear the burden of history. Presently, regardless of one’s birthplace—be it Guangdong or Taitung, regardless of the origin of one’s mother—be it Vietnam or Tainan, and regardless of whether an individual identifies with Taiwan or with the Republic of China, per se, a common destiny has bequeathed upon all of us the same parity and dignity. Therefore, let us relinquish our differentiation between native and foreign, and between minority and majority, for the most complimentary and accurate depiction of present-day Taiwan is of a people “ethnically diverse, but one as a nation.” A shared sense of belonging has become the common denominator among all the 23 million people of Taiwan.

This year’s presidential election was marked by an exceedingly spirited campaign, hitherto unseen in history. The close results have prompted opposition parties to question the process and file legal charges contesting the results of the vote. As the incumbent president, I have, with the utmost sincerity, expressed my highest respect for the independence and fairness of our judicial system. I have also vowed to accept the result of its investigation regardless of the final outcome. It is my firm belief that abiding by and acceptance of the rule of law is the only conduit through which we can resolve conflicts—for, if we were to rebuke the trust placed by the people in Taiwan’s democracy and independent judiciaries, then the end result would be that “everyone loses.” Today’s timely spring shower will calm our spirits and clear our minds.

In a democratic system, scheduled elections are designed for the exercise of sovereignty by the people. They also provide a channel through which popular will and social values can be regularly reassessed. Fierce competition in the realm of politics forces politicians to undergo the most direct form of evaluation, which often serves as their greatest inspiration. My campaign, likewise, was subjected to rather tough scrutiny during the election, as was my administration, but we have learned and improved as a result. In any election, sharp differences among competing political factions are inevitable. This could include contrasting ideologies, disparity in policy platforms, even variation in methods used to mobilize supporters. However, a democratic election is not equal to a “winner takes all” wager; nor should it lead to purposefully fueled antagonism among voters. The checks and balances system of multi-party politics constitutes a solid framework for democratic governance. An accountable governing party and a loyal opposition, together, represent the voice of the people; both are political assets of a free nation and a free people. Be it the governing party or the opposition, their respective roles are inherently bestowed by the people with an opportunity as well as a responsibility.

In my opinion, the ultimate challenge of this past election lay not as much in garnering a mandate as in the post-election hurdle of how to scale the wall of antagonism, and, in finding ways to reconcile the deep divide caused by distrust. We must not allow the narrow margin of victory to become a source of greater conflict in society. Thus, I hereby pledge to listen, to understand, to abide by laws and reasoning, and to strive to unify the people of Taiwan—so as to dissipate the animosity engendered by the campaign and rebuild a “bridge of trust” between the governing and opposition parties.

Unite Taiwan, stabilize cross-strait relations, seek social harmony, and reinvigorate the economy. These are the earnest hopes of the people and the preeminent mission of my new administration. But none of these objectives can be accomplished through an individual effort, nor can one political party do it alone. I shall go to the people with my plea for support, just as I stand here today, calling on the opposition parties and the voices of public opinion to join me in this historic endeavor.

**BELIEVE IN TAIWAN**—We must continue to foster national competitiveness and cultivate an atmosphere of humanitarianism, environmental protection, and sustainable development. **PERSIST WITH REFORM**—We shall forge ahead in response to the people’s demand for reform in our political and judicial system, in the educational system, and in our financial and fiscal infrastructures; for improvement in the quality of our media; and, for comprehensive social reform. We shall be empowered by our faith in Taiwan; and we shall persevere in striving to achieve our goals. The efforts put forth today will translate into an enduring legacy for the future generations: a just new Taiwan where social justice, economic justice, fairness in our judicial system, gender justice, and international justice are realized.

In our face-off with increasingly fierce and vigorous competition on the international front, coalescing the power of the people and working expeditiously to enhance the efficiency of government mechanisms—these are tasks vital to Taiwan’s sustained development. Yet, we must bear in mind that historic and political circumstances

confine us to an existing constitutional framework that now poses the most direct impediment to effective governance.

The Constitution stands as the supreme legal basis of a nation, symbolizing a paramount contract between the government and the people. Our current Constitution was promulgated under circumstances that were very different from the society we know today, and the majority of the articles in the Constitution no longer address the present—much less the future—needs of Taiwan. The promotion of constitutional re-engineering and the re-establishment of the constitutional order are tasks that correspond with the expectations of the people and are in accordance with the consensus shared by all political parties.

The constitutional re-engineering project aims to enhance good governance and increase administrative efficiency, to ensure a solid foundation for democratic rule of law, and to foster long-term stability and prosperity of the nation. There are many problems in our current Constitution that need to be tackled, amongst which the more immediate and obvious include: whether to have a three-branch or five-branch separation of power; whether to adopt a presidential or parliamentary system of government; whether the president should be elected by a relative majority or an absolute majority; reform of the national legislature and relevant articles; the role of the National Assembly and its retainment versus abolishment; whether to suspend or abolish the provincial government; lowering of voting age; modification of compulsory military service requirements; protection of basic human rights and the rights of the disadvantaged; and, principles governing the running of the national economy. Indeed, this will be a project of grand scale that is certain to have significant impact.

To avoid repeating the same mistakes by past administrations—six rounds of constitutional amendments in ten years time—the proposed constitutional reform project must not be monopolized by one person or by a single political party, nor should it be undertaken merely for the short-term. In the future, we will invite members of the ruling party and the opposition parties, as well as legal experts, academic scholars and representatives from all fields and spanning all social classes, to collaborate in forming a “Constitutional Reform Committee.” Our aim will be to generate the highest level of social consensus on the scope and procedure of the constitutional reform, all of which are to be open to public scrutiny.

By the time I complete my presidency in 2008, I hope to hand to the people of Taiwan and to our country a new version of our Constitution—one that is timely, relevant and viable—this is my historic responsibility and my commitment to the people. In the same context, I am fully aware that consensus has yet to be reached on issues related to national sovereignty, territory and the subject of unification/independence; therefore, let me explicitly propose that these particular issues be excluded from the present constitutional re-engineering project. Procedurally, we shall follow the rules set out in the existing Constitution and its amendments. Accordingly, after the passage by the national legislature, members of the first and also the last Ad Hoc National Assembly will be elected and charged with the task of adopting the constitutional reform proposal as passed by the legislature, abolishing the National Assembly, and incorporating into the Constitution the people’s right to referendum on constitutional revision. By so doing, we hope to lay a solid foundation for the long-term development of our constitutional democracy, and the people’s right to referendum on legislative proposals for constitutional revision.

During the last four years, we have witnessed dramatic political and economic changes in the world. Taiwan, in the face of a new international order, must stand firm yet persevere in our ongoing quest to become a better and stronger nation. We must also endeavor to re-position ourselves in equilibrium between global competition and international cooperation.

Taiwan’s long-term friendship with the United States, Japan and our allies in the world has been founded on the safeguarding of our common interests. More importantly, it is an alliance of core values that we share: freedom, democracy, human rights and peace.

Taiwan’s democratic development, and peace and stability in the Taiwan Strait, remains a focal point of international attention. On behalf of our government and people, I would like to once again express our heartfelt gratitude for the friendship that has been extended to us—reminding me of the old adage “together though apart.” The people of Taiwan embrace peace. Needless to say, Taiwan’s national security is of greater concern to us than to anyone else in the world. Faced with an ever-increasing military threat from across the Strait, it is imperative for all the people, including political adversaries, to forge a strong will to defend ourselves, proactively strengthening our defense equipment and upgrading our self-defense capabilities. It is our sincere hope that our friends in the international arena will continue to render their valuable attention and assistance to the cause of peace in the Taiwan Strait and stability in the Asia-Pacific Region. Let us take this opportunity to give a warm round of applause to our international allies for their friendship and dedication.

Taiwan stands ready to continue in its role as active participant and contributor to international society—this is the right of Taiwan’s 23 million people; likewise, it is our duty as citizens of the world community. In the global campaign against terrorism, Taiwan has never been absent. In international humanitarian assistance efforts, Taiwan has always been there. Other recent accomplishments include the founding of the Pacific Democratic Alliance and the establishment of the Taiwan Foundation for Democracy. We can show a vigorous record of participation in international non-governmental organizations (NGO’s), in addition to our collaboration with other members of the global village in advocacy and defense of the universal values of freedom, democracy and human rights.

At present, Taiwan is the world’s fifteenth largest trading nation, with high rankings in international competitiveness. Yet, it took twelve years of strenuous effort for Taiwan to become the 144th member of the World Trade Organization (WTO). We are still fighting relentlessly to join the World Health Organization (WHO). Last year’s outbreak of the SARS epidemic has taught the world a hard lesson, that we are all equals in sickness and disease. Nevertheless, despite the WHO’s creed that health care—encompassing medicine, public health and disease control—is a basic human right and should heed no borders, Taiwan remains unjustly locked out. Let us come together in a continuous effort toward our goal to join the World Health Organization in two years.

Not long ago, the European Union (EU) welcomed the accession of ten new member states. Following several decades of effort, with respect to each individual country and by the free choice of citizens, the EU has successfully integrated the common interests of the people of Europe. Such a valuable experience has far-reaching implications and will impact world order in this new century. From this we see that regional integration is not merely an ongoing but also a future trend. This trend, in addition to globalization, has led to fundamental changes in the conventional thinking of national sovereignty and territorial boundaries, such that envisioning “universal harmony” will no longer be an intangible ideal.

With the new century upon us, let the leaders on both sides of the Strait, in striving to attain the greatest welfare for their peoples, heed this new trend by adopting a brand new frame of mind—together, let us take a fresh, unparalleled approach in addressing future cross-strait issues.

The peoples on both sides share a common ancestral, cultural and historical heritage. In the past century, both have endured the repression of foreign powers and the domination of authoritarian rule. Both our peoples now share an indomitable resolve to stand up and be the masters of their own destiny, a sentiment that is worthy of our full, mutual understanding.

We can understand why the government on the other side of the Strait, in light of historical complexities and ethnic sentiments, cannot relinquish the insistence on the “One China Principle.” By the same token, the Beijing authorities must understand the deep conviction held by the people of Taiwan to strive for democracy, to love peace, to pursue their dreams free from threat, and, to embrace progress. But if the other side is unable to comprehend that this honest and simple wish represents the aspiration of Taiwan’s 23 million people, if it continues to threaten Taiwan with military force, if it persists in isolating Taiwan diplomatically, if it keeps up irrational efforts to blockade Taiwan’s rightful participation in the international arena, this will only serve to drive the hearts of the Taiwanese people further away and widen the divide in the Strait.

The Republic of China now exists in Taiwan, Penghu (The Pescadores), Kinmen and Matsu. This is a fact. Taiwan’s existence as a member of international society is also a fact. Such realities cannot be negated by anyone for any reason—for therein lies the collective will of the people of Taiwan. A half century of toil and labor by the people of this land has culminated in what is now known as the “Taiwan Experience,” the fruits of which validate the existence of the Republic of China and, what is more, have become the proud assets, not only of the peoples on both sides of the Taiwan Strait, but of all Chinese societies.

History has given rise to the development of two very different political systems as well as two dissimilar ways of life on either side of the Taiwan Strait. However, if we make a concerted effort to find some positive aspect of our differences and commonalities, perhaps we shall discover a wonderful opportunity, a catalyst for building a cooperative and mutually beneficial relationship. Taiwan is a completely free and democratic society. Neither single individual nor political party can make the ultimate choice for the people. If both sides are willing, on the basis of goodwill, to create an environment engendered upon “peaceful development and freedom of choice,” then in the future, the Republic of China and the People’s Republic of China—or Taiwan and China—can seek to establish relations in any form whatsoever. We would not exclude any possibility, so long as there is the consent of the 23 million people of Taiwan.

For more than a decade, interaction between the peoples on both sides has grown closer and more intense. This development bears great significance and increases the importance of furthering cross-strait relations. In the future,

we hope to continue pushing forth current liberalization measures while expanding cross-strait exchange across the spectrum—from journalism and information to education and culture, to economics and trade—and to promote the establishment of channels for resuming cross-strait dialogue and communication. By building bridges, we will aim to close gaps and establish a foundation for mutual trust.

The first two decades of this century will be a crucial time for Taiwan to pursue a comprehensive program of upgrading and transformation; it also represents an opportune moment in history for Mainland China to move forward with democratization and liberalization. Therefore, governments on both sides should seize this timely opportunity to take on the challenges of global competition, advocating for progress and development instead of dwelling on the impasse of political debate. We have taken note that Chinese Communist Party leaders repeatedly emphasize the importance of steady development for the welfare of Mainland China's 1.3 billion people, hence, the espousal of "peaceful emergence" as its tone for developing international relations. We have no doubt the Beijing authorities recognize that maintaining the peaceful status quo in the Taiwan Strait is of vital importance to sustainable development for our respective sides and for the stability of the Asia-Pacific region as a whole.

It is my belief that both sides must demonstrate a dedicated commitment to national development, and through consultation, establish a dynamic "peace and stability framework" for interactions; that we must work together to guarantee there will be no unilateral change to the status quo in the Taiwan Strait; and, additionally, we must further promote cultural, economic and trade exchanges—including the three links—for only in so doing can we ensure the welfare of our peoples while fulfilling the expectations of the international community.

As the President of the Republic of China, I have been mandated by the people of Taiwan to defend the sovereignty, security and dignity of this nation, to chart our country's sustainable development, to safeguard peace and stability in the Taiwan Strait, to seek consensus and garner the collective support of all the people, and to carefully manage future relations across the Strait. Today I would like to reaffirm the promises and principles set forth in my inaugural speech in 2000. Those commitments have been honored—they have not changed over the past four years, nor will they change in the next four years. Upon this foundation, my next step will be to invite both the governing and opposition parties, in conjunction with representatives from various walks of the society, to participate in the establishment of a "Committee for Cross-Strait Peace and Development," combining the collective insight and wisdom of all parties and our citizenry, to draft the "Guidelines for Cross-Strait Peace and Development." The goal will be to pave the way for formulating a new relationship of cross-strait peace, stability and sustainable development.

Honorable guests and fellow citizens, if we look at a map of the world, Taiwan, Penghu, Kinmen and Matsu may seem like a tiny cluster of islands in the margins of the Pacific Rim. However, if you take a closer look, what you will discover are orchestral mountain ranges, painted with singing rivers, adorning some of the world's most bountiful ecological landscapes. Amidst the lush forestry and abundant wildlife, there is a human chain linking together 23 million warm smiles descended from an ethnic rainbow, with a history that spans across centuries and reflects a myriad of cultural heritage juxtaposed with political evolution and economic transformation—enough to fill an encyclopedia. Taiwan is a tolerant, oceanic country, a small but proud island connected to all corners of the world. Galvanizing these attributes will empower us to expand our visions and unleash our minds far beyond the horizon.

The story of Taiwan touches people's hearts. But, what inspires awe, more than its natural beauty, is the coloring that reflects the triumphant experience of overcoming hardship, trials and tribulations. This is the "Spirit of Taiwan," a gift passed through the generations, a glow which emits from the faces of the Taiwan people.

Now, the torch of history has once again been passed into my hand; each of you also holds the torch in your hands. I have set a goal for myself, that, during the next four years, I will continue to uphold the principles of sincerity and honesty, compassion and benevolence, unselfishness and impartiality in leading our country down the "middle road." I ask my fellow compatriots to stand by me in this endeavor. I will be counting on your support and encouragement.

I am just an ordinary man. I have always believed that there is no such thing as a great president, for only a great people can create a great country. Fueled by the power of the people, let us work together. Together, let us lay the foundation for our long-term national development—for sustainable democracy, sustainable reforms, sustainable humanities, and sustainable peace. Let Taiwan, the Republic of China, work toward solidarity and harmony, fairness and justice, prosperity and equality. History has endowed upon me this responsibility. It is a mission entrusted to me by the people.

On February 28 of this year, more than one million people stood on the land of Formosa, irrespective of ethnic affiliation, age, or gender. Hand in hand, they formed a mesmerizing “wall of democracy” some five hundred kilometers long, spanning the full length of the island and completing a breathtaking portrait of Taiwan. The time has come for Taiwan to stand tall, to reach out with courage and conviction. Let us mark a sustainable and firm place in the world.

My fellow citizens, let us be thankful for this land and let us pay tribute to the greatness of the people. We must unite for the sake of Taiwan. Together, we must defend our Taiwan, as we stride proudly forward into the twenty-first century. Once again let us hand-in-hand author the next chapter in this most inspirational story of twenty-first-century Taiwan.

Finally, let us wish the Republic of China great prosperity. And to all my fellow citizens, dear friends and honorable guests, may health and happiness be with you always.

Thank you.

中華民國各位友邦元首、使節及代表團、各位貴賓、親愛的國人同胞：

感謝來自海內外的各位貴賓，共同參與中華民國第十一任總統、副總統的就職大典。今天我們在這裡所見證的，是台灣民主前進的腳步，也是兩千三百萬人民共同寫下的一個難能可貴的故事。

在此歡欣的國家慶典中，個人承受人民所賦予的莊嚴使命。此時此刻，在我的心中與腦海浮現的並不是華麗的讚詞，而是更大的責任、更多的謙卑、更深的省思。

在二十世紀的最後一年，台灣跨越了首次政黨輪替的歷史門檻，邁向民主發展的新里程。隨著新舊世紀的交替，我們同時走過一段崎嶇艱難的民主道路。在世紀首航的驚濤駭浪之中，舊有與新生並存、脆弱與堅強共生、危機與轉機同在。

對於華人社會以及其他的新興民主國家而言，台灣的民主不僅是一個試煉、也是一個示範。西方的民主政治經過千錘百鍊才有今日的水準，身為年輕的民主國家，歷經挫折磨練的台灣經驗更顯得彌足珍貴。台灣的經驗證明：民主不是坐享其成的烏托邦，也沒有一步到位的直達車，必須一點一滴的耕耘，才有一步一腳印的前進。

在第一波的民主化過程當中，從解除戒嚴、國會全面改選到總統直接民選，我們確立了主權在民的價值觀以及台灣的主體性。第二波的民主工程，重點在於公民社會的建立以及國家共同體的再造。

從社區公民意識的形成，到國家公共政策的參與，包括公民投票的實踐，都是公民社會權利義務的確認和提升，也促使我們發展更成熟、理性、負責的民主內涵。透過公民社會的建立，經由偕同參與、集體創造的土地認同與共同記憶，才能超越族群、血緣、語言、文化的侷限，邁向一個新的國家共同體的重建。

當前的台灣社會確實存在認同與族群的嚴肅課題，我們不需要掩飾，更不能夠漠視。身為執政者，包括阿扁個人和民主進步黨，都願意率先反省、坦誠面對，並且尋求有效的化解。

回想數百年前，我們的祖先跨越黑水溝，渡海來台尋找安身立命的所在。不論先來後到，儘管來自不同的地方，使用不同的語言，甚至懷抱不同的理想，最後都在這裡落地生根，彼此命運相同、休戚與共。不管是原住民、新住民、旅居海外的僑胞、注入新血的外籍配偶，包括在相同的太陽底下辛勤流汗的外籍勞工，都對這一塊土地有不可抹滅的奉獻，也都是台灣新家庭不可或缺的一部份。

不同的族群或許因為歷史記憶與民族情感而有認同的差異，但是彼此應該相互包容、用心理解。在過去威權戒嚴的時代，曾經存在族群地位的不平等和語言文化的壓抑，但是我們必須認知的是，除了極少數的當權者之外，所有的族群都是相同的受害者。在二二八事件和白色恐怖當中，受難者同時包括本省籍和外省籍，其成因要歸咎於當權者權力的濫用，而非族群的壓迫。

台灣是一個多數移民的社會，不是少數殖民統治的國家，沒有任何一個族群應該背負莫須有的歷史包袱。在今日的台灣，不管你出生在廣東或者台東，不管我們的母親來自越南或者台南，每一個人擁有的同樣的地位和尊嚴。阿扁認為，不管是認同台灣或者認同中華民國，其實都是相同的歸屬。「族群多元、國家一體」是台灣這一塊土地上最美好完整的圖像，沒有本土和外來之分，也沒有少數和多數之別，兩千三百萬台灣人民應該是一個命運相同、榮辱與共的整數。

這一次的總統大選空前的激烈，選舉結果揭曉之後，在野黨的候選人提出了質疑和訴訟。身為現任的總統，阿扁以最大的誠意表達完全尊重司法的獨立公正，不論結果如何，個人絕對願意坦然接受。阿扁相信，遵循法治、信任司法是解決爭端唯一的路，如果因為一次的選舉而推翻了人民對民主法治與司法獨立的信任，最後只會導致全民皆輸的結果。

今天的下雨來得正是時候，讓我們的激情降溫，讓我們冷靜下來，也讓我們頭腦更加清楚。

民主政治定期選舉的設計，除了實踐主權在民的原理之外，也是人民意向與社會價值的具體檢視。激烈的競爭，可以對政治人物有最直接的檢驗和啟示。包括阿扁個人以及執政的團隊，都在這次的選舉當

中接受最嚴格的考驗，並且因此而反省改進。不同的陣營之間，難免有理念的差異、政策的辯論，甚至民眾的動員，但是，民主選舉的結果，不是成王敗寇的結局，更不應該演變為民眾之間的對立。政黨政治監督制衡的設計，乃是民主健全的根基。負責的執政黨以及忠誠的反對黨，都代表國民意志的一部分，也都是國家人民的政治資產。不管扮演執政或者在野的角色，都是人民所賜與的一個機會，也是一個責任。

個人認為，此次選舉最終的考驗，已經不是跨越多數門檻的問題，而是朝野全民如何跨過對立的圍牆、如何超越信任的鴻溝。不能夠因為選票的距離拉近，而使得社會的矛盾擴大。縱使無法消弭於一時，個人仍將繼續秉持「傾聽、理解、法理、團結」的用心，弭平選舉的對立、重建朝野的信任。

團結台灣、穩定兩岸、安定社會、繁榮經濟，這些都是當前人民殷切的期待，也是政府未來施政的首要。其中任何一項，都不是一人、一黨所能獨力完成，所以我要懇請在野政黨以及社會輿論共同支持鞭策，更要祈求人民賜給阿扁力量。

相信台灣，必須持續創造國家的競爭力，打造一個人文關懷、生態環保的永續家園。堅持改革，是要讓政治、司法、教育、金融、財政、媒體及社會的改革，回應人民長久的期待。相信就有力量，堅持才能實現理想。現在付出的一切努力，是要讓我們的下一代生活在一個符合社會正義、經濟正義、司法正義、性別正義、以及國際正義的公義新台灣。

當前，台灣面對全面、激烈、快速的國際競爭，如何凝聚全民的力量，進一步提升政府的效能已經是攸關國家發展的當務之急。但是，由於特殊的國情以及歷史的因素，使得政府效能的改造，立即面臨憲政體制的難題。

憲法是國家的根本大法，也是政府與人民的契約書。我國憲法囿於當初制訂的時空背景，絕大多數的條文早已不符台灣當前及未來所需。推動憲政改造的工程，重建憲政秩序，不僅是人民的期望，也已經獲得朝野政黨的共識。

憲政改造的工程是為了政府的良好管理及效能的提升、為了確立民主法治的根基，更是為了國家的長治久安。其中，立即而明顯的問題包括：三權分立或五權憲法、總統制或內閣制、總統選制為相對多數或絕對多數、國會改革及相關的配套條文、國民大會的定位與存廢、省政府組織的存廢、投票年齡的降低、兵役制度的調整、基本人權與弱勢權益的保障、國民經濟條款……等，可以說是工程浩大、影響至深。

為了避免重蹈過去十年內六次修憲的覆轍，憲政改造的工程不應該由一人或一黨主導，更不能只著眼於一時之便。未來，我們將邀請朝野政黨、法界、學界及各領域階層的代表，共同籌組憲政改造委員會，針對憲政改造的範圍及程序尋求社會最大的共識，並且接受人民及輿論的監督。

在 2008 年阿扁卸任總統之前，能夠交給台灣人民及我們的國家一部合時、合身、合用的新憲法，這是阿扁對歷史的責任，也是對人民的承諾。基於相同的責任與承諾，阿扁也深切瞭解，涉及國家主權、領土及統獨的議題，目前在台灣社會尚未形成絕大多數的共識，所以個人明確的建議這些議題不宜在此次憲改的範圍之內。至於首次憲改的程序，我們仍將依循現行憲法及增修條文的規定，經由國會通過之後，選出第一屆也是最後一屆的任務型國代，同時完成憲政改造、廢除國大、以及公投入憲，為民主憲政長遠的發展及未來人民公投複決國會憲改提案奠定開闢的基石。

過去四年，全球政經情勢產生明顯的變化，台灣面對國際新秩序的變動，除了必須自我提升、站穩腳步之外，在全球化的競爭與國際的合作之間，也必須尋求新的立足點。

長久以來，台灣與美、日及許多國際友邦的友誼基礎，不僅在於維護共同的利益，更重要的是建立在自由、民主、人權與和平的「價值同盟」關係。

台灣的民主發展與台海的和平穩定，一直備受國際關注。對於這些天涯若比鄰的友誼，個人要代表我國政府及人民再一次表達由衷的感謝。台灣人民愛好和平，我們絕對比任何人更關心自己的國家安全，面對海峽對岸持續增加的武力威脅，朝野全民應該凝聚堅強的國防意識，積極強化有效的防備，提升自我防衛的能力，也盼望國際社會繼續關注並協助維護台海的和平與亞太地區的穩定。

在此，阿扁號召大家、朝野全民以熱烈的掌聲感謝國際友邦的友誼及真情。

台灣願意持續以積極奉獻的角色參與國際社會，這是兩千三百萬人民應有的權利，也是我們做為世界公民的義務。在全球反恐的浪潮以及國際人道援助的行列中，台灣一直沒有缺席。過去這幾年，我們籌設民主太平洋聯盟、成立民主基金會，積極參與國際非政府組織，與地球村的其他成員共同分享並維護自由、民主、人權的普世價值。

台灣目前是世界第十五大貿易國，各項國際競爭力的評比都名列前茅，我們仍然經過十二年的努力，才得以成為世界貿易組織的第 144 個會員國，其中的艱辛不可言喻。如今，我們仍在鏗而不捨的努力加入世界衛生組織。去年 SARS 疫情蔓延的殷鑑不遠，基於醫療、衛生、防疫無國界以及基本人權的普世價值，台灣理應獲得更公平的對待。

在此，阿扁呼籲大家，我們更應團結同心，繼續努力，希望在未來兩年之內完成加入世界衛生組織的心願。

不久之前，歐洲聯盟熱烈的慶祝十個新會員國的加入。歐盟經過數十年的努力，在尊重個別國家及其人民自由意志的選擇之下，成功整合了歐洲人民共同利益的寶貴經驗，對於新世紀的全球局勢產生巨大的影響和衝擊。區域整合不僅是當前、也是未來的趨勢。這種區域整合加上全球化的發展，使得人類社會原有的國家主權原理，乃至於國界的藩籬，都產生結構性的變化。世界大同已經不是遙不可及的夢想。

海峽兩岸新世紀的領導人，為了創造人民最大的福祉，應該都能前瞻這個新趨勢，並且以全新的思維和格局，共同來面對和處理兩岸未來的問題。

兩岸人民曾經擁有共同的血緣、文化和歷史背景，過去一個世紀以來也都遭逢強權的欺凌和專制的統治。如今，兩岸人民都有站起來當家作主的堅強意願，這一點應該能夠獲得彼此充分的理解。

我們可以體會海峽對岸源於歷史情結與民族情感，無法放棄對於「一個中國原則」的堅持。相對的，北京當局也應該要充分瞭解，台灣人民要民主、愛和平、求生存、求發展的堅定信念。如果對岸不能夠體會兩千三百萬人民單純良善的心願，繼續對台灣施加武力的威脅和政治的孤立，無理的將台灣阻絕於國際社會之外，只會讓台灣的民心和海峽的對岸越離越遠。

中華民國在台澎金馬存在、台灣在國際社會存在的事實，不容許任何人以任何理由加以否定，這就是台灣人民集體意志之所在。過去半個世紀以來，兩千三百萬人民胼手胝足所創造的台灣經驗，不僅印證了中華民國存在的正面價值，也應該是華人社會及兩岸人民的共同資產。

歷史的緣故讓兩岸發展出相當不同的政治制度和生活方式，但是如果以積極的態度來看待兩岸發展的「異」與「同」，應該可以善加利用，走向進一步合作互惠的關係。台灣是一個完全自由民主的社會，沒有任何個人或政黨可以代替人民做出最後的選擇。如果兩岸之間能夠本於善意，共同營造一個「和平發展、自由選擇」的環境，未來中華民國與中華人民共和國或者台灣與中國之間，將發展任何形式的關係，只要兩千三百萬台灣人民同意，我們都不排除。

過去十幾年兩岸人民的互動交流，已經發展出極為密切的關係，對於兩岸關係的進展具有重要的價值與意義。未來，我們希望在既有的基礎之上，持續放寬並且擴大兩岸新聞、資訊、教育、文化、經貿交流的相關措施，推動兩岸恢復對話與溝通的管道，如此才能拉近彼此的距離，建立互信的基礎。

二十一世紀的前二十年，不僅是台灣要全面向上提升的關鍵轉型期，也是中國大陸邁向民主化及自由化的機遇期，雙方的政府理應掌握機會全力打拼，放眼於全球競爭的趨勢，不要再虛耗於政治爭辯的僵局。我們已經注意到，中共的領導人近來一再強調穩定發展的重要，強調十三億大陸人民的福祉，並且選擇「和平崛起」做為拓展國際關係的基調。我們也相信，北京當局應該認知維持台海和平的現狀，對於兩岸各自的發展以及亞太區域穩定的重要性。

個人深信，唯有兩岸致力於建設與發展，協商建立一個動態的和平穩定互動架構，共同確保台海的現狀不被片面改變，並且進一步推動包括三通在內的文化經貿往來，才能符合兩岸人民的福祉與國際社會的期待。

身為中華民國的總統，接受台灣人民的付託，個人必須捍衛國家的主權、安全與尊嚴，兼顧國家的永續發展及台海的和平穩定，匯聚全民的意志和共識，妥善處理兩岸未來的關係。今天，個人願意在此重申，公元 2000 年 520 就職演說所揭櫫的原則和承諾，過去四年沒有改變，未來四年也不會改變。在此基礎之上，阿扁將進一步邀集朝野政黨及社會各界共同參與，成立「兩岸和平發展委員會」，凝聚朝野的智慧與全民的共識，擬定「兩岸和平發展綱領」，共同策進兩岸和平穩定、永續發展的新關係。

各位貴賓、親愛的國人同胞，攤開世界地圖來看，台澎金馬只是太平洋邊的幾個小島，但是如果仔細檢視這些島嶼上美麗的山河、多元的族群、多樣的生態，細數兩千三百萬人民過去幾個世紀所寫下的政治、經濟、文化篇章，你會發現猶如進入一部精彩豐富的百科全書。海洋國家的包容，世界島的開闊，讓這一塊土地上的子民，視野和胸懷隨著地平線無限的延伸。

台灣的故事所以動人，不是因為天生麗質，而是歷經挫折砥礪、苦難錘鍊之後，所蘊含散發的光彩。這就是「台灣精神」，從我們的祖先一直流傳到我們每一個人的身上。

如今，歷史的火炬再一次交到阿扁的手上，也握在每一位國人同胞的手中。未來四年，阿扁自我期許能夠做到講誠信、存慈悲、大公無私、中道治國，更希望國人同胞給我支持、給我鞭策。

阿扁是一個平凡的人，我一直相信，沒有偉大的總統，只有偉大的人民可以成就偉大的國家。援引人民的力量，為民主永續、改革永續、人文永續、和平永續的國家發展奠基，讓台灣中華民國邁向團結和諧、公平正義、富足均衡、生生不息，這是歷史賦予阿扁的責任，也是人民交付的使命。

今年的 228，上百萬的民眾站在福爾摩沙這一塊土地上，不分族群、年齡、性別，手牽著手，築成一座長達五百公里的民主長城，完成一幅最美的台灣圖像。台灣不但要站起來，還要勇敢的走出去，在世界地圖上永續發展、屹立不搖。

親愛的國人同胞，讓我們一起對土地感恩、向人民致敬！讓我們繼續團結台灣、守護台灣、牽手向前，再一次寫下二十一世紀動人的台灣故事。

最後，敬祝中華民國國運昌隆！各位鄉親朋友及各位嘉賓健康快樂！  
謝謝大家！

## ■ 2008—MA YING-JEOU

Heads of State of Our Diplomatic Allies, Distinguished Guests, Overseas Compatriots, My Fellow Taiwanese, and Dear Friends in front of a Television Set or Computer:  
Good Morning!

### I. Historical Significance of the Second Turnover of Power

Earlier this year on March 22, through the presidential election of the Republic of China, the people changed the course of their future. Today we are here not to celebrate the victory of a particular party or individual, but to witness Taiwan pass a historic milestone.

Taiwan's democracy has been treading down a rocky road, but now it has finally won the chance to enter a smoother path. During that difficult time, political trust was low, political maneuvering was high, and economic security was gone. Support for Taiwan from abroad had suffered an all-time low. Fortunately, the growing pains of Taiwan's democracy did not last long compared to those of other young democracies. Through these growing pains, Taiwan's democracy matured as one can see by the clear choice the people made at this critical moment. The people have chosen clean politics, an open economy, ethnic harmony, and peaceful cross-strait relations to open their arms to the future.

Above all, the people have rediscovered Taiwan's traditional core values of benevolence, righteousness, diligence, honesty, generosity and industriousness. This remarkable experience has let Taiwan become "a beacon of democracy to Asia and the world." We, the people of Taiwan, should be proud of ourselves. The Republic of China is now a democracy respected by the international community.

Yet we are still not content. We must better Taiwan's democracy, enrich its substance, and make it more perfect. To accomplish this, we can rely on the Constitution to protect human rights, uphold law and order, make justice independent and impartial, and breathe new life into civil society. Taiwan's democracy should not be marred by illegal eavesdropping, arbitrary justice, and political interference in the media or electoral institutions. All of us share this vision for the next phase of political reform.

On the day of Taiwan's presidential election, hundreds of millions of ethnic Chinese worldwide watched the ballot count on TV and the Internet. Taiwan is the sole ethnic Chinese society to complete a second democratic turnover of power. Ethnic Chinese communities around the world have laid their hopes on this crucial political experiment. By succeeding, we can make unparalleled contributions to the democratic development of all ethnic Chinese communities. This responsibility is ours to fulfill.

### II. Mission of the New Era

The new administration's most urgent task is to lead Taiwan through the daunting challenges from globalization. The world economy is changing profoundly, and newly emerging countries are arising rapidly. We must upgrade Taiwan's international competitiveness and recover lost opportunities. The uncertainty of the current global economy poses as the main challenge to the revitalization of Taiwan's economy. Yet, we firmly believe that, with right policies and steadfast determination, our goals are within our grasp.

Islands like Taiwan flourish in an open economy and wither in a closed one. This has been true throughout history. Therefore, we must open up and deregulate the economy to unleash the vitality of the private sector. This will strengthen Taiwan's comparative advantages. Taiwan's enterprises should be encouraged to establish themselves at home, network throughout the Asia-Pacific region, and position themselves globally. Taiwan's labor force must learn to adapt to rapid technological changes and industrial restructuring. Our youth must develop character, a sense of civic duty, global perspectives and lifelong learning capabilities. All forms of political interference in education must be eradicated. In this era of globalization, the government must satisfy the basic needs of the underprivileged



and create opportunities for them to develop. While pursuing growth, we must seek environmental sustainability for Taiwan and the rest of the world.

The new administration must also restore political ethics to regain the people's trust in the government. We will endeavor to create an environment that is humane, rational and pluralistic—one that fosters political reconciliation and co-existence. We will promote harmony among sub-ethnic groups and between the old and new immigrants, encourage healthy competition in politics, and respect the media's monitoring of the government and freedom of the press.

The new administration will push for clean politics and set strict standards for the integrity and efficiency of officials. It also will provide a code for the interaction between the public and private sectors to prevent money politics. I hope every civil servant will keep in mind: "Power corrupts, and absolute power corrupts absolutely." The KMT will honor its sincere commitment to accountability in governance. The new government will be for all the people, remain non-partisan and uphold administrative neutrality. The government will not stand in the way of social progress, but rather serve as the engine that drives it.

As President of the Republic of China, my most solemn duty is to safeguard the Constitution. In a young democracy, respecting the Constitution is more important than amending it. My top priority is to affirm the authority of the Constitution and show the value of abiding by it. Serving by example, I will follow the letter and the spirit of the Constitution, especially the separation of powers. We must ensure that the government is based on the rule of law. The Executive Yuan must answer to the Legislative Yuan. The Judiciary must guarantee the rule of law and protect human rights. The Examination Yuan must make the civil service sound. The Control Yuan must redress mistakes by the government and censure malfeasance by civil servants. All told, we must take this opportunity to re-establish a robust constitutional tradition.

Taiwan has to be a respectable member of the global village. Dignity, autonomy, pragmatism and flexibility should be Taiwan's guiding principles when developing foreign relations. As a world citizen, the Republic of China will accept its responsibilities in promoting free trade, nonproliferation, anti-global warming measures, counter-terrorism, humanitarian aid, and other global commons. Taiwan must play a greater role in regional cooperation. By strengthening economic relations with its major trading partners, Taiwan can better integrate itself in East Asia and contribute more to the region's peace and prosperity.

We will strengthen bilateral relations with the United States, our foremost security ally and trading partner. Taiwan will continue to cherish its diplomatic allies and honor its commitments to them. We will expand cooperation with like-minded countries. On top of that, we will rationalize our defense budget and acquire necessary defensive weaponry to form a solid national defense force. At the same time, we are committed to cross-strait peace and regional stability. The Republic of China must restore its reputation in the international community as a peace-maker.

I sincerely hope that the two sides of the Taiwan Strait can seize this historic opportunity to achieve peace and co-prosperity. Under the principle of "no unification, no independence and no use of force," as Taiwan's mainstream public opinion holds it, and under the framework of the ROC Constitution, we will maintain the status quo in the Taiwan Strait. In 1992, the two sides reached a consensus on "one China, respective interpretations." Many rounds of negotiation were then completed, spurring the development of cross-strait relations. I want to reiterate that, based on the "1992 Consensus," negotiations should resume at the earliest time possible. As proposed in the Boao Forum on April 12 of this year, let's "face reality, pioneer a new future, shelve controversies and pursue a win-win solution." This will allow us to strike a balance as each pursues its own interests. The normalization of economic and cultural relations is the first step to a win-win solution. Accordingly, we are ready to resume consultations. It is our expectation that, with the start of direct charter flights on weekends and the arrival of mainland tourists in early July this year, we will launch a new era of cross-strait relations.

We will also enter consultations with mainland China over Taiwan's international space and a possible cross-strait peace accord. Taiwan doesn't just want security and prosperity. It wants dignity. Only when Taiwan is no longer being isolated in the international arena can cross-strait relations move forward with confidence. We have taken note that Mr. Hu Jintao has recently spoken on cross-strait relations three times: first, in a conversation of March 26 with US President George W. Bush on the "1992 Consensus"; second, in his proposed "four continuations" on April 12 at the Boao Forum; and third, on April 29 when he called for "building mutual trust, shelving controversies, finding commonalities despite differences, and creating together a win-win solution" across the Taiwan Strait. His views are very much in line with our own. Here I would like to call upon the two sides to pursue reconciliation and truce in both cross-strait and international arenas. We should help and respect each other

in international organizations and activities. In light of our common Chinese heritage, people on both sides should do their utmost to jointly contribute to the international community without engaging in vicious competition and the waste of resources. I firmly believe that Taiwan and mainland China are open minded enough to find a way to attain peace and co-prosperity.

In resolving cross-strait issues, what matters is not sovereignty but core values and way of life. We care about the welfare of the 1.3 billion people of mainland China, and hope that mainland China will continue to move toward freedom, democracy and prosperity for all the people. This would pave the way for the long-term peaceful development of cross-strait relations.

The damage from the recent earthquake in Sichuan was shocking. All Taiwanese have expressed deep concern and offered immediate emergency assistance. We offer our deepest condolences to the earthquake victims and pay homage to the rescue workers. May the reconstruction of the affected area be completed at the earliest time possible!

### **III. Taiwan's Legacy and Vision**

Upon being sworn in, I had an epiphany about the significance of accepting responsibility for the 23 million people of Taiwan. Although I have never felt so honored in my life, this is the heaviest responsibility that I have ever shouldered. Taiwan is not my birthplace, but it is where I was raised and the resting place of my family. I am forever grateful to society for accepting and nurturing this post-war immigrant. I will protect Taiwan with all my heart and resolutely move forward. I'll do my very best!

For over four centuries, this island of ours has welcomed waves of immigrants, nurturing and sheltering us all. It has provided us, our children and grandchildren, and the generations to come a safe haven. With its lofty mountains and vast oceans, Taiwan has invigorated us in mind and spirit. The cultural legacies we inherited over time not only survive on this land, but flourish and evolve, creating a pluralistic and vigorous human landscape.

The Republic of China was reborn on Taiwan. During my presidency, we will celebrate the 100th anniversary of the founding of the Republic of China. This democratic republic, the very first in Asia, spent a short 38 years on the Chinese mainland, but has spent nearly 60 years in Taiwan. During these last six decades, the destinies of the Republic of China and Taiwan have been closely intertwined. Together, the two have experienced times good and bad. On the jagged path toward democracy, the ROC has made great strides. Dr. Sun Yat-sen's dream for a constitutional democracy was not realized on the Chinese mainland, but today it has taken root, blossomed and borne fruit in Taiwan.

I am confident about Taiwan's future. Over the years, I have traveled to every corner of the island and talked with people from all walks of life. What impressed me most was that the traditional core values of benevolence, righteousness, diligence, honesty, generosity and industriousness could be seen everywhere in the words and deeds of the Taiwanese people regardless of their location and age. These values have long been ingrained in their character. This is the wellspring of our progress, also lauded as the "Taiwan Spirit."

One can see that Taiwan is blessed with an excellent geographic location, precious cultural assets, a maturing democracy, innovative entrepreneurship, a pluralistic society, active civic groups, patriotic overseas compatriots, and new immigrants from all over the world. We should couple the "Taiwan Spirit" with our comparative advantages and the principle of "putting Taiwan first for the benefit of the people." This way we can transform our homeland—Taiwan, Penghu, Kinmen and Matsu—the envy of the world.

To revive Taiwan requires the efforts of both the government and the people. We need the expertise of the private sector, cooperation among all political parties, and participation by all the people. My dear compatriots, from this moment on, we must roll up our sleeves to build up our homeland. Together, we can lay a solid foundation of peace and prosperity for our children, grandchildren and the generations to come. Let's work hand in hand for our future!

My dear compatriots, please join me:

Long live Taiwan's democracy!

Long live the Republic of China!

Thank you!

各位友邦元首、各位貴賓、各位僑胞、各位鄉親父老、各位電視機前與網路上的朋友，大家早安，大家好！

## 一、二次政黨輪替的歷史意義

今年三月二十二日中華民國總統選舉，台灣人民投下了改變台灣未來的一票。今天，我們在這裡不是慶祝政黨或個人的勝利，而是一起見證，台灣的民主跨越了一個歷史性的里程碑。

我們的民主走過了一段顛簸的道路，現在終於有機會邁向成熟的坦途。在過去這段波折的歲月裡，人民對政府的信賴跌到谷底，政治操作扭曲了社會的核心價值，人民失去了經濟安全感，台灣的國際支持也受到空前的折損。值得慶幸的是，跟很多年輕的民主國家相比，我們民主成長的陣痛期並不算長，台灣人民卻能展現日趨成熟的民主風範，在關鍵時刻，作出了明確的抉擇：人民選擇政治清廉、經濟開放、族群和諧、兩岸和平與迎向未來。

尤其重要的是，台灣人民一同找回了善良、正直、勤奮、誠信、包容、進取這些傳統核心價值。這一段不平凡的民主成長經驗，讓我們獲得了「台灣是亞洲和世界民主的燈塔」的讚譽，值得所有台灣人引以為傲。顯然，中華民國已經成為一個受國際社會尊敬的民主國家。

不過，我們不會以此自滿。我們要進一步追求民主品質的提升與民主內涵的充實，讓台灣大步邁向「優質的民主」：在憲政主義的原則下，人權獲得保障、法治得到貫徹、司法獨立而公正、公民社會得以蓬勃發展。台灣的民主將不會再有非法監聽、選擇性辦案、以及政治干預媒體或選務機關的現象。這是我們共同的願景，也是我們下一階段民主改革的目標。

開票當天，全球有數億的華人透過電視與網路的直播，密切關注選舉的結果。因為台灣是全球唯一在中華文化土壤中，順利完成二次政黨輪替的民主範例，是全球華人寄以厚望的政治實驗。如果這個政治實驗能夠成功，我們將為全球華人的民主發展作出史無前例的貢獻，這是我們無法推卸的歷史責任。

## 二、新時代的任務

未來新政府最緊迫的任務，就是帶領台灣勇敢迎接全球化帶來的巨大挑戰。當前全球經濟正處於巨變之中，新興國家迅速崛起，我們必須快速提升台灣的國際競爭力，挽回過去流失的機會。當前全球經濟環境的不穩定，將是我們振興經濟必須克服的困難。但是，我們深信，只要我們的戰略正確、決心堅定，最後一定能達成我們的預定目標。

台灣是一個海島，開放則興盛、閉鎖則衰敗，這是歷史的鐵律。所以我們要堅持開放、大幅鬆綁、釋放民間的活力、發揮台灣的優勢；我們要引導企業立足台灣、聯結亞太、佈局全球；我們要協助勞工適應快速的科技變遷與產業調整；我們要用心培育我們的下一代，讓他們具有健全人格、公民素養、國際視野與終身學習的能力，並排除各種意識形態對教育的不當干擾。我們在回應全球化挑戰的同時，一定要維護弱勢群體的基本保障與發展機會，也一定要兼顧台灣與全球生態環境的永續經營。

新政府的另一項重要任務就是導正政治風氣，恢復人民對政府的信賴。我們將共同努力創造一個尊重人性、崇尚理性、保障多元、和解共生的環境。我們將促進族群以及新舊移民間的和諧，倡導政黨良性競爭，並充分尊重媒體的監督與新聞自由。

新政府將樹立廉能政治的新典範，嚴格要求官員的清廉與效能，並重建政商互動規範，防範金權政治的污染。我希望每一位行使公權力的公僕，都牢牢記住「權力使人腐化，絕對的權力使人絕對的腐化」這句著名的警語。我們將身體力行誠信政治，實踐國民黨「完全執政、完全負責」的政見。新政府所有施政都要從全民福祉的高度出發，超越黨派利益，貫徹行政中立。我們要讓政府不再是拖累社會進步的絆腳石，而是引領台灣進步的發動機。

我堅信，中華民國總統最神聖的職責就是守護憲法。在一個年輕的民主國家，遵憲與行憲比修憲更重要。身為總統，我的首要任務就是樹立憲法的權威與彰顯守憲的價值。我一定會以身作則，嚴守憲政分際，真正落實權責相符的憲政體制。我們一定要做到：政府全面依法行政，行政院依法對立法院負責，司法機關落實法治人權，考試院健全文官體制，監察院則糾彈違法失職。現在是我們建立優良憲政傳統的最好機會，我們一定要牢牢把握。

我們要讓台灣成為國際社會中受人敬重的成員。我們將以「尊嚴、自主、務實、靈活」作為處理對外關係與爭取國際空間的指導原則。中華民國將善盡其國際公民的責任，在維護自由經濟秩序、禁止核子擴散、防制全球暖化、遏阻恐怖活動、以及加強人道援助等全球議題上，承擔我們應負的責任。我們要積極參與亞太區域合作，進一步加強與主要貿易夥伴的經貿關係，全面融入東亞經濟整合，並對東亞的和平與繁榮作出積極貢獻。

我們要強化與美國這一位安全盟友及貿易夥伴的合作關係；我們也要珍惜邦交國的情誼，信守相互的承諾；我們更要與所有理念相通的國家和衷共濟，擴大合作。我們有防衛台灣安全的決心，將編列合理

的國防預算，並採購必要的防衛性武器，以打造一支堅實的國防勁旅。追求兩岸和平與維持區域穩定，是我們不變的目標。台灣要成為和平的締造者，讓國際社會刮目相看。

英九由衷的盼望，海峽兩岸能抓住當前難得的歷史機遇，從今天開始，共同開啟和平共榮的歷史新頁。我們將以最符合台灣主流民意的「不統、不獨、不武」理念，在中華民國憲法架構下，維持台灣海峽現狀。一九九二年，兩岸曾達成「一中各表」的共識，隨後並完成多次協商，促成兩岸關係順利發展。英九在此重申，我們今後將繼續在「九二共識」的基礎上，儘早恢復協商，並秉持四月十二日在博鰲論壇中提出的「正視現實，開創未來；擱置爭議，追求雙贏」，尋求共同利益的平衡點。兩岸走向雙贏的起點，是經貿往來與文化交流的全面正常化，我們已經做好協商的準備。希望七月即將開始的週末包機直航與大陸觀光客來台，能讓兩岸關係跨入一個嶄新的時代。

未來我們也將與大陸就台灣國際空間與兩岸和平協議進行協商。台灣要安全、要繁榮、更要尊嚴！唯有台灣在國際上不被孤立，兩岸關係才能穩定向前發展。我們注意到胡錦濤先生最近三次有關兩岸關係的談話，分別是三月二十六日與美國布希總統談及「九二共識」、四月十二日在博鰲論壇提出「四個繼續」、以及四月二十九日主張兩岸要「建立互信、擱置爭議、求同存異、共創雙贏」，這些觀點都與我方的理念相當一致。因此，英九願意在此誠懇呼籲：兩岸不論在台灣海峽或國際社會，都應該和解休兵，並在國際組織及活動中相互協助、彼此尊重。兩岸人民同屬中華民族，本應各盡所能，齊頭並進，共同貢獻國際社會，而非惡性競爭、虛耗資源。我深信，以世界之大、中華民族智慧之高，台灣與大陸一定可以找到和平共榮之道。

英九堅信，兩岸問題最終解決的關鍵不在主權爭議，而在生活方式與核心價值。我們真誠關心大陸十三億同胞的福祉，由衷期盼中國大陸能繼續走向自由、民主與均富的大道，為兩岸關係的長遠和平發展，創造雙贏的歷史條件。

最近四川發生大地震，災情十分慘重，台灣人民不分黨派，都表達由衷的關切，並願意提供即時的援助，希望救災工作順利，災民安置與災區重建早日完成。

### 三、台灣的傳承與願景

從宣誓就職的這一刻開始，英九深知個人已肩負二千三百萬人民的付託，這是我一生最光榮的職務，也是我一生最重大的責任。英九雖然不是在台灣出生，但台灣是我成長的故鄉，也是我親人埋骨的所在。我尤其感念台灣社會對我這樣一個戰後新移民的包容之義、栽培之恩與擁抱之情。我義無反顧，別無懸念，只有勇往直前，全力以赴！

四百多年來，台灣這塊土地一直慷慨的接納著先來後到的移民，滋養、庇護著我們，提供我們及後代子孫安身立命的空間，並以高峻的山峰、壯闊的大海，充實、淬礪著我們的心靈。我們繼承的種種歷史文化，不但在這片土地上得到延續，更得到擴增與創新，進而開創出豐盛多元的人文風景。

中華民國也在台灣得到了新生。在我任內，我們將慶祝中華民國開國一百週年。這一個亞洲最早誕生的民主共和國，在大陸的時間只有三十八年，在台灣歲月卻將超過一甲子。在這近六十年間，中華民國與台灣的命運已經緊密的結合在一起，共同經歷了艱難險阻與悲歡歲月，更在追求民主的曲折道路上，有了長足的進步。國父孫中山先生的民主憲政理想，當年在大陸未能實現，但今天在台灣終於生根、開花、結果。

面對台灣的未來，英九充滿了信心。多年來我走遍台灣各個角落，在與各行各業的互動之中，最讓我感受深刻的就是：地無分南北，人無分老幼，善良、正直、勤奮、誠信、包容、進取等傳統核心價值，不但洋溢在台灣人的生活言行，也早已深植在台灣人的本性裡。這是台灣一切進步力量的泉源，也是「台灣精神」的真諦。

盱衡時局，環顧東亞，台灣擁有絕佳的地理位置、珍貴的文化資產、深厚的人文素養、日漸成熟的民主、活力創新的企業、多元和諧的社會、活躍海內外的民間組織、遍佈全球的愛鄉僑民，以及來自世界各地的新移民。只要我們秉持「台灣精神」，善用我們的優勢，並堅持「以台灣為主，對人民有利」的施政原則，我們一定可以將台澎金馬建設為舉世稱羨的樂土、我們引以為傲的美麗家園。

台灣的振興不只要靠政府的努力，更要靠人民的力量；需要借重民間的智慧、需要朝野協商合作、需要所有的社會成員積極投入。各位親愛的父老兄弟姊妹們，我們要從此刻開始，捲起袖子，立即行動，打造美麗家園，為子孫奠定百年盛世的基礎。讓我們心連心、手牽手，大家一起來奮鬥！

現在，請大家跟我一起高呼：

台灣民主萬歲！

中華民國萬歲！

謝謝大家！

## 2012—MA YING-JEOU

Esteemed Leaders, Distinguished Guests, Compatriots from Abroad, Fellow Citizens, and Friends watching via television or the Internet: Good morning!

### **Historical Significance of the Fifth Direct Presidential Election: Heading Toward a Mature Democracy**

On January 14, we smoothly completed the Republic of China's fifth direct presidential election. This was an important milestone as Taiwan's democracy heads toward maturity. In a free and fair election, the entire electorate of Taiwan demonstrated a highly developed democratic mindset that won praise from the international community. I would like to commend my opponents, Democratic Progressive Party Chairwoman Tsai Ing-wen and People's First Party Chairman James Soong, for the democratic spirit they showed in accepting the election results. Friends, let us join together in a cheer for Taiwan's democracy!



### **Reflecting on the Past Four Years: Reforms Are Showing Results and the Nation Is Back on Track**

Looking back at the past four years, I would like first to specially thank the public for its support. Together, we have weathered the global financial tsunami, allowing Taiwan's economic growth rate to once again compare favorably among the Four Asian Tigers.

At home, together we have emerged from the destruction brought in August 2009 by Typhoon Morakot, and have rebuilt the disaster-stricken areas. We have restored a high level of ethics in public affairs, safeguarded the spirit of the Constitution and enhanced judicial fairness and transparency. We have also streamlined the central government, and merged or upgraded the status of major cities and counties; both of these undertakings were very major reforms. Moreover, we have vigorously reduced energy use and cut carbon emissions, promoted housing justice, and greatly expanded the social safety net.

We have also created the most peaceful state of cross-strait relations in 60 years, thus winning the trust of our long-time diplomatic partners and the affirmation of the international community. As a result, ROC nationals now enjoy visa-free travel to 127 different countries and territories.

Here I would like to especially thank former Vice President Vincent Siew, former Premier Liu Chao-shiuan, former Premier Wu Den-yih, Premier Sean Chen and all support staff throughout the government, as well as the Legislative Yuan under the leadership of Speaker Wang Jin-pyng. Working hand-in-hand with the public over the last four years, they have all rendered tremendous service to the nation. I am most sincerely grateful for their hard work and contributions, and shall continue to rely on their experience and wisdom.

### **Golden Decade: Five Pillars to Make Taiwan Robustly Competitive**

Looking ahead to the next four years, I shall strive jointly with the entire citizenry to realize the vision of a Golden Decade for our nation. Our objective is to build a nation that enjoys the benefits of peace, justice and well-being. The government has identified five pillars of national growth that it aims to achieve. First, it will enhance the drivers of economic growth. Second, it will create employment and realize social justice. Third, it will develop an environment characterized by low carbon emissions and high reliance on green energy. Fourth, it will build up culture as a source of national strength. And fifth, it will take active steps to cultivate, recruit and retain talent. Accomplishing these tasks will comprehensively bolster Taiwan's global competitiveness, so that during these four years, Taiwan can achieve a fundamental transformation and create even greater well-being.

Enhancing the drivers of economic growth is the **first pillar** for bolstering Taiwan's competitiveness. Further economic liberalization and improvements to our industrial structure constitute the core drivers. We saw the US-Korea Free Trade Agreement come into effect in March of this year, and mainland China is about to begin negotiating a similar agreement with Japan and South Korea later this year. We must step up the pace of liberalization; there can be no further delay. Only if Taiwan opens up to the world will the world embrace Taiwan. In an era when we are confronted by a restructuring of the global political and economic order and a shift in the economic center of gravity toward Asia, we must change from a protectionist mindset and revise outdated legislation. We must eliminate artificial trade and investment barriers and create a genuinely free and open economic

environment for Taiwan that is more in line with international practices.

We are planning to establish showcase free economic zones, one of which will be in Kaohsiung. This is a crucial step in Taiwan's move to becoming a "free trade island". We must speedily complete follow-up talks under the Cross-Straits Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement (ECFA) and expedite negotiations on economic cooperation agreements with important trading partners like Singapore and New Zealand. Over the next eight years, we must fully prepare to join the Trans-Pacific Partnership in order to seize the historic opportunity to become further integrated into the global trading system.

Our industrial sector has created many spectacular successes, but it is now faced with longstanding bottlenecks that impede further growth. In the future, we shall actively seek to improve industrial structure and build on the efficiency-driven production model of the past to actively develop a new "innovation-driven" and "value-creating" industrial model. Our strategy is to incorporate special characteristics of services into the manufacturing sector, while at the same time introducing technological and international elements into service industries, and developing the unique character of our traditional industries. Only in this way can our industrial sector become more diverse and create higher added value; and only in this way can our industrial sector genuinely transform and carve out an unassailable niche in the global economy.

The **second pillar** for bolstering Taiwan's competitiveness is creating employment and realizing social justice. Market liberalization due to globalization has made job market competition global in nature. We must pursue economic growth if we are to create more job opportunities. Economic growth must spur pay increases across all sectors at the same time, or else it is meaningless. Furthermore, we must firmly uphold fairness and justice, narrow the gap between rich and poor, and ensure that the fruits of economic success are enjoyed by all.

Bringing soundness to the government's fiscal structure is a top priority. We are endeavoring to realize "taxation commensurate with ability to pay" and "tax justice", establish a comprehensive social security system, and safeguard the fundamental interests of the disadvantaged. At the same time, we must reasonably allocate basic infrastructure, public services and educational resources, and establish a model for balanced regional development based on local characteristics. Doing so will reduce disparity between urban and rural areas and allow every citizen—regardless of gender, place of residence, ethnicity or social status—an equal opportunity to pursue happiness.

Taiwan's birth rate has been declining, and its population has been aging, for a long time. These trends are national security issues that must be faced. Therefore, we need to formulate a forward-looking population policy, institute a well thought-out national health insurance program and national pension system, speedily promote a long-term care system, and utilize more complete preschool care and education measures in order to provide strong support for parents and children.

The judiciary is the force for justice which safeguards the interests of the people. Over the past four years, we have completed legislation of the Speedy Trial Act, the Judges Act and the Act Governing Family Matters, and have established the Agency Against Corruption. The Supreme Court practice of not disclosing how cases are assigned to judges is now also history. The judiciary must be independent, but absolutely must not be an island unto itself, nor can it act in a manner that defies the common-sense expectations of the public for a just judiciary. Over the next four years, I shall do everything in my power to promote judicial reform that accords with the direction in which our society is moving. I want our judicial institutions, which were transplanted from the West a century ago, to genuinely take root in Taiwan so that the rule of law becomes a way of life and the safeguarding of human rights becomes an internalized commitment.

The **third pillar** for bolstering Taiwan's competitiveness is developing an environment characterized by low carbon emissions and high reliance on green energy. Global climate change and imbalances between resource supply and demand present Taiwan with both challenges and opportunities. In the future, all industries around the world will emphasize green production. Green industry will be a new arena of industrial competition, and consumer behavior must fall in line with the need for energy conservation and reduced carbon emissions. Therefore, we encourage the private sector to step up R&D and investment in green-energy industries, green architecture and green production, so that these become a new economic bright spot that brings employment and development, and gradually turns Taiwan into a "low-carbon, green-energy island". We must staunchly uphold the ideal of sustainable development and leave our next generation clear skies, clean air and abundant water resources. The mountains, forests, rivers, wetlands and oceans that we pass on to them must be teeming with life and vitality.

In terms of policy, we must ensure that energy prices are reasonable and create the impetus for energy conservation, carbon reduction and increased investment in green-energy industries. We must restore market-based prices for gasoline and electricity, and put into practice the "user pays" principle. Furthermore, we must respond to

high public expectations for reform of and greater operational efficiency at state-run corporations in order to create a win-win scenario for consumers and producers.

Building up culture as a source of national strength is the **fourth pillar** for bolstering Taiwan's competitiveness. Taiwan has three cultural traits: First, civic spirit is deep-rooted; second, traditional culture is well preserved; and third, the links and transitions between tradition and modernity are sophisticated. Democracy has made our civil society what it is today. It is a civil society in which the atmosphere of openness and the spirit of freedom have become the soil that nurtures creativity. In this soil of openness and freedom, we have not only preserved traditional culture—such as Taiwanese opera and glove puppetry—but have also developed contemporary cultural brands, such as the Cloud Gate Dance Theatre and the Ju Percussion Group. On the one hand, we are pursuing high technology and internationalization; while on the other, we also champion grassroots access to cultural activities.

It takes an open society to foster ebullient creativity; bold imagination can only be tolerated in a climate of freedom. Taiwan's creativity is infused into movies, pop music and publications, forming a cultural industry that plays a decisively important role in the Chinese-speaking world. However, there must be a means of achieving integration within the industry so that, by adding value through creativity and utilizing intellectual property mechanisms, we can market our culture globally and transform the value of its content into economic output, which in turn can nurture more creative talent.

Culture is not just art, creativity or an industry; it is also a part of people's daily lives. Recently the prominent mainland Chinese writer Han Han wrote about what he had personally experienced in Taiwan: A taxi driver who returned a cell phone left in his cab, and an optician who went far out of his way to offer help. Both incidents made a deep impression on him. Similarly, not long ago, a Hualien taxi driver, Zeng Shicheng, discovered that a Japanese passenger had left a wallet behind in his cab. He drove quickly to the wharf but the passenger liner had already left shore. A tugboat pursued the departing liner, and finally, the wallet was returned to its owner via a basket lowered from the passenger ship. I think that such moving acts are reflections of kindness and honesty, core values of Chinese culture that have become part of daily life for people in Taiwan.

We must view culture as a source of national strength. The development of culture is the development of national strength; investment in culture is tantamount to investment in national strength.

The **fifth pillar** for bolstering Taiwan's competitiveness is cultivating, recruiting and retaining talent. Since Taiwan lacks natural resources, talent is our most important resource and the key to national development.

We must turn our universities and colleges into cradles of local talent and wellsprings of national competitiveness. Furthermore, we must adopt open-minded, forward-looking policies, and create a livable, friendly, international, non-discriminatory and salary-competitive environment with which to retain outstanding home-grown talent while recruiting outstanding talent from all over the world. In Chinese we speak of “building a nest to attract the phoenix” — in other words, “build it, and they will come”.

Children are our enduring concern. Every child, rich or poor, should have the chance to develop his or her talent, and to advance—this is the very core of education. In fact, several Taiwanese have come to stand out in their respective fields, including Ang Lee and Xiao Qing-yang in the cultural and creative arena, Billy Chang and Chen Hsinghe of Cirque du Soleil, and Johan Ku and Jason Wu in the world of international fashion and design. Over the past four years, students from Taiwan have won top prizes at various international invention and design fairs. Taiwan has tremendous talent and creativity. We need to work harder at cultivating the next generation by providing quality 12-year public education so that each child can shine.

If we want our nation to develop, then we must reform; if we want reform, then we must bear the short-term pains of adjustment. We absolutely cannot leave the hot potato issues and heavy burdens to the next generation. I am keenly aware that the most important duty and mission of a re-elected president is to work with the people to forge greater well-being. In my second term in office, we must take resolute steps while engaging in timely, in-depth and extensive communication with the public to win its support. Utilizing these five pillars to “create greater well-being for Taiwan” is the goal of my second term. Taiwan needs to become more competitive if it is to survive and the well-being of its people is to be guaranteed.

### **The Three Legs of National Security: Cross-strait Peace, Viable Diplomacy and a Strong Defense**

National security is crucial for the survival of the Republic of China. I believe that Taiwan's security rests on three legs. The first is the use of cross-strait rapprochement to realize peace in the Taiwan Strait. The second is the use of viable diplomacy to establish more breathing space for ourselves in the international community. And the

third is the use of military strength to deter external threats. We must regard each as equally important and develop them in a balanced manner.

The **first leg**, as I mentioned, is cross-strait rapprochement to realize peace in the Taiwan Strait. Over the past four years, this government has resumed institutionalized cross-strait negotiations, signed 16 bilateral agreements and made cross-strait rapprochement a reality. In the process, we have staunchly maintained the precepts of “parity, dignity and reciprocity” and the principle of “putting Taiwan first for the benefit of the people”. The executive branch has been openly and transparently accountable to the legislature, and stepped up communication with opposition parties in an effort to find consensus. This approach has created institutionalized safeguards for cross-strait rapprochement.

Over the past four years, we have improved cross-strait relations and reduced cross-strait tension. This has brought peace and prosperity and won broad public support. Nevertheless, a part of the public still has reservations about our mainland policies. Here, I would like to solemnly point out that the Constitution of the Republic of China is the supreme guiding principle for how the government deals with cross-strait relations. Within that constitutional framework, our cross-strait policy must maintain the status quo of “no unification, no independence and no use of force”, and promote peaceful cross-strait development on the basis of the 1992 Consensus, whereby each side acknowledges the existence of “one China”, but maintains its own interpretation of what that means.

When we speak of “one China”, naturally it is the Republic of China. According to our Constitution, the sovereign territory of the Republic of China includes Taiwan and the mainland. At present, the ROC government has authority to govern only in Taiwan, Penghu, Kinmen and Matsu. In other words, over the past two decades, the two sides of the Taiwan Strait have been defined as “one Republic of China, two areas”. This status has remained unchanged throughout the administrations of the past three presidents.

This is an eminently rational and pragmatic definition, and constitutes the basis for assuring the ROC’s long-term development and safeguarding Taiwan’s security. Both sides of the Taiwan Strait ought to squarely face up to this reality, seek common ground while respecting differences, and establish a consensus regarding “mutual non-recognition of sovereignty and mutual non-denial of authority to govern”. Only in this way can the two sides move forward with confidence.

Over the past four years, we have promoted cross-strait ties in accordance with the principles of putting “pressing matters before less pressing ones, easily resolved issues before difficult ones, and economic matters before political ones”. This approach has yielded unprecedented successes in the areas of economic and trade ties, transportation, public health, culture, education, judicial assistance, and financial services.

In the next four years, the two sides of the strait have to open up new areas of cooperation and continue working to consolidate peace, expand prosperity and deepen mutual trust. We also hope that civic groups on both sides of the Taiwan Strait will have more opportunities for exchanges and dialogue focusing on such areas as democracy, human rights, rule of law and civil society, to create an environment more conducive to peaceful cross-strait development.

The people of the two sides of the strait share a common Chinese ethnic heritage. We share common blood lines, history and culture. We both revere our nation’s founding father, Dr. Sun Yat-sen. We cannot forget his precept that “the world is a commonwealth shared by all”, or the ideals of freedom, democracy and equitable distribution of wealth on which he founded this nation.

Taiwan’s experience in establishing democracy proves that it is not impossible for democratic institutions from abroad to take root in an ethnically Chinese society. I fervently look forward to the gradual opening up of greater popular participation in the political process on the mainland, along with steady improvement in human rights and the rule of law, and the autonomous development of civil society. This will further reduce the feeling of “otherness” between people on the two sides of the Taiwan Strait.

The **second leg** of our national security is the use of viable diplomacy to establish more breathing space for ourselves in the international community and boost our contributions to international society. Over the past four years, rather than adopting “scorched earth diplomacy”, we have chosen “viable diplomacy” and “above-board diplomacy”, providing aid in accordance with the principles of “seeking proper goals, acting lawfully, and exercising effective administration”. We have undertaken cooperation projects with our diplomatic partners, and they have continually spoken up for us at international organizations. We have restored mutual trust with the United States through close cooperation in many areas. This has enabled us to bolster channels of communication and build the most solid “security and economic partnership” of the past 30 years. We have also achieved important breakthroughs in relations with Japan. In addition to establishing a new representative office, we have also made

progress in such areas as aviation, culture and investment. Our “special partnership” with Japan represents the friendliest state of bilateral ties in 40 years. The European Union and the European Parliament have both on many occasions issued statements and passed resolutions to support our mainland policy, and to seek stronger trade and economic ties between Taiwan and the EU.

Establishing more breathing room for ourselves in the international community has been an important breakthrough. For the past three years we have attended as an observer at the World Health Assembly after an absence of 38 years, and in 2010 we acceded to the Government Procurement Agreement under the World Trade Organization. The facts prove that progress in the cross-strait relationship does not preclude our achievement of greater international breathing room. On the contrary, the two can even be mutually complementary. Over the next four years, we shall expand our participation in international organizations, including the activities of United Nations agencies that specialize in climate change and civil aviation. We also hope that in international NGOs, the two sides of the Taiwan Strait can demonstrate mutual tolerance and assist each other so that this virtuous circle model exerts an even greater positive effect.

As for contributing more to the international community, Taiwan is endowed with the world’s most precious assets, by which I am referring to the abundant vitality of its civic groups, and the caring spirit of its people.

When Haiti experienced a massive earthquake in January of 2010, I called Chen Shuntian, the head of our special rescue team that had rushed to the disaster area. What I heard on the other end of the line was the sound of excited shouting, since only 15 minutes before they had rescued a victim who was still alive. This was a first for our international rescue team. When Japan was hit by the tsunami in March of last year, NT\$6.6 billion in donations were raised through joint private sector and government effort. This was not only the largest amount worldwide; it also exceeded the combined amount donated by over 90 other countries. There is also a girl from Tainan City, Cai Yuhua, who went to the disaster area and quietly helped old people there. People in both Japan and Taiwan were deeply moved by her acts of kindness. And during my trip to Africa in April of this year, I encountered a physician, Dr. Huang Qilin, who has been providing medical care there for nearly 20 years. His unflagging work over the years has showed the warmth and dedication behind the white medical frock of a Taiwan doctor. These examples demonstrate an enthusiasm for life and resilience that is undaunted by difficulty. They have also won us sincere friendship.

The **third leg** of our national security is a strong national defense to deter external threats. An ancient proverb clearly admonishes us: “Though the world may be at peace, being unprepared to fight invites danger”. We do not seek a fight, but we do not fear it, either. We have made significant progress on this front over the past four years. Our defense industry is now much more self-sufficient. We have strengthened our new-generation fighting capabilities. And our military forces are better prepared to take part in disaster prevention and rescue. At the same time, we have boosted our training programs and dramatically upgraded the physical fitness and fighting skills of our soldiers, while making great strides toward improving discipline and eliminating corruption. These are the concrete results of our efforts to build military preparedness.

In the area of weapons procurement from overseas, the United States has approved three arms sales to Taiwan since I took office, in aggregate totaling US\$18.3 billion, and exceeding all previous such sales in terms of quality and amount. This provides us with an appropriate defensive force in the future that will give the government and public greater confidence and willingness to pursue continued stable and solid development of the cross-strait relationship.

Over the next four years, we shall continue to purchase weapons of a defensive nature that we cannot manufacture ourselves, and shall complete the transition to a volunteer armed force. Necessary supporting measures will also be taken. And, with a “rock solid defense and effective deterrence” military strategy and “innovative and asymmetrical” thinking, we shall establish a streamlined yet professional and sturdy national defense force. At the same time, we shall enhance relations with neighboring countries, actively participate in international affairs, and promote establishment of institutionalized channels for strategic dialogue and cooperation to defend the sovereignty of the Republic of China, safeguard the security of Taiwan and actively make a contribution to regional peace.

### **Standing at a Historic Watershed: A New Century, a Good Beginning**

Fellow countrymen, looking back over the past four years my heart is filled with profound gratitude. We have weathered the global financial tsunami and greeted the ROC Centennial with joy. We have wept at the wounds inflicted by severe natural catastrophes, and rejoiced at the world-beating achievements of our fellow compatriots.

We are a family and Taiwan is home to us all. We strongly believe that no matter what political differences there may be between the ruling and opposition parties, we are still one family. Despite the many difficulties over the past

several years between the ruling and opposition parties, I believe we share a common commitment to democracy. On this foundation, we can surely seek consensus and work together to solve problems. Over the past four years, I have continually invited civic groups to engage in dialogue. I sincerely hope to open up dialogue with the opposition leaders as soon as possible. We will show the people that the ruling and opposition parties can not only compete but also cooperate. For the welfare of all our people, let us jointly set a good example for Taiwan's democracy.

In this, the 101st year of the Republic of China, we stand at a historic watershed. We are very familiar with the struggles that our forefathers have been through over the past century. Looking ahead to the coming century, we have a clear vision of where the nation's future challenges and opportunities lie. I feel fortunate to be the first person to take the oath of office as president at the very time the Republic of China enters upon its second century. This is indeed a great responsibility.

During this solemn and sacred ceremony, I, as well as the members of my administration, once more accept the responsibilities of this commission from the entire populace. Such a responsibility sits heavily on our shoulders. We must be ever conscious of the risks that face us, while doing everything in our power to fulfill the duties set forth in the Constitution, so that we can live up to the responsibilities entrusted to us by the citizens of this country.

Standing at the starting line of this new century for our Republic, I hope that the work we do now will provide a solid foundation for our children's further progress, and that the seedlings we plant today continue to grow and bear fruit to be enjoyed by the next generation. Let us uphold our ideals, work together for reform and create greater well-being for Taiwan.

Thank you!

各位友邦元首、各位貴賓、各位僑胞、各位鄉親父老、各位電視機前與網路上的朋友，大家早安，大家好！

一月十四日，我們順利完成中華民國第五次總統直選。這是臺灣民主邁向成熟的重要里程碑。自由與公正的選舉程序，臺灣全體選民所展現的高度民主素養，都獲得國際社會的讚揚；我也要肯定我的競爭對手—蔡主席英文和宋主席楚瑜在選舉結果揭曉時展現的民主風度。朋友們，讓我們一起，為臺灣民主喝采！

回顧過去四年，首先我要特別感謝全國民眾的支持。我們共同度過金融海嘯的侵襲，讓臺灣經濟成長回到東亞四小龍的前列；我們共同走過八八水災的衝擊，重建我們的家園；我們導正政治風氣，守護憲法精神，提升司法的公正透明；我們完成中央政府精簡與縣市合併升格兩大改革工程；我們力行節能減碳、推動「居住正義」、大幅擴大社會安全網；我們締造了六十年來最和平的臺海情勢，贏得長期盟友的信賴與國際社會的肯定，讓中華民國國民在 127 個國家與地區，免簽證入境。

在此，英九也要感謝蕭前副總統萬長、劉前院長兆玄、吳前院長敦義、陳院長冲與所有執政團隊夥伴，以及王院長金平所領導的立法院，在過去四年和人民一起打拚。英九由衷感謝大家的辛勞與貢獻，並將繼續借重他們的經驗與智慧。

### 第一大支柱 經濟自由產業優化

展望未來四年，英九要以「黃金十年」的國家願景，和全體國人共同奮鬥。我們的目標，是建設和平、公義與幸福的國家。政府將以「強化經濟成長動能」、「創造就業與落實社會公義」、「打造低碳綠能環境」、「厚植文化國力」、以及「積極培育延攬人才」作為國家發展的五大支柱，以全面提升臺灣的全球競爭力，讓臺灣在這四年脫胎換骨、邁向幸福。

強化經濟成長動能，是提升臺灣競爭力的第一大支柱。動能的核心，在經濟環境自由化和產業結構優質化。

我們看到，美韓自由貿易協定在今年三月生效；中國大陸與日、韓的自由貿易協定談判也將在今年內啟動，我們必須加快自由化的腳步，不能再蹉跎。臺灣向世界開放，世界才會擁抱臺灣。

面臨全球政治經濟秩序重組、經濟重心向亞洲移動的時代，我們必須改變保護主義的思維，翻修不合時宜的法制，排除貿易和投資的人為障礙，為臺灣打造一個真正自由開放、與國際社會接軌的經濟環境。

我們正規劃設立「自由經濟示範區」，高雄就是其中之一，這是臺灣邁向「自由貿易島」關鍵的一步。我們要儘快完成「兩岸經濟合作架構協議」的後續協商，加速與新加坡、紐西蘭等重要貿易夥伴洽簽經濟合作協議，並在未來八年內做好加入「跨太平洋經濟夥伴協定」的準備，以掌握融入國際經貿體系的歷史機遇。

我國的產業雖然曾經締造過輝煌的成績，但早已面臨成長瓶頸。未來我們要積極推動產業結構優質化，以過去強調效率的生產模式為基礎，積極發展「創新導向」與「價值創造」的新產業模式。

我們的策略是將服務的特質納入製造業，將科技與國際的元素引入服務業，而且建立傳統產業的特色。唯有這樣，我們的產業才能更加多元，創造更高的附加價值；也唯有這樣，我們的產業才能真正脫胎換骨，並且在國際經濟體系中建立起無可取代的地位。

提升臺灣競爭力的第二大支柱，就是創造就業與落實社會公義。全球化的開放市場讓就業變成世界性的競爭，我們要追求經濟成長，才能創造更多的就業機會；經濟成長必須促使各行各業的薪資同步調升，否則經濟成長就沒有意義。我們更要堅持公平正義，縮短貧富差距，讓經濟成長的果實，由全民共享。

### 第二大支柱 創造就業落實公義

健全政府財政結構是當前要務，我們正努力落實「量能課稅」與「租稅正義」，建構完整的社會安全體系，維護弱勢群體的基本權益。我們同時也要合理配置基礎建設、公共服務及教育資源，建立均衡而各有特色的區域發展模式，以縮短城鄉差距，務必要讓每一個人不分性別、地區、血緣或出身，都有追求幸福的公平機會。

長期的少子女化與高齡化是臺灣必須面對的國安課題，因此，我們需要制訂前瞻性的人口政策，建構周延的全民健保與國民年金制度，並儘速推動長期照護體系，用更完善的幼兒托育及照護措施，提供父母與子女最溫暖的支持力量。

司法是保障人民權益的正義防線。四年來，我們完成「刑事妥速審判法」、「法官法」、「家事事件法」的立法，成立廉政署，最高法院的保密分案制也已走入歷史。

司法必須獨立，但絕對不能孤立，更不能背離人民對司法正義的合理期待。未來四年，英九會竭盡所能，全力推動與社會脈動結合的司法改革，要讓我國百年前從西方移植而來的司法制度，真正在臺灣生根，使法治成為我們生活的方式、人權成為我們內化的價值。

### 第三大支柱 打造低碳綠能環境

提升臺灣競爭力的第三大支柱，就是打造低碳綠能環境。全球氣候變遷、資源供需失調，對臺灣是挑戰也是機會。未來全球所有的產業都將強調綠色生產，綠色產業是未來產業競爭的新領域，消費型態也必須符合節能減碳的要求。

因此我們將鼓勵民間擴大對綠能產業、綠色建築與綠色生產的研發與投資，讓綠色產業成為帶動就業與成長的新亮點，讓臺灣一步步成為「低碳綠能島」。我們一定要堅持永續發展的理念，為我們下一代留下清朗的天空，乾淨的空氣，豐沛的水資源，以及生意盎然的山林、溪流、濕地與海洋。

在政策上，我們要讓能源價格合理化，創造節能減碳與促進投資綠能產業的動力。我們要讓油電等公用事業回歸市場機制，落實「使用者付費」的原則；更要進一步回應民意對改革國營事業、提升經營效率的高度期待，創造消費者與生產者雙贏的局面。

### 第四大支柱 文化建設厚植國力

厚植文化國力，是提升臺灣競爭力的第四大支柱。臺灣有三個文化特質：一是公民素養植根最深厚；二是傳統文化保存最完整；三是傳統與現代的銜接轉化最細緻。民主制度造就了我們的公民社會，公民社會中開放的風氣、自由的精神，成為創作家的土壤。在開放和自由的土壤上，我們既保存了歌仔戲、布袋戲等傳統文化，又發展出雲門舞集、朱宗慶打擊樂團等當代文化品牌。我們一方面追求高科技與國際化，一方面又主張草根民眾的文化公民權。

開放的社會才會有奔放的創意，自由的環境才容許大膽的想像；臺灣的創意注入電影、流行音樂、圖書出版等等，成為文化產業，也都在華文世界有舉足輕重的地位。但是產業必須要有整合工具，把文化價值與內容，透過創意加值與智慧財產機制，轉換成行銷全球的經濟產值，而讓經濟產值又回頭來灌溉我們的創作者。

文化不只是藝文、創意與產業，文化也是人民日常生活的一部分。最近大陸知名作家韓寒發表訪臺親身經歷：計程車司機拾物不昧、眼鏡行老闆熱心助人，都讓他震撼與感動。不久前，有位花蓮運將曾世誠，把日本乘客遺失在車內的皮夾，用飛車、駁船追上已離港的郵輪，最後以吊籃送到失主手中。

英九認為，這些令人動容的善舉，都是因為中華文化中「善良」與「誠信」的核心價值，已經融入臺灣的日常生活。

我們要把文化看做國力，文化的建設，就是國力的建設；文化的投資，就是國力的投資。

### 第五大支柱 讓大學成人搖籃

積極培育延攬人才，是我們提升臺灣競爭力的第五大支柱。因為，臺灣缺乏天然資源，人才是我們最重要的資源，也是國家發展的關鍵。

我們要讓大學校園成為培育本土人才的搖籃與國家競爭力的泉源。我們更要以開放前瞻的政策，「築巢引鳳」的方式，打造一個宜居、友善、國際化、無歧視以及薪資有競爭力的環境，留住本土優秀人才，並延攬全球的優秀人才。

孩子是我們永遠的關切。讓每一個孩子，不分貧富都有機會成為國家的人才，擁有上進的機會，這才是教育的核心。事實上，不只李安和蕭青陽在文創領域大放異彩、張逸軍與陳星合都登上太陽劇團的舞臺，古又文和吳季剛也在國際服裝設計界大放光芒。

四年來，我們臺灣子弟更在歐、美、亞等各種國際發明展與設計展中，屢屢拿下總冠軍。臺灣擁有極佳的人才與創造力，我們要更用心培育下一代，提供優質的十二年國民教育，讓每一個生命都能發光發熱。

國家要發展，就必須改革；要改革，就要承受調整的陣痛。我們絕對不能把燙手山芋與沉重包袱留給下一代。英九深知，一位連任總統最重要的責任與使命，就是與人民一起打造幸福的未來。

在未來的任期中，我們要踏出堅定的步伐，進行即時、深入、廣泛的溝通，以爭取民眾的支持。用五大支柱「打造幸福臺灣」，是英九第二任的目標，臺灣要提升競爭力才能生存，人民幸福才有保障。

### 國防鐵三角第一角 兩岸和解實現和平

國家安全是中華民國生存的關鍵，英九認為，以兩岸和解實現臺海和平、以活路外交拓展國際空間、以國防武力嚇阻外來威脅，是確保臺灣安全的鐵三角，我們必須同等重視、平衡發展。

鐵三角的第一個角，就是以兩岸和解實現臺海和平。四年來，政府堅持「對等、尊嚴、互惠」的理念，「以臺灣為主、對人民有利」的原則，恢復兩岸制度化協商，簽署 16 項協議，實現兩岸和解。行政部門公開且透明地對國會負責，並加強與在野黨溝通，努力尋求共識，兩岸和解因此建立制度化的保障。

過去四年，我們改善兩岸關係，降低臺海緊張，帶來和平與繁榮，獲得廣大民眾的支持，但仍有部分民眾對我們的大陸政策存有疑慮。英九要在此鄭重指出：中華民國憲法是政府處理兩岸關係的最高指導原則；兩岸政策必須在中華民國憲法架構下，維持臺海「不統、不獨、不武」的現狀，在「九二共識、一中各表」的基礎上，推動兩岸和平發展；而我們所說的「一中」，當然就是中華民國。

依據憲法，中華民國領土主權涵蓋臺灣與大陸，目前政府的統治權僅及於臺、澎、金、馬。換言之，二十年來兩岸的憲法定位就是「一個中華民國，兩個地區」，歷經 3 位總統，從未改變。這是最理性務實的定位，也是中華民國長遠發展、保障臺灣安全的憑藉。兩岸之間應該要正視這個現實，求同存異，建立「互不承認主權、互不否認治權」的共識，雙方才能放心向前走。

過去四年，我們依循「先急後緩、先易後難、先經後政」的原則，推動兩岸交流，不論是在經貿、交通、衛生、文化、教育、司法、金融等各方面，都創下歷史新高的紀錄。未來四年，兩岸要開拓新的合作領域，繼續鞏固和平、擴大繁榮、深化互信。也期盼兩岸民間團體在民主、人權、法治、公民社會等領域，有更多機會交流與對話，為兩岸和平發展創造更有利的環境。

兩岸人民同屬中華民族，都是炎黃子孫，擁有共同的血緣、歷史與文化，也都同樣尊崇國父孫中山先生。我們不能忘記國父「天下為公」的理念，以及自由、民主、均富的建國理想。臺灣實施民主的經驗，證明中華民族的土壤，毫不排斥外來的民主制度。英九衷心期盼中國大陸的政治參與逐步開放，人權與法治日漸完善，公民社會自主成長，以進一步縮短兩岸人民的心理距離。

### 國防鐵三角第二角 活路外交拓展空間

鐵三角的第二個角，就是以活路外交拓展國際空間並增加國際貢獻。過去四年，我們不採取「烽火外交」，而選擇「活路外交」與「正派外交」，在「目的正當、過程合法、執行有效」的援外原則下，我們與邦交國進行合作計畫，邦交國也在國際組織中不斷為我國仗義執言。我們與美國重建互信，強化溝通管道，在許多領域緊密合作，已建構三十年來最堅實的「安全與經濟夥伴關係」。

我們與日本在設館、航空、文化與投資等領域都展現重要成果，建立四十年來最友好的「特別夥伴關係」。歐盟及歐洲議會分別多次發表聲明及通過決議，支持我們的大陸政策與強化臺歐經貿關係。

拓展國際空間方面，我國在三年前，正式以大會觀察員的身分，回到離開 38 年的「世界衛生大會」；九十九年又加入世界貿易組織下的「政府採購協定」。

事實證明，兩岸關係的進展與我們國際空間的擴大，不但不必相互衝突，甚至可以相輔相成。未來四年，我們要擴大參與國際組織，包括氣候變遷、民航安全等聯合國專門機構的相關活動。我們也希望在國際非政府組織中，兩岸能彼此包容、相互協助，讓這個良性循環的模式發揮更大的正面效益。

增加國際貢獻方面，臺灣立足世界最寶貴的資產，就是民間組織的充沛活力，以及民胞物與的人道關懷。

九十九年一月海地發生大地震，英九跟趕赴現場的我國特種搜救隊分隊長陳順天通電話，電話那一頭傳來興奮的呼喊聲。因為，15 分鐘前他們救出 1 名生還者，這是我國國際搜救史上的第一次。

去年 311 日本海嘯，民間和政府合力捐助新臺幣 66 億元，不但是世界第一，也超過其他九十多國的捐助總額；還有一位到災區為老人默默服務的臺南女孩蔡雨樺，她的善行更感動了兩國人民。

今年四月，英九到非洲遇見了在當地行醫近二十年的黃其麟醫師，他無怨無悔的付出，讓世人看見臺灣醫生沸騰在白袍下的熱血。這些例子說明，臺灣人擁有豐沛的生命熱情與不怕難的韌性，也為臺灣贏得真誠的友誼。

### 國防鐵三角 第三角 武力嚇阻外來威脅

鐵三角的第三個角，就是以國防武力嚇阻外來威脅。「天下雖安，忘戰必危」，古有明訓。我們不求戰，但絕不畏戰。四年來，我們在國防工業自主、強化新一代兵力整建以及災害防救等方面，都有明顯成果。同時，增加訓練能量、大幅提升國軍體能及戰技，而整飭軍紀及反貪防弊，亦有相當成果，這也是我們建軍備戰的具體成效。

在對外軍購方面，英九上任以來，美國已三度同意軍售臺灣，總計 183 億美元，不論是質與量都超越以往。這讓我們未來擁有適當的防衛力量，使政府與人民更有信心與意願，繼續穩健發展兩岸關係。

未來四年，我們仍將向外採購無法自製的防衛性武器，也將完善募兵制及相關配套，在「防衛固守、有效嚇阻」的戰略下，以「創新、不對稱」思維，建立量少但質精的堅強國防武力。同時強化我國與周邊各國關係，積極參與國際事務，推動建立制度化的戰略對話合作管道，以捍衛中華民國主權與保障臺灣安全，並對區域和平做出貢獻。

各位鄉親，回想過去四年，英九內心有深深的感激。我們一起走過金融海嘯的風暴，我們一起迎接建國百年的歡欣，我們曾為天災巨變的創傷流淚，也曾為臺灣子弟在各方面的成就，歡喜難眠。我們就是一家人，臺灣就是我們共同的家園。

### 朝野關係 儘速對話尋求共識

我們深信，不管朝野之間有什麼歧見，我們都是一家人。即使過去幾年朝野和解存在不少困難，但英九相信，民主是我們的共同價值，在這個基礎上，我們一定可以尋求共識，合力解決問題。

四年來，英九持續邀請各種公民團體來對談。英九也誠摯的希望，儘速與在野黨領袖展開對話，我們要讓民眾看到，朝野不是只有相互競爭，也能彼此合作。為了全民福祉，讓我們一起為臺灣民主建立良好的典範。

今年是中華民國第一百零一年，我們正站在歷史的分水嶺上。過去一百年，先人的奮鬥歷程清晰在目；未來一百年，國家的挑戰與機會輪廓鮮明。英九有幸身為中華民國跨入新的一百年第一位宣誓就職的總統，感到責任無比重大。

在此莊嚴而神聖的典禮上，英九與執政團隊再度接受全民的付託，猶如千鈞重擔在肩頭，唯有以如臨深淵的心境，如履薄冰的態度，全力履行憲法所賦予的職責，才能符合國人的信賴與付託。

站在新的一百年起跑點上，英九希望，今天我們奠下的基礎，將成為孩子走向未來的磐石；今天我們種下的幼苗，將不斷長成下一代共享的果實。讓我們一起堅持理想、攜手改革、打造幸福臺灣。

謝謝大家！

## 2016—TSAI ING-WEN

Esteemed heads of state and guests from our diplomatic allies, distinguished ambassadors and representatives, dear friends, our fellow citizens across the country:

### Our Gratitude and Responsibilities

Just moments ago, in the Presidential Office building, Dr. Chen Chien-jen and I were officially sworn in as the 14th President and Vice President of the Republic of China. We must express our gratitude to this land for nurturing us and to the people for placing their trust in us. Most importantly, we deeply appreciate the democratic institutions of this country, which have allowed us to accomplish Taiwan's third transition of political power through a peaceful electoral process. We also overcame many uncertainties throughout a four months-long transition period that concluded peacefully today.

Once again, the people of Taiwan have shown the world through our actions that we, as a free and democratic people, are committed to the defense of our freedom and democracy as a way of life. Each and every one of us



participated in this journey. My dear fellow Taiwanese, we did it.

I would like to tell you that, regarding the results of the January 16th elections, I have always had one interpretation only. The people elected a new president and new government with one single expectation: solving problems.

At this very moment, Taiwan faces a difficult situation that requires its leaders to shoulder the burdens without hesitation. This is something I will not forget. I would also like to tell you that, the multitude of challenges before us require that we face them honestly and shoulder the responsibilities together.

Therefore, this speech is an invitation. I invite every fellow citizen to carry the future of this country.

It is not the leader who makes a country great; it is the collective striving of the people that makes this country great. A president should not only unite her own supporters; she should unite the entire country. To stand united for change -- that is my earnest hope for this country. Here, I sincerely call on everyone to give this country a chance.

Let us leave behind the prejudices and conflicts of the past, and together fulfill the mission that the new era has entrusted to us.

At this moment and as President, I declare to the citizens of this country that my administration will demonstrate resolve in spearheading this country's reform, and will never back down.

Building a Better Country for the Younger Generation

The path forward is not a smooth one. Taiwan needs a new government that readily takes on each and every challenge. And it is my job to lead such a government.

Our pension system will go bankrupt without reform.

Our rigid educational system is increasingly out of touch with society. Our energy and resources are limited, and our economy lacks momentum, with the old model of OEM manufacturing facing a bottleneck. This country urgently needs a new model for economic development.

Our population is rapidly aging, while the long-term care system remains inadequate.

Our birthrate remains low, while a sound childcare system seems a distant prospect.

Our environment still suffers from severe pollution.

Our country's fiscal situation is far from optimistic.

Our judicial system has lost the trust of the people.

Our families are deeply disturbed by food safety scandals.

Our wealth disparities are still widening.

Our social safety net is full of holes.

Most importantly, and I must stress: our young people still suffer from low wages. Their lives are stuck, and they feel helpless and confused about the future.

Young people's future is the government's responsibility. If unfriendly structures persist, the situation for young people will never improve, no matter how many elite talents we have. My self-expectation is that, within my term as President, I will tackle this country's problems step by step, starting with the basic structure.

This is what I want to do for the young people of Taiwan. Although I cannot give every young person a raise instantly, I can promise that the new administration will initiate actions immediately. Please give us some time, and please join us on this journey of reform.

To change young people's predicament is to change a country's predicament. When its young people have no future, a country is certain to have no future. It is the solemn duty of the new administration to help young people overcome difficulties, achieve generational justice, and deliver to the next generation a better country.

## **1. Transforming Economic Structures**

To build a better country, going forward, the new administration must accomplish the following tasks. The first is to transform Taiwan's economic structure. This is the most formidable task that the new administration must take on. We must not think lightly of ourselves, and we must not lose confidence. Taiwan enjoys many advantages that other countries lack.

We have the vibrancy and resilience of a maritime economy, high quality human resources, the pragmatic and reliable culture of engineers, a well-developed industrial chain, nimble and agile small and medium enterprises, and of course, our relentless entrepreneurial spirit. In order to completely transform Taiwan's economy, from this moment on, we must bravely chart a different course - and that is to build a "New Model for Economic Development" for Taiwan.

The new administration will pursue a new economic model for sustainable development based on the core values of innovation, employment and equitable distribution. The first step of reform is to strengthen the vitality and autonomy of our economy, reinforce Taiwan's global and regional connections, and actively participate in multilateral and bilateral economic cooperation as well as free trade negotiations including the TPP and RCEP.

We will also promote a "New Southbound Policy" in order to elevate the scope and diversity of our external economy, and to bid farewell to our past overreliance on a single market.

Furthermore, the new administration believes that the only way for Taiwan to overcome the current economic stagnation is to stimulate new momentum for growth. Our export and domestic demand will serve as twin engines for growth, allowing business production to become closely integrated with the livelihoods of the people, while building close ties between foreign trade and the local economy.

We will prioritize our plans to promote five major innovative industries, with the goal of reshaping Taiwan's global competitiveness. By protecting labor rights, we will also actively raise productivity and allow wages to grow in lockstep with the economy.

This is a crucial moment for Taiwan's economic development. We have the resolve and the ability to communicate. Going forward, we have systematic plans to engage in interagency cooperation, in order to consolidate the strength of the entire country and bring forth this new model.

As we pursue economic development, we must not forget our responsibility to the environment. Our New Model for Economic Development will be fully integrated with national land-use planning, regional development and environmental sustainability. Industrial planning strategy and national land-use should not be fragmented or shortsighted.

We must also pursue balanced regional development, which requires planning and coordination by the central administration. And it requires our local governments to uphold the spirit of regional joint governance.

We must not endlessly expend natural resources and the health of our citizens as we have done in the past. Therefore, we will strictly monitor and control all sources of pollution. We will also bring Taiwan into an age of circular economy, turning waste into renewable resources. We will gradually adjust our energy options based on the concepts of sustainability.

The new administration will seriously address issues related to climate change, land conservation and disaster prevention. After all, we only have one earth, and we only have one Taiwan.

## **2. Strengthening the Social Safety Net**

The second area that the new government must address is to strengthen Taiwan's social safety net. Over the past few years, several incidents of violent crime affecting the safety of children and youth have shaken our entire society.

However, a government cannot remain in a state of shock. It must demonstrate empathy. No one can endure the pain and suffering on behalf of the victims' families. However, the government, and especially the first responders, must let the victims and their family members feel that, when unfortunate incidents occur, the government is on their side.

Beyond offering empathy, the government should propose solutions. We must do everything we can to prevent the repeated occurrences of tragedy, by swiftly mending holes in areas such as public safety, education, mental health and social work. The new administration will address these issues with the utmost seriousness and readiness to act, particularly on public safety and anti-drug efforts.

The issue of pension reform is crucial for the survival and development of Taiwan. We should not hesitate, nor should we act in haste. Vice President Chen Chien-jen is spearheading the establishment of a Pension Reform Committee. Previous administrations have devoted some effort to this issue, but public participation was inadequate. The new government will launch a collective negotiation process, because pension reform must unite everyone involved.

For this reason, we will convene a national congress on pension reform that brings together representatives from different social classes and occupations to engage in negotiations on the basis of societal unity. Within a year, we will offer a workable proposal for reform. Whether you are employed in the private or the public sector, life after retirement for every citizen should receive fair protection.

Furthermore, on the issue of long-term care, we will establish a high-quality, affordable and extensive long-term care system. Like pension reform, long-term care is a process of social mobilization. The new administration's approach is for the government to lead and plan, while encouraging citizens to organize in communities; through the efforts of collective social assistance, our goal is to build an adequate and comprehensive system.

Every senior citizen can comfortably enjoy life after retirement in a community they are familiar with. Every family will see their burden of care lightened. We cannot leave senior care entirely to the free market. We will take up our responsibilities, plan and implement step by step, and get adequately prepared for the arrival of a hyper-aging society.

### **3. Social Fairness and Justice**

The third area the new government must address is social fairness and justice. On this issue, the new government will continue to work with civil society to align its policies with the values of diversity, equality, openness, transparency, and human rights, so as to deepen and evolve Taiwan's democratic institutions.

For the new democratic system to move forward, we must first find a way to face the past together. I will establish a Truth and Reconciliation Commission inside the Presidential Office, to address the historical past in the most sincere and cautious manner. The goal of transitional justice is to pursue true social reconciliation, so that all Taiwanese can take to heart the mistakes of that era.

We will begin by investigating and sorting through the facts. Within the next three years, we plan to complete Taiwan's own investigative report on transitional justice. Follow-up work on transitional justice will then be carried out in accordance with the truth unveiled by the report. We will discover the truth, heal wounds, and clarify responsibilities. From here on out, history will no longer divide Taiwan. Instead, it will propel Taiwan forward.

Also related to fairness and justice, I will uphold the same principles when addressing issues concerning Taiwan's indigenous peoples. At today's Inauguration Ceremony, before they sang the national anthem, the indigenous children first sang the traditional melodies of their tribes. This means that we dare not forget who arrived first on this island.

The new government will address issues concerning indigenous peoples with an apologetic attitude. My administration will work to rebuild an indigenous historical perspective, progressively promote indigenous autonomous governance, restore indigenous languages and cultures, and improve the livelihood of indigenous communities.

Next, the new government will actively promote judicial reform. At this juncture, this is the issue the people of Taiwan care the most about. The general sentiment is that the judicial system is not close to the people, and is not trusted by them. It is unable to fight crime effectively, and has lost its function as the last line of defense for justice.

To demonstrate the new government's resolve, we will hold a national congress on judicial issues this coming October. By allowing public participation and letting in social forces, we will advance judicial reform together. The judicial system must respond to the needs of the people. It will no longer be a judicial system for legal professionals only, but for everyone. Judicial reform is not only the business of legal professionals; it must be inclusive. These are my expectations for judicial reform.

### **4. Regional Peace and Stability and Cross-Strait Relations**

The fourth area for the new government to address is regional peace, stability and development, as well as the proper management of cross-Strait relations. Over the past 30 years, Asia and the world have undergone dramatic changes. And governments have become increasingly concerned over global and regional economic stability and collective security.

Taiwan has always played an indispensable role in the region's development. But in recent years, regional dynamics have been changing rapidly. If Taiwan does not effectively use its strengths and leverage to proactively participate in regional affairs, it will not only become insignificant, it may even become marginalized and lose the ability to determine its own future.

But where there is crisis, there is opportunity. The present stage of Taiwan's economic development is highly connected and complementary with many countries in the region. If our efforts to build a New Model for Economic Development can be linked to other Asian and Asia-Pacific countries through cooperation, to jointly shape future development strategies, we will not just contribute to the region's innovation.

We will also contribute greatly to the region's structural adjustment and sustainable development. Together with other members of this region, we will forge an intimate sense of "economic community."

We will share resources, talents and markets with other countries to achieve economies of scale and to allow the efficient use of resources. This is the spirit on which our "New Southbound Policy" is based. We will broaden exchanges and cooperation with regional neighbors in areas such as technology, culture and commerce, and expand in particular our dynamic relationships with ASEAN and India.

We are also willing to engage in candid exchanges and pursue possibilities for cooperation and collaboration with the other side of the Strait on our common participation in regional development.

As we actively develop our economy, the security situation in the Asia-Pacific region is becoming increasingly complex. Cross-Strait relations have become an integral part of building regional peace and collective security. In this process, Taiwan will be a "staunch guardian of peace" that actively participates and is never absent. We will work to maintain peace and stability in cross-Strait relations. We will make efforts to facilitate domestic reconciliation, strengthen our democratic institutions, consolidate consensus, and present a united position to the outside world.

For us to accomplish our goals, dialogue and communication are absolutely crucial. Taiwan will also become a "proactive communicator for peace." We will establish mechanisms for intensive and routine communications with all parties involved, and exchange views at all times to prevent misjudgment, establish mutual trust, and effectively resolve disputes. We will handle related disputes in adherence to the principles of maintaining peace and sharing interests.

I was elected President in accordance with the Constitution of the Republic of China, thus it is my responsibility to safeguard the sovereignty and territory of the Republic of China; regarding problems arising in the East China Sea and South China Sea, we propose setting aside disputes so as to enable joint development.

We will also work to maintain the existing mechanisms for dialogue and communication across the Taiwan Strait. In 1992, the two institutions representing each side across the Strait (SEF & ARATS), through communication and negotiations, arrived at various joint acknowledgements and understandings.

It was done in a spirit of mutual understanding and a political attitude of seeking common ground while setting aside differences. I respect this historical fact. Since 1992, over twenty years of interactions and negotiations across the Strait have enabled and accumulated outcomes which both sides must collectively cherish and sustain; and it is based on such existing realities and political foundations that the stable and peaceful development of the cross-Strait relationship must be continuously promoted.

The new government will conduct cross-Strait affairs in accordance with the Republic of China Constitution, the Act Governing Relations Between the People of Taiwan Area and the Mainland Area, and other relevant legislation. The two governing parties across the Strait must set aside the baggage of history, and engage in positive dialogue, for the benefit of the people on both sides.

By existing political foundations, I refer to a number of key elements. The first element is the fact of the 1992 talks between the two institutions representing each side across the Strait (SEF & ARATS), when there was joint acknowledgement of setting aside differences to seek common ground. This is a historical fact. The second element is the existing Republic of China constitutional order. The third element pertains to the outcomes of over twenty years of negotiations and interactions across the Strait. And the fourth relates to the democratic principle and prevalent will of the people of Taiwan.

## **5. Diplomatic and Global Issues**

The fifth area for the new government to take up is to fulfill our duty as a citizen of the world and contribute towards diplomatic and global issues. We will bring Taiwan closer to the world, and the world closer to Taiwan. With us here today are many heads of state and delegations.

I would like to thank them for their longstanding assistance to Taiwan and for giving us the opportunity to participate in the international community. Going forward, through governmental interactions, business investment and people-to-people collaborations, we will continue to share Taiwan's experience in economic development and build lasting partnerships with our allies.

Taiwan has been a model citizen in global civil society. Since our democratization, we have persisted in upholding the universal values of peace, freedom, democracy and human rights. It is with this spirit that we join the alliance of shared values and concerns for global issues. We will continue to deepen our relationships with friendly democracies including the United States, Japan and Europe to advance multifaceted cooperation on the basis of shared values.

We will proactively participate in international economic and trade cooperation and rule-making, steadfastly defend the global economic order, and integrate into important regional trade and commercial architecture. We will also not be absent on the prevention of global warming and climate change.

We will create within the Executive Yuan an office for energy and carbon-reduction. We will regularly review goals for cutting greenhouse gas emissions in accordance with the agreement negotiated at the COP21 meeting in Paris. Together with friendly nations we will safeguard a sustainable earth.

At the same time, the new government will support and participate in international cooperation on emerging global issues including humanitarian aid, medical assistance, disease prevention and research, anti-terrorism cooperation and jointly tackling transnational crime. Taiwan will be an indispensable partner for the international community.

## Conclusion

From the first direct Presidential Election in 1996 to today, exactly 20 years have gone by. Thanks to two decades of hard work by successive governments and civil society, we have overcome many obstacles that emerging democracies must confront. Throughout this process, we have had many touching moments and stories. But like other countries, we have also experienced anxiety, unease, contradictions and conflict.

We have witnessed confrontation within society; confrontation between progressive and conservative forces, between pro-environment and pro-development views, and between political ideologies. These confrontations have sparked the energy for mobilization during election seasons. But also because of these dichotomies, our democracy gradually lost its ability to solve problems.

Democracy is a process. In every era, those who work in politics must recognize clearly the responsibilities they shoulder. Democracy can move forward, but it can also fall backwards. Standing here today, I want to say to everyone: for us, falling backwards is not an option.

The new government's duty is to move Taiwan's democracy forward to the next stage: before, democracy was about winning or losing the election. Now, democracy is about the welfare of the people. Before, democracy was a showdown between two opposing values. Now, democracy is a conversation between many diverse values.

To build a "united democracy" that is not hijacked by ideology; to build an "efficient democracy" that responds to the problems of society and economy; to build a "pragmatic democracy" that takes care of the people - this is the significance of the new era.

As long as we believe, the new era will arrive. As long as our leaders have unwavering faith, the new era will be born in the hands of our generation. Dear fellow Taiwanese, this speech is coming to a close, but reforms are just about to start. From this moment on, the weight of the country rests upon the new government. It is my duty for you all to see this country change.

History will remember this courageous generation. This country's prosperity, dignity, unity, confidence and justice all bear the marks of our struggle. History will remember our courage. It will remember that in the year 2016, we took this country in a new direction. Everyone on this land can be proud of having participated in changing Taiwan.

In the earlier performance, I was really touched by a verse in the lyrics of a song:

"Today is the day, my brave fellow Taiwanese."

Dear fellow citizens, dear 23 million people of Taiwan: the wait is over. Today is the day. Today, tomorrow, and on every day to come, we shall all vow to be a Taiwanese who safeguards democracy, freedom, and this country.

Thank you.

各位友邦的元首與貴賓、各國駐台使節及代表、現場的好朋友，全體國人同胞，大家好

## 感謝與承擔

就在剛剛，我和陳建仁已經在總統府裡面，正式宣誓就任中華民國第十四任總統與副總統。我們要感謝這塊土地對我們的栽培，感謝人民對我們的信任，以及，最重要的，感謝這個國家的民主機制，讓我們透過和平的選舉過程，實現第三次政黨輪替，並且克服種種不確定因素，順利渡過長達四個月的交接期，完成政權和平移轉。

台灣，再一次用行動告訴世界，作為一群民主人與自由人，我們有堅定的信念，去捍衛民主自由的生活方式。這段旅程，我們每一個人都參與其中。親愛的台灣人民，我們做到了。

我要告訴大家，對於一月十六日的選舉結果，我從來沒有其他的解讀方式。人民選擇了新總統、新政府，所期待的就是四個字：解決問題。此時此刻，台灣的處境很困難，迫切需要執政者義無反顧的承擔。這一點，我不會忘記。

我也要告訴大家，眼前的種種難關，需要我們誠實面對，需要我們共同承擔。所以，這個演說是一個邀請，我要邀請全體國人同胞一起來，扛起這個國家的未來。

國家不會因為領導人而偉大；全體國民的共同奮鬥，才讓這個國家偉大。總統該團結的不只是支持者，總統該團結的是整個國家。團結是為了改變，這是我對這個國家最深切的期待。在這裡，我要誠懇地呼籲，請給這個國家一個機會，讓我們拋下成見，拋下過去的對立，我們一起來完成新時代交給我們的使命。

在我們共同奮鬥的過程中，身為總統，我要向全國人民宣示，未來我和新政府，將領導這個國家的改革，展現決心，絕不退縮。

為年輕人打造一個更好的國家

未來的路並不好走，台灣需要一個正面迎向一切挑戰的新政府，我的責任就是領導這個新政府。

我們的年金制度，如果不改，就會破產。

我們僵化的教育制度，已經逐漸與社會脈動脫節。

我們的能源與資源十分有限，我們的經濟缺乏動能，舊的代工模式已經面臨瓶頸，整個國家極需要新的經濟發展模式。

我們的人口結構急速老化，長照體系卻尚未健全。

我們的人口出生率持續低落，完善的托育制度卻始終遙遙無期。

我們環境汙染問題仍然嚴重。

我們國家的財政並不樂觀。

我們的司法已經失去人民的信任。

我們的食品安全問題，困擾著所有家庭。

我們的貧富差距越來越嚴重。

我們的社會安全網還是有很多破洞。

最重要的，我要特別強調，我們的年輕人處於低薪的處境，他們的人生，動彈不得，對於未來，充滿無奈與茫然。

年輕人的未來是政府的責任。如果不友善的結構沒有改變，再多個人菁英的出現，都不足以讓整體年輕人的處境變好。我期許自己，在未來的任期之內，要一步一步，從根本的結構來解決這個國家的問題。

這就是我想為台灣的年輕人做的事。雖然我沒有辦法立刻幫所有的年輕人加薪，但是我願意承諾，新政府會立刻展開行動。請給我們一點時間，也請跟我們一起走上改革的這一條路。

改變年輕人的處境，就是改變國家的處境。一個國家的年輕人沒有未來，這個國家必定沒有未來。幫助年輕人突破困境，實現世代正義，把一個更好的國家交到下一代手上，就是新政府重大的責任。

## 第一、經濟結構的轉型

要打造一個更好的國家，未來，新政府要做到以下幾件事情。

首先，就是讓台灣的經濟結構轉型。這是新政府所必須承擔的最艱鉅使命。我們不要妄自菲薄，更不要失去信心。台灣有很多別的國家沒有的優勢，我們有海洋經濟的活力和韌性，高素質的人力資源、務實可靠的工程師文化、完整的產業鏈、敏捷靈活的中小企業，以及，永不屈服的創業精神。

我們要讓台灣經濟脫胎換骨，就必須從現在起就下定決心，勇敢地走出另外一條路。這一條路，就是打造台灣經濟發展的新模式。

新政府將打造一個以創新、就業、分配為核心價值，追求永續發展的新經濟模式。改革的第一步，就是強化經濟的活力與自主性，加強和全球及區域的連結，積極參與多邊及雙邊經濟合作及自由貿易談判，包括 TPP、RCEP 等，並且，推動新南向政策，提升對外經濟的格局及多元性，告別以往過於依賴單一市場的現象。

除此之外，新政府相信，唯有激發新的成長動能，我們才能突破當前經濟的停滯不前。我們會以出口和內需作為雙引擎，讓企業生產和人民生活互為表裡，讓對外貿易和在地經濟緊密連結。

我們會優先推動五大創新研發計畫，藉著這些產業來重新塑造台灣的全球競爭力。我們也要積極提升勞動生產力，保障勞工權益，讓薪資和經濟成長能同步提升。

這是台灣經濟發展的關鍵時刻。我們有決心，也有溝通能力。我們已經有系統性的規劃，未來，會以跨部會聯手的模式，把整個國家的力量集結起來，一起來催生這個新模式。

在經濟發展的同時，我們不要忘記對環境的責任。經濟發展的新模式會和國土規劃、區域發展及環境永續，相互結合。產業的佈局和國土的利用，應該拋棄零碎的規畫，和短視近利的眼光。我們必須追求區域的均衡發展，這需要中央來規畫、整合，也需要地方政府充分發揮區域聯合治理的精神。

我們也不能再像過去，無止盡地揮霍自然資源及國民健康。所以，對各種汙染的控制，我們會嚴格把關，更要讓台灣走向循環經濟的時代，把廢棄物轉換為再生資源。對於能源的選擇，我們會以永續的觀念去逐步調整。新政府會嚴肅看待氣候變遷、國土保育、災害防治的相關議題，因為，我們只有一個地球，我們也只有一個台灣。

## 第二、強化社會安全網

新政府必須要承擔的第二件事情，就是強化台灣的社會安全網。這些年，幾件關於兒少安全及隨機殺人的事件，都讓整個社會震驚。不過，一個政府不能永遠在震驚，它必須要有同理心。沒有人可以替受害者家屬承受傷痛，但是，一個政府，尤其是第一線處理問題的人，必須要讓受害者以及家屬覺得，不幸事件發生的時候，政府是站在他們這一邊。

除了同理心之外，政府更應該要提出解決的方法。全力防止悲劇一再發生，從治安、教育、心理健康、社會工作等各個面向，積極把破洞補起來。尤其是治安與反毒的工作，這些事情，新政府會用最嚴肅的態度和行動來面對。

在年金的改革方面，這是攸關台灣生存發展的關鍵改革，我們不應該遲疑，也不可以躁進。由陳建仁副總統擔任召集人的年金改革委員會，已經緊鑼密鼓在籌備之中。過去的政府在這個議題上，曾經有過一些努力。但是，缺乏社會的參與。新政府的做法，是發動一個集體協商，因為年金改革必須是一個透過協商來團結所有人的過程。

這就是為什麼，我們要召開年金改革國是會議，由不同階層、不同職業代表，在社會團結的基礎上，共同協商。一年之內，我們會提出可行的改革方案。無論是勞工還是公務員，每一個國民的退休生活都應該得到公平的保障。

另外，在長期照顧的議題上，我們將會把優質、平價、普及的長期照顧系統建立起來。和年金改革一樣，長照體系也是一個社會總動員的過程。新政府的做法是由政府主導和規劃，鼓勵民間發揮社區主義的精神，透過社會集體互助的力量，來建立一套妥善而完整的體系。每一個老年人都可以在自己熟悉的社區，安心享受老年生活，每一個家庭的照顧壓力將會減輕。照顧老人的工作不能完全讓它變成自由市場。我們會把責任扛起來，按部就班來規劃與執行，為超高齡社會的來臨，做好準備。

## 第三、社會的公平與正義

新政府要承擔的第三件事情，就是社會的公平與正義。在這個議題上，新政府會持續和公民社會一起合作，讓台灣的政策更符合多元、平等、開放、透明、人權的價值，讓台灣的民主機制更加深化與進化。

新的民主制度要能夠上路，我們必須先找出面對過去的共同方法。未來，我會在總統府成立真相與和解委員會，用最誠懇與謹慎的態度，來處理過去的歷史。追求轉型正義的目標是在追求社會的真正和解，讓所有台灣人都記取那個時代的錯誤。

我們將從真相的調查與整理出發，預計在三年之內，完成台灣自己的轉型正義調查報告書。我們將會依據調查報告所揭示的真相，來進行後續的轉型正義工作。挖掘真相、彌平傷痕、釐清責任。從此以後，過去的歷史不再是台灣分裂的原因，而是台灣一起往前走的動力。

同樣在公平正義的議題上，我會秉持相同的原則，來面對原住民族的議題。今天的就職典禮，原住民族的小朋友在唱國歌之前，先唱了他們部落傳統的古調。這象徵了，我們不敢忘記，這個島上先來後到的順序。

新政府會用道歉的態度，來面對原住民族相關議題，重建原民史觀，逐步推動自治，復育語言文化，提升生活照顧，這就是我要領導新政府推動的改變。

接下來，新政府也會積極推動司法改革。這是現階段台灣人民最關心的議題。司法無法親近人民、不被人民信任、司法無法有效打擊犯罪，以及，司法失去作為正義最後一道防線的功能，是人民普遍的感受。

為了展現新政府的決心，我們會在今年十月召開司法國是會議，透過人民實際的參與，讓社會力進來，一起推動司法改革。司法必須回應人民的需求，不再只是法律人的司法，而是全民的司法。司法改革也不只是司法人的家務事，而是全民參與的改革。這就是我對司法改革的期待。

## 第四、區域的和平穩定發展及兩岸關係

新政府要承擔的第四件事情，是區域的和平穩定與發展，以及妥善處理兩岸關係。過去三十年，無論是對亞洲或是全球，都是變動最劇烈的時期；而全球及區域的經濟穩定和集體安全，也是各國政府越來越關切的課題。

台灣在區域發展當中，一直是不可或缺的關鍵角色。但是近年來，區域的情勢快速變動，如果台灣不善用自己的實力和籌碼，積極參與區域事務，不但將會變得無足輕重，甚至可能被邊緣化，喪失對於未來的自主權。

我們有危機，但也有轉機。台灣現階段的經濟發展，和區域中許多國家高度關聯和互補。如果將打造經濟發展新模式的努力，透過和亞洲、乃至亞太區域的國家合作，共同形塑未來的發展策略，不但可以為區域的經濟創新、結構調整和永續發展，做出積極的貢獻，更可以和區域內的成員，建立緊密的「經

濟共同體」意識。

我們要和其他國家共享資源、人才與市場，擴大經濟規模，讓資源有效利用。「新南向政策」就是基於這樣的精神。我們會在科技、文化與經貿等各層面，和區域成員廣泛交流合作，尤其是增進與東協、印度的多元關係。為此，我們也願意和對岸，就共同參與區域發展的相關議題，坦誠交換意見，尋求各種合作與協力的可能性。

在積極發展經濟的同時，亞太地區的安全情勢也變得越來越複雜，而兩岸關係，也成為建構區域和平與集體安全的重要一環。這個建構的進程，台灣會做一個「和平的堅定維護者」，積極參與，絕不缺席；我們也將致力維持兩岸關係的和平穩定；我們更會努力促成內部和解，強化民主機制，凝聚共識，形成一致對外的立場。

對話和溝通，是我們達成目標最重要的關鍵。台灣也要成為一個「和平的積極溝通者」，我們將和相關的各方，建立常態、緊密的溝通機制，隨時交換意見，防止誤判，建立互信，有效解決爭議。我們將謹守和平原則、利益共享原則，來處理相關的爭議。

我依照中華民國憲法當選總統，我有責任捍衛中華民國的主權和領土；對於東海及南海問題，我們主張應擱置爭議，共同開發。

兩岸之間的對話與溝通，我們也將努力維持現有的機制。1992年兩岸兩會秉持相互諒解、求同存異的政治思維，進行溝通協商，達成若干的共同認知與諒解，我尊重這個歷史事實。92年之後，20多年來雙方交流、協商所累積形成的現狀與成果，兩岸都應該共同珍惜與維護，並在這個既有的事實與政治基礎上，持續推動兩岸關係和平穩定發展；新政府會依據中華民國憲法、兩岸人民關係條例及其他相關法律，處理兩岸事務。兩岸的兩個執政黨應該要放下歷史包袱，展開良性對話，造福兩岸人民。

我所講的既有政治基礎，包含幾個關鍵元素，第一，1992年兩岸兩會會談的歷史事實與求同存異的共同認知，這是歷史事實；第二，中華民國現行憲政體制；第三，兩岸過去20多年來協商和交流互動的成果；第四，台灣民主原則及普遍民意。

## 第五、外交與全球性議題

新政府要承擔的第五件事情，是善盡地球公民的責任，在外交與全球性的議題上做出貢獻。讓台灣走向世界，也要讓世界走進台灣。

現場有許多來自各國的元首與使節團，我要特別謝謝他們，長久以來一直幫助台灣，讓我們有機會參與國際社會。未來，我們會持續透過官方互動、企業投資與民間合作各種方式，分享台灣發展的經驗，與友邦建立永續的夥伴關係。

台灣是全球公民社會的模範生，民主化以來，我們始終堅持和平、自由、民主及人權的普世價值。我們會秉持這個精神，加入全球議題的價值同盟。我們會繼續深化與包括美國、日本、歐洲在內的友好民主國家的關係，在共同的價值基礎上，推動全方位的合作。

我們會積極參與國際經貿合作及規則制定，堅定維護全球的經濟秩序，並且融入重要的區域經貿體系。我們也不會在防制全球暖化、氣候變遷的議題上缺席。我們將會在行政院設立專責的能源和減碳辦公室，並且根據COP21巴黎協議的規定，定期檢討溫室氣體的減量目標，與友好國家攜手，共同維護永續的地球。

同時，新政府會支持並參與，全球性新興議題的國際合作，包括人道救援、醫療援助、疾病的防治與研究、反恐合作，以及共同打擊跨國犯罪，讓台灣成為國際社會不可或缺的夥伴。

## 結語

1996年台灣第一次總統直選，到今天剛好20年。過去20年，在幾任政府以及公民社會的努力之下，我們成功渡過了許多新興民主國家必須面對的難關。在這個過程中，我們曾經有過許多感動人心的時刻和故事，不過，正如同世界上其他國家一樣，我們也曾經有過焦慮、不安、矛盾、與對立。

我們看到了社會的對立，進步與保守的對立，環境與開發的對立，以及，政治意識之間的對立。這些對立，曾經激發出選舉時的動員能量，不過也因為這些對立，我們的民主逐漸失去了解決問題的能力。

民主是一個進程，每一個時代的政治工作者，都要清楚認識他身上所肩負的責任。民主會前進，民主也有可能倒退。今天，我站在這裡，就是要告訴大家，倒退不會是我們的選項。新政府的責任就是把台灣的民主推向下一個階段：以前的民主是選舉的輸贏，現在的民主則是關於人民的幸福；以前的民主是兩個價值觀的對決，現在的民主則是不同價值觀的對話。

打造一個沒有被意識形態綁架的「團結的民主」，打造一個可以回應社會與經濟問題的「有效率的民主」，打造一個能夠實質照料人民的「務實的民主」，這就是新時代的意義。

只要我們相信，新時代就會來臨。只要這個國家的主人，有堅定的信念，新時代一定會在我們這一代人的手上誕生。

各位親愛的台灣人民，演講要結束了，改革要開始了。從這一刻起，這個國家的擔子交在新政府身上。我會讓大家看見這個國家的改變。

歷史會記得我們這個勇敢的世代，這個國家的繁榮、尊嚴、團結、自信和公義，都有我們努力的痕跡。歷史會記得我們的勇敢，我們在 2016 年一起把國家帶向新的方向。這塊土地上的每一個人，都因為參與台灣的改變，而感到驕傲。

剛才表演節目中的一首歌曲當中，有一句讓我很感動的歌詞：

(台語) 現在是彼一天，勇敢ㄟ台灣人。

各位國人同胞，兩千三百萬的台灣人民，等待已經結束，現在就是那一天。今天，明天，未來的每一天，我們都要做一個守護民主、守護自由、守護這個國家的台灣人。

謝謝大家。

## ■ 2020—TSAI ING-WEN

Vice President Lai, esteemed guests, friends watching on TV and online, my fellow citizens across the country, good morning.

### A Taiwanese Community

I feel immensely grateful to stand here once again today and take on the responsibility entrusted to me by the Taiwanese people.

This inauguration ceremony is unique in the history of the Republic of China. What makes it special is not its size or the number of people in attendance. It is special because we know how difficult it has been for us to get to this point.

I want to thank the people of Taiwan for making such a difficult feat possible.

I particularly want to thank a group of people who have not received a lot of attention over the past four months in our fight against COVID-19. I want to thank every single person who waited in line outside of the pharmacy in the early days of the coronavirus outbreak. Thank you for your patience, and thank you for trusting the government. You have shown the world Taiwan's commitment to civic virtues, even in times of greatest distress.

I also want to thank everyone who was quarantined or isolated at home, putting up with inconvenience in your daily life to keep others safe and healthy. Thank you for exemplifying humanity's best qualities and helping us successfully bring the coronavirus outbreak under control.

This sense of pride in our country, this community's shared destiny, and the memories of these past months will live on in all of our hearts. This is what solidarity feels like.

Many ambassadors and representatives from other countries are here today, and I trust that many countries around the world are watching Taiwan as well.

I want to take this opportunity to tell you that the country you see is populated by kind and resilient people. No matter the difficulties we face, we can always count on our democracy, our solidarity, and our sense of responsibility towards each other to help us overcome challenges, weather difficult times, and stand steadfast in the world.

### Unprecedented Challenges and Unparalleled Opportunities

From January to now, Taiwan has amazed the international community twice. The first was our democratic elections, and the second was our success in the fight against COVID-19.

In recent months, Taiwan's name has appeared in headlines around the world, thanks to our successful containment of the coronavirus outbreak.

"Taiwan" is also emblazoned on the boxes of supplies we are sending abroad. The Taiwanese people have the kindest hearts in the entire world, and we will always offer help to the international community whenever we are able.

I hope that in addition to sharing in a sense of pride and joy, my fellow citizens can take to heart the spirit of "helping ourselves to help others"; "when we help ourselves, others will help us".

This pandemic has not yet ended, and we must remain vigilant. Even when it ends, its impacts will linger on.

The coronavirus has profoundly affected our world. It has changed the global political and economic order, accelerated and expanded the reorganization of global supply chains, restructured the global economy, and changed the way we live and shop. It has even changed the way the international community views Taiwan and developments in the surrounding region.



These changes present us with both challenges and opportunities. I want to ask that my fellow citizens be prepared, because countless challenges and difficulties remain ahead of us.

Over the next four years, only those who can end the pandemic within their borders, lay out a strategy for their country's survival and development, and take advantage of opportunities in the complex world of tomorrow, will be able to set themselves apart on the international stage.

It takes more than fervor to govern a country. Leadership means calmly taking the right direction in a changing world. That is precisely what I have done over the past four years.

I said before that I will leave you with a better country. So over the next four years, I will proactively develop our industries, foster a safe society, ensure national security, and deepen our democracy. I am going to reinvent Taiwan and lead our country into the future.

## National Development

### 1. Industrial and Economic Development

I know that the Taiwanese people are most concerned about our industrial and economic development. In 2016, we initiated a new economic development model to help connect Taiwan's economy to the world. Over the past four years, despite massive changes in the international economy, Taiwan has done more than just weather the storm. Our economic growth has once again topped the Four Asian Tigers, and the stock market index now regularly breaks 10,000 points.

Thanks to our successful control of the pandemic, so far, Taiwan is able to maintain positive economic growth. This is rare in the world. However, we need to continue to take early action on economic relief and revitalization, and do whatever it takes to maintain stable economic growth.

Over the next four years, we will face more intense changes in the global economy and the accelerated reorganization of supply chains. We will continue to implement our Forward-looking Infrastructure Development and trillion NT-dollar investment programs. We will do so in the spirit of "achieving growth through stability, and seizing opportunity amid changes", in order to secure Taiwan's economic development over the coming decades.

In terms of industrial development, we are going to take advantage of the opportunities before us in six core strategic industries founded on our 5+2 Innovative Industries Program, to transform Taiwan into a critical force in the global economy.

#### ● *Six Core Strategic Industries*

First, we will continue to develop our information and digital industries. We will take advantage of Taiwan's strengths in the semiconductor and ICT industries to secure a central role in global supply chains, and make Taiwan a major base for the development of next generation technologies, including IoT and AI.

Second, we are going to develop a cybersecurity industry that can integrate with 5G, digital transformation, and our national security. We will strive to create cybersecurity systems and an industrial chain that can protect our country and earn the world's trust.

Third, we are going to create biotech and medical technology industries integrated with the rest of the world. Throughout this pandemic, Taiwanese teams have proven that they are capable of working with world-class technologies to produce reagents and develop new drugs and vaccines. We are going to give these industries our utmost support, and transform Taiwan into a key force in the global battle against infectious diseases.

Fourth, we are going to develop national defense and strategic industries by integrating military and civilian capabilities. In addition to domestically-produced naval vessel and aircraft programs that are currently underway, we will push harder to promote technological integration between the military and the private sector, to stimulate private sector production capabilities, and advance into the aviation and space industries.

Fifth, we are going to accelerate the development of green energy and renewable energy industries. Over the past four years, renewable energy has experienced explosive growth, and Taiwan has become a hotspot for international investment. Building on this foundation, I am confident that we will achieve our goal of deriving 20% of our overall energy from green sources by 2025. We are going to make Taiwan a center for green energy in Asia.

Sixth, we are going to establish strategic stockpile industries that can ensure the steady provision of critical supplies. Facing changes to the global order, we need to keep key industrial chains in Taiwan and maintain a certain degree of self-sufficiency in the production of face masks, medical and daily supplies, energy, and food.

In the current international climate, countries that end their dependence on others will have a head start on national development. I would like our friends across all industries to rest assured that our government stands with you. Over the next few years, we have several strategies to drive the growth of our industries.

● *Industrial Development Strategy*

First, we will use domestic demand, particularly demand from the public sector and national security needs, as the basic engine for our industrial development.

A prime example of this is the way strategic demand for face masks and other medical supplies throughout this pandemic has spurred the development of related industries. We can adopt a similar model for our national defense and renewable energy industries to help accelerate their development.

We will continue to organize “national teams”, like our face mask team, according to the size and conditions of different industries. We will utilize our government’s guarantee of domestic demand to establish a global strategic materials manufacturing industry under the “Taiwanese brand” and help it expand into other markets.

We know that financial support is crucial to industrial development. Looking to the future, we will adopt more flexible financial policies, continue to reform financial systems, and use more diverse means to help industries obtain the financing they need.

We will also work to create a safe environment for our industries. Our government is committed to maintaining sound public health and national security systems, a stable society, strong rule of law, and a healthy market. We need to offer these guarantees so that high-tech and strategic industries will be willing to choose Taiwan as their production and R&D base.

We will also continue to guide the global expansion of our industries. We will keep working to sign trade or investment protection agreements with the United States, Japan, and European countries.

As we continue to promote our New Southbound Policy, we will also develop other potential markets and encourage firms to establish operations there, giving our industries an edge when they engage in international cooperation. Overseas Taiwanese business communities around the world will be our best partners as we seek new international opportunities.

Finally, we have the issue of talent. In order for Taiwan to become a key global economic force, we need a diverse talent pool. My government will bring in the world’s top technical, R&D, and management talents to help globalize Taiwan’s workforce, widen our industries’ horizons, and give them the ability to compete in the international arena.

Looking to the future, Taiwan must further connect with the international community. We will work to cultivate more outstanding bilingual and digital talents, giving our industries a global competitive edge.

Over the next four years, Taiwan’s economy will enter a new stage, complete with more flexible capital and talent flows, more robust industrial capabilities, and closer ties with the world. Together, we are going to enter a new era of shared prosperity.

## 2. Safe Society: Health and Social Safety Nets to Catch Those Who Need Help

As we develop our industries, we will also keep in mind that the people expect the government to foster a safe society. To be a better country, the government must take on more responsibilities to reduce the burden on the people and mitigate issues in society.

Over the past few years, we have addressed Long-term Care 2.0, childcare, and residential justice issues. Over the next four years, my goal is to weave an even tighter net that can catch every single person who needs help and prevent future tragedies.

● *Health and Disease Prevention Safety Net*

First, we will strengthen our health and disease prevention safety net. Taiwan is an ageing society, and infectious diseases pose a serious challenge to the health of our people. That is why we need to bolster our disease prevention and treatment capabilities and link industries to make more breakthroughs in vaccine and new drug development, as well as infectious disease prevention and treatment, so that people can enjoy healthy lives and receive better care.

● *Mending Gaps in the Social Safety Net*

Our second step will be to mend the gaps in our social safety net. Over the past few years, a great deal of discussion has arisen around public safety incidents involving schizophrenia patients. The same goes for other mental illnesses, drug addiction, and domestic violence.

I understand your concerns. These issues are not just the responsibility of individuals or families, they are the responsibility of the government. When families are unable to provide proper care, the government has a duty to step in and help.

I am going to upgrade our social care system, enhance the capabilities of frontline social workers, and improve their work environments, so that they can work at the grassroots and identify people who have fallen through the gaps in our safety net.

We cannot hold medical agencies or individual judges solely responsible for controversies surrounding specific cases. Our judicial and executive branches should reevaluate and optimize these systems and take initiatives to make any necessary legal amendments.

### 3. National Security: National Defense Reforms, Active International Participation, Peaceful and Stable Cross-strait Relations

A better country requires a greater emphasis on national security. Over the past four years, we have pushed for national defense reforms, active international participation, and peaceful, stable cross-strait relations. We hope that Taiwan can play a more active role in the peace, stability, and prosperity of the Indo-Pacific region. Over the next four years, the direction of our policies will remain the same, and we will do even more.

#### ● *National Defense Reforms*

We have three important directions for our national defense reforms. First is accelerating the development of our asymmetrical capabilities. While we work to bolster our defense capabilities, future combat capacity development will also emphasize mobility, countermeasures, and non-traditional asymmetrical capabilities. We will also work to strengthen our defenses against the threats of cyber warfare, cognitive warfare, and “unrestricted” warfare to achieve our strategic goal of multidomain deterrence.

The second is substantive reforms to our military reserve and mobilization systems. We need to enhance the quality of our reserve forces, as well as their weapons, equipment, and training, in order to achieve effective jointness with our regular forces. We also need to establish a standing, interdepartmental system connecting our reserve and mobilization systems. This system will help coordinate personnel and supplies, so that we can successfully mobilize during a transition from peacetime to war.

Third is improvements to our military’s management institutions. Today’s young servicemembers have all grown up in a democratic society, and one of our most important missions will be to find ways for them to better utilize their professional skills in line with military needs.

Some young servicemembers have difficulties adjusting to military needs, reflecting the gap between today’s society and our military management institutions. We need to work to close that gap. We need to reduce negative societal views of the military and end the gradual erosion of our military’s prestige and morale due to individual incidents caused by imperfect institutions.

Thus, we will improve appeal and counseling mechanisms within the military, establish a fair and equitable incident investigation mechanism, and regularly evaluate personnel placements. In terms of education and training, we will strengthen leadership capacities across all levels of leadership and foster a modern management system that emphasizes professionalism.

We need to strike a balance between the team-oriented military discipline needed for actual combat and society’s respect for the individual.

#### ● *Active International Participation*

Over the past four years, we have actively taken part in addressing major global issues, including counter-terrorism cooperation, humanitarian assistance, religious freedom, and nontraditional security.

Throughout this global pandemic, we have been praised for providing selfless assistance to the international community wherever we are able.

Taiwan has been deemed a democratic success story, a reliable partner, and a force for good in the world by the international community. All Taiwanese people should take pride in this.

Over the next four years, we will continue to fight for our participation in international organizations, strengthen mutually beneficial cooperation with our allies, and bolster ties with the United States, Japan, Europe, and other like-minded countries.

We will also participate more actively in regional cooperation mechanisms and work hand-in-hand with countries in the region to make concrete contributions to peace, stability, and prosperity in the Indo-Pacific region.

● *Peaceful and Stable Cross-strait Relations*

In the face of complex and changing cross-strait circumstances, we have made the greatest effort to maintain peace and stability in the Taiwan Strait over the past four years, gaining approval from the international community. We will continue these efforts, and we are willing to engage in dialogue with China and make more concrete contributions to regional security.

Here, I want to reiterate the words “peace, parity, democracy, and dialogue”. We will not accept the Beijing authorities’ use of “one country, two systems” to downgrade Taiwan and undermine the cross-strait status quo. We stand fast by this principle.

We will continue to handle cross-strait affairs according to the Constitution of the Republic of China and the Act Governing Relations between the People of the Taiwan Area and the Mainland Area. This has been our consistent position for maintaining the peaceful and stable status quo in the Taiwan Strait.

Cross-strait relations have reached a historical turning point. Both sides have a duty to find a way to coexist over the long term and prevent the intensification of antagonism and differences. Faced with changing circumstances, I will hold firm to my principles, adopt an open attitude to resolve issues, and shoulder my responsibilities as President. I also hope that the leader on the other side of the Strait will take on the same responsibility, and work with us to jointly stabilize the long-term development of cross-strait relations.

### **Strengthening State Institutions and Democracy**

While we work to achieve national development, it is crucial that we optimize our government institutions over the next four years. Our Legislative Yuan will establish a constitutional amendment committee, giving us a platform to engage in dialogue and reach a consensus on constitutional reforms pertaining to government systems and people’s rights.

This democratic process will enable the constitutional system to progress with the times and align with the values of Taiwanese society. Our first priority should be to lower the voting age from 20 to 18, an issue on which both the majority and opposition parties are in agreement.

In terms of judicial reform, I delivered on my promise to convene a National Congress on Judicial Reform, and we completed amendments to the Judges Act, the Attorney Regulation Act, the Constitutional Court Procedure Act, and the Labor Incident Act. This is all base work for the further improvement of our judicial system.

However, our judicial reforms are still in transition, and our current progress has not yet met the public’s expectations. I will continue to solicit opinions from across society and keep pressing forward. The people’s dissatisfaction drives us to continue on the path of reform.

Within the next four years, we need to implement a lay judge system, so that citizens can act as lay judges in court and become catalysts for judicial reform. This will help bridge the distance between the people and our judicial system, so that it aligns better with their expectations and earns their trust.

All constitutional institutions must also continue on the path of reform. The Executive Yuan will reevaluate and reinitiate its organizational reform process, including the establishment of a specialized digital development agency and adjustments to all ministries in line with current needs. This will enable governance capabilities to be more responsive to the needs of national development.

The National Human Rights Commission under the Control Yuan will officially be established in August of this year. This will be a milestone in our journey to place human rights at the center of Taiwan’s national ethos, and marks the start of a new chapter for the Control Yuan.

Our new Examination Yuan team will be instated in September, and I will ask them to propose a comprehensive reform plan and evaluate past policies, so that they can become an effective human resource department that can cultivate the talent a modern government needs.

### **Conclusion**

My fellow citizens, over the past 70 years, the Republic of China (Taiwan) has grown more resilient and unified through countless challenges. We have resisted the pressure of aggression and annexation. We have made the transition from authoritarianism to democracy. Although we were once isolated in the world, we have always persisted in the values of democracy and freedom, no matter the challenges ahead of us. We will always remain committed to our common belief: Taiwan must help ourselves to help others, and when we help ourselves, others will help us.

Many of the heroes in our fight against COVID-19 are here with us today, including members of our national face mask team, our Central Epidemic Command Center’s public health team, and Premier Su Tseng-chang’s team.

There are many more heroes from all walks of life not in attendance today: medical workers, postal workers, pharmacists, convenience store clerks, taxi drivers, and many more.

I may not be able to call out all of your names, but I want everyone to know that Taiwan has overcome countless challenges over the past 70 years, relying on not just one or two heroes, but thanks to countless heroes such as yourselves, working together to turn the wheels of history. You have helped make Taiwan a happy, safe, and prosperous place for generations to come.

I want to express my respect to all of you. Every single person in Taiwan is a hero. Vice President Lai and I are honored to take on the responsibility you have entrusted to us.

Taking on the responsibility of the President of the Republic of China in such difficult times brings me more pressure than joy. But I will not back down, because all of you are with me.

The path forward will not be easy, and greater challenges await us. But we are a country that has persevered through even the greatest hardships. We, the 23 million people, have always been and will always be a community with a shared destiny.

I truly hope that all of my fellow citizens will remember how it felt to come together to overcome the challenges of the past few months. The Republic of China can be united. Taiwan can be safe. Being Taiwanese can be an honor that makes you hold your head high.

My dear citizens, the path ahead of us is long, and we are about to begin a new chapter in Taiwan's story. Taiwan's story belongs to each and every one of us, and it needs each and every one of us.

I ask that the 23 million people of Taiwan act as our guides and partners. Let us pool our wisdom and courage and make this country a better place together. Thank you.

賴副總統、現場的各位貴賓、電視機前跟網路上的朋友、全體國人同胞，大家好。

### （一）作為共同體的台灣

今天我站在這裡，以無比感恩的心情，再次承擔台灣人民交付給我的責任。

這是中華民國史上，最特別的總統就職典禮。它特別的地方，不在於典禮的規模，也不在於參與的人數，而在於，我們都知道，這一路走來有多麼不容易。

我要感謝台灣人民，是你們讓這麼不容易的事，在台灣發生。

我要特別謝謝一些人，他們在過去這四個月的防疫期間，很少被人提及。我要謝謝每一位在防疫初期，在藥房門口排隊的台灣人民。謝謝你們的耐心，以及謝謝你們對政府的信任。是你們讓全世界看到，台灣，即使在最不安的時刻，也能保持公民的美德。

我也要謝謝那些居家檢疫、居家隔離的人。你們忍受生活的不便，為的是保護他人的健康。謝謝你們，展現人性中最善良的一面，成就台灣防疫的成功。

國家的光榮感，生死與共的共同體，這一段記憶，將會存在我們每一個人心中。團結的感覺，就是這個樣子。

我們今天現場，有許多各國使節代表，而且我相信，世界上一定有許多國家，也都在關心台灣。

我想藉著這個機會告訴你們，你們看到的國家，有一群善良而堅韌的人民。這一群人民，無論在多麼艱難的環境中，依然能靠著我們的民主、我們的團結，和我們對彼此的責任感，克服挑戰、度過難關，讓台灣在世界上屹立不搖。

### （二）空前的挑戰和絕佳的機會

從一月到現在，台灣連續兩次讓國際社會驚豔。第一次是我們的民主選舉，第二次則是我們的防疫成績。

過去這一段時間，因為防疫的成功，「台灣」出現在全世界的各大新聞媒體上。

「台灣」也寫在我們一箱又一箱送往國外的物資上頭。台灣人是世界上最良善的一群人，當我們有能力的時候，一定會向國際社會伸出援手。

我也希望全體國人同胞，除了分享光榮跟喜悅之外，也能體會「自助助人、助人助」的精神。

疫情還沒有完全結束，我們不能有絲毫鬆懈。就算疫情過去了，衝擊也不會立刻散去。

這次疫情對全球的衝擊既深又廣，它改變了全球政治經濟的秩序，不僅加速、加大了全球供應鏈的重組，重新排列了經濟板塊，也改變了人們的生活和消費型態，甚至也改變了國際社會對台灣和周邊情勢的想像。

這些改變是挑戰，但也是機會。我要請所有的國人同胞做好準備，因為接下來，還有各種考驗和難關在等著我們。

未來四年，誰能從疫情中脫困；誰能針對疫情所帶來的改變，研擬國家的生存發展策略。誰能在疫情過後，複雜詭譎的國際情勢間，掌握機會，誰就能讓國家在世界中脫穎而出。

治理國家從來不能依賴激情，而是要在變局中，保持冷靜、指出方向。過去四年，這一點，我做到了。

我說過，我會留下一個更好的國家給各位。所以，下一個四年，在產業發展、社會安定、國家安全、民主深化，這四大面向上，我也會超前部署，讓台灣脫胎換骨，我會帶領台灣迎向未來。

### （三）國家建設工程

#### 1. 產業與經濟發展

我知道，台灣人民最關心的，就是我們的產業和經濟的發展。我們在 2016 年啟動了「經濟發展新模式」，致力讓台灣經濟走向世界。四年來，在國際經濟的巨大變局下，台灣不僅挺了過來，經濟成長更回到四小龍的第一名，股市萬點也成為常態。

因為疫情控制得當，台灣至今，仍然可以維持經濟正成長，這是全球少有的。但我們在紓困以及振興經濟上，必須持續超前部署，全力維持經濟穩定成長。

未來四年，我們面對的，是全球經濟更劇烈變動，和供應鏈加速重整的局面。在整體經濟方面，我們將秉持「穩定中追求成長、變局中把握先機」的政策理念，持續落實前瞻基礎建設、兆元投資等重大計畫，來鞏固未來幾十年的經濟發展。

在產業發展方面，我們更要抓住時機，在 5+2 產業創新的既有基礎上，打造「六大核心戰略產業」，讓台灣成為未來全球經濟的關鍵力量。

#### ● 六大核心戰略產業

第一，台灣要持續強化資訊及數位相關產業發展。我們要利用半導體和資通訊產業的優勢，全力搶占全球供應鏈的核心地位，讓台灣成為下一個世代，資訊科技的重要基地，全力促進物聯網和人工智慧的發展。

第二，台灣要發展可以結合 5G 時代、數位轉型、以及國家安全的資安產業。我們要全力打造可以有效保護自己，也能被世界信賴的資安系統及產業鏈。

第三，我們要打造接軌全球的生物及醫療科技產業。這次疫情中，無論是試劑製造、或是新藥和疫苗的研發，「台灣團隊」都有足夠的能力，跟全球頂尖技術接軌。我們要全力扶持相關產業，讓台灣成為全球克服疫病挑戰的關鍵力量。

第四，我們要發展軍民整合的國防及戰略產業。除了已經在進行當中的國艦國造、國機國造，我們會更強力推動軍民技術整合，激發民間製造能量，更進一步進軍航空及太空產業。

第五，我們要加速發展綠電及再生能源產業。過去四年，再生能源有飛躍性的發展，台灣成為國際再生能源投資的熱點。在這個基礎上，2025 年綠能占整體能源百分之二十的目標，我有信心可以達成，台灣將成為亞太綠能中心。

第六，我們還要建構足以確保關鍵物資供應的民生及戰備產業。面對未來的全球秩序變化，從口罩、醫療及民生用品、能源到糧食供應，我們要把重要的產業鏈留在國內，維持一定的自給率。

在當前的國際局勢中，誰能擺脫依賴，誰就掌握國家生存發展的先機。我要請所有產業界的朋友們放心，政府不會讓產業孤單。在未來幾年，我們有幾個主要的策略，來全力帶動產業發展。

#### ● 產業發展策略

首先，我們要將國內需求，作為基礎能量，來帶動產業發展。尤其是公共部門的需求，以及維持國家安全的基本需求。

像是在這次疫情中，口罩等防疫物資的戰略需求，帶動了相關產業的發展，就是最好的例子。我們的國防產業和再生能源產業，也都能循著類似的模式，加速發展。

不只有口罩國家隊，未來，我們也會視各產業的規模及條件，組成國家隊。藉由政府對內部需求的保證，建立「台灣品牌」的全球戰略物資製造業，並且拓展到其他市場。

再來，我們知道，金融支援是產業發展最重要的環節。未來，我們會採取更靈活的金融政策，持續改革金融體制，運用更多元的金融手段，來協助產業的資金需求。

我們也會全力打造安全的產業環境。政府將致力於維持完善的公衛體系、堅固的國家安全體系、穩定的社會、良好的法治、以及健全的市場。有了這些保證，全球的高科技和戰略性產業，才會願意選擇台灣，作為生產和研發基地。

接下來，我們也要持續引導產業布局全球。和美、日、歐洽簽貿易或投資保障協定，這個目標我們會繼續努力。

我們持續推動新南向政策的同時，也會積極開拓其他有潛力的市場，鼓勵廠商前往布局，為產業的國際合作，創造更有利的條件。當我們在全球尋找機會時，各地的台商將會是我們最好的夥伴。

最後，則是人才的問題。台灣要成為全球經濟的關鍵力量，就必須匯聚各方的人才。蔡英文的政府，會全力爭取國際上最頂尖的技術、研發和管理人才，讓台灣產業的團隊能夠更加國際化，擁有全球競爭的視野和能力。

未來，台灣更要和國際進一步接軌，我們將在雙語國家及數位領域上，培養更多的本土人才和菁英，讓產業有更強的國際競爭力。

未來四年，更融通的金流、更活水的人流、更強勁的產業實力、更與世界緊密連結的台灣，將開啟嶄新的經濟格局，迎向繁榮新時代。

## 2. 社會安定：醫療健康網、社會安全網，接住每個需要幫助的人

產業發展的同時，我們不會忘記社會安定，也是人民對政府的重要期待。一個更好的國家，政府必須要擔起更多責任，來減輕人民的負擔，減少社會的問題。

過去幾年，我們把長照 2.0、幼托照顧、居住正義的問題，一個一個補了起來。未來四年，我的目標，就是要把這張網，做得更綿密，接住每一個需要幫助的人，盡量不要讓憾事再發生。

### ● 健康防疫安全網

首先，我們要更強化健康和防疫安全網。台灣已經是高齡社會，疫病的流行，對人民的健康是嚴厲的挑戰。因此我們必須強化疫病防治和醫療能量，結合產業，在疫苗和藥物的開發、以及傳染病防治的領域，有更多突破，讓人民可以更健康、受到更好的照顧。

### ● 社會安全網補漏網

接著，我們要把社會安全網的漏洞補起來。這幾年來，有幾起跟「思覺失調症」患者相關的治安事件，引起很多討論。不只是「思覺失調症」，其他精神疾病、毒癮、家庭暴力等問題也一樣。

我了解民眾的憂慮，這不只是個人或家庭的事，更是政府的事。當家庭無法妥善照顧這些患者時，政府就有責任介入協助。

我會強化社會照顧體系，提升第一線的社工能量，改善他們的工作環境，讓社工能夠深入最基層，把過去社會安全網沒有接住的人找出來。

另外，對於個案所引發的爭議，我們不能把責任全部推給醫療部門、或個別法官。司法和行政部門，應該要檢討制度、優化制度，該修法的地方，就應該要著手修正。

## 3. 國家安全：國防事務改革、積極參與國際、兩岸和平穩定

一個更好的國家，也必須重視國家安全。過去四年，我們推動國防事務改革、積極參與國際，維持兩岸關係的和平穩定，希望讓台灣在印太地區的和平、穩定與繁榮，扮演更積極的角色。未來四年，這些政策方向不會改變，我們也會做得更多。

### ● 國防事務改革

在國防事務改革方面，有三個重要的方向。第一是加速發展「不對稱戰力」。在強化防衛固守能力的同時，未來戰力的發展，將著重機動、反制、非傳統的不對稱戰力；並且能夠有效防衛「網路戰」、「認知戰」、以及「超限戰」的威脅，達成重層嚇阻的戰略目標。

第二是後備動員制度的實質改革。我們要提高後備部隊的人員素質和武器裝備；後備戰力提高，才能有效地跟常備軍隊協同作戰。此外，平常就要建立跨部會的常設後備動員體制，協調人力物力，平戰轉換時，動員才會順利。

第三是改善部隊管理制度。現在的年輕士官兵，都是在民主自由的社會長大，如何讓他們在軍中，發揮更好的戰力和專長，這是必須正視的課題。

年輕人從軍出現適應上的問題，反映出社會轉變和軍中管理制度的落差。我們必須把落差補起來，不要因為制度的不周全，影響了社會對軍隊的觀感，也造成軍人的榮譽和士氣，在一個又一個的個案中，被消耗掉。

因此，我們要在制度上，強化軍中申訴關懷機制、建立公允的事件調查機制、以及滾動檢討人事配置。在教育訓練上，則要提升各級幹部領導統御能力，達成管理的現代化、專業化。

我們要在維持戰力的團隊軍紀，以及社會價值對個人的尊重之間，取得均衡。

- 積極參與國際社會

在國際層面，過去四年，我們積極參與各項國際重大議題，包括反恐合作、人道援助、宗教自由、以及非傳統安全等重要全球議題。

在這次國際疫情中，我們在能力範圍內，對國際社會展開無私援助，受到了高度肯定。

台灣，已經被國際定位為民主成功故事、可信賴夥伴、世界良善力量，這是台灣人民的共同驕傲。

未來四年，我們會持續爭取參與國際組織，強化和友邦的共榮合作，和美、日、歐等共享價值的國家，深化夥伴關係。

我們也會更積極參與區域的合作機制，和區域相關國家攜手，共同為印太區域的和平、穩定與繁榮，做出實際貢獻。

- 和平穩定的兩岸關係

面對複雜多變的兩岸情勢，過去四年，我們盡力為兩岸和平穩定，做出最大的努力，也獲得國際社會的肯定；我們會持續努力，也願意跟對岸展開對話，為區域安全，做出更具體的貢獻。

我要再次重申「和平、對等、民主、對話」這八個字。我們不會接受北京當局，以「一國兩制」矮化台灣，破壞台海的現狀，這是我們堅定不移的原則。

我們也會持續遵循中華民國憲法，與兩岸人民關係條例，來處理兩岸事務。這是我們維持台海和平穩定現狀的一貫立場。

兩岸關係正處於歷史的轉折點，雙方都有責任，謀求長遠相處之道，避免對立與分歧的擴大。在變局之中，我會堅守原則，並秉持解決問題的開放態度，負起責任，也期盼對岸領導人，能承擔起相對的責任，共同穩定兩岸關係的長遠發展。

#### （四）國家體制強化及民主深化

未來四年，除了國家建設的工程，政府體制的優化，也非常重要。立法院即將成立修憲委員會，提供一個平台，讓攸關政府制度、以及人民權利的各項憲政體制改革議題，能夠被充分對話、形成共識。

藉由這個民主過程，憲政體制將更能夠與時俱進，契合台灣社會的價值。而朝野都有共識的 18 歲公民權，更應該優先來推動。

在司法改革方面，上個任期，我實現了「司改國是會議」的承諾，讓「法官法」、「律師法」、「憲法訴訟法」、以及「勞動事件法」陸續完成修法，這都是改善司法體質的基礎工程。

但是司改還在轉型期，現階段的成果，和人民的期待，還有一段距離。我會繼續傾聽各方的意見，不會停下腳步，人民的不滿，就是持續改革的動力。

在未來四年內，國民法官制度一定要上路，讓人民進入法庭擔任國民法官，成為改革的催化劑，讓司法體系與人民的距離不再遙遠，更加符合期待，贏得信賴。

另外，所有憲政機關，都要持續改革的腳步。行政院組織改造工程，將在重新盤點後再次啟動，包括成立一個專責的數位發展部會，還有與時俱進地調整各部會，讓政府的治理能力，更貼近國家發展的需要。

監察院的國家人權委員會，將在今年八月掛牌成立，它將是台灣落實「人權立國」理念的里程碑，也是監察院轉型的起點。

我也會請九月上任的考試院新團隊，提出完整的改革方案，檢討過去的思維，轉型為稱職的國家人力資源部門，培育現代政府所需的治理人才。

#### （五）結論

各位國人同胞，過去七十年來，中華民國台灣，在一次又一次的挑戰中，越發堅韌團結。我們抵抗過侵略併吞的壓力、走出獨裁體制的幽谷，也一度走在被世界孤立的曠野之中，但無論什麼樣的挑戰，民主自由的價值，一直是我們的堅持。「自助助人、助人助」的共同體意識，也始終是我們的信念。

今天我們的現場，有很多防疫英雄：口罩國家隊上中下游產業成員、疫情指揮中心的公衛團隊、以及蘇貞昌院長帶領的政府團隊。

還有更多沒有在現場的各行各業防疫英雄們，醫護人員、郵務人員、藥師、便利商店店員、以及運將朋友等等。

容我無法一一叫出各位的名字，但我想要告訴大家，七十年來，台灣可以度過一次又一次的挑戰，依靠的從來不是一兩個英雄；而是像各位一樣，一起轉動歷史巨輪的無名英雄。是因為有你們，台灣世世代代的幸福、安定、繁榮，才得以延續。

我要向你們所有人致敬。所有的台灣人都英雄。蔡英文跟賴清德，很榮幸能在此，接受各位的託付。能在這樣艱鉅的時刻，承擔中華民國總統的重責大任，我心中的壓力多過喜悅。不過，我不會退縮，因為我有你們。

未來的路不會一片順遂，挑戰只會越來越多。不過，我們是一個在驚濤駭浪中走過來的國家。我們兩千三百萬人，是生死與共的命運共同體。過去是這樣、現在是這樣，未來也是這樣。

我由衷期許所有的國人同胞，要記得過去這幾個月，上下一心、緊緊相依、克服難關的感動。中華民國可以很團結，台灣可以很安全，當一個台灣人可以很光榮，可以抬頭挺胸、昂首闊步。

親愛的國人同胞，未來的旅程還很長，台灣的故事，也正在展開新一頁。台灣的故事，屬於每一個人，也需要每一個人。

兩千三百萬的台灣人民，請當我們的導引，請當我們的夥伴，讓我們凝聚智慧與勇氣，一起打造一個更好的國家。謝謝大家。

## ■ 2024—LAI CHING-TE

Vice President Bi-khim Hsiao, esteemed heads of state and guests from our allies, distinguished ambassadors and representatives, all visiting dignitaries, dear friends watching live on television and online, fellow citizens across the country: Good morning.

When I was young, I was determined to practice medicine and save lives.

When I went into politics, I was determined to transform Taiwan.

Now, standing here, I am determined to strengthen the nation.

With an unwavering heart, I accept the responsibility the people have entrusted to me as the 16th-term president of the Republic of China. In accordance with the Republic of China Constitution system, I will take on that solemn responsibility of leading the nation bravely forward.

On this day in 1949, martial law went into effect in Taiwan, and Taiwan plunged into a dark era of authoritarian rule.

On this day in 1996, Taiwan's first democratically elected president took the oath of office, conveying to the international community that the Republic of China Taiwan is a sovereign, independent nation in which sovereignty lies in the hands of the people.

On this day in 2024, having completed our third transition of political power, Taiwan officially commences, for the first time, the third consecutive term of the same political party in office. We also set sail into a new era that is full of challenges, yet also brimming with limitless hope.

This journey came about as a result of the valiant sacrifices and devotion of the many generations of people of this land. Although it was an arduous one, we made it through.

Now, we not only witness the beginning of a new administration, but also usher in another hard-earned victory for democracy.

Many people have interpreted my and Vice President Bi-khim Hsiao's election victory as "breaking the eight-year curse," referring to the fact that no political party has been able to remain in office for over two terms. But the reality is that in a democracy, the people have the final say. There is no such thing as a "curse" in any election. It is simply that the people put the ruling party under the toughest of tests, choosing the nation's future in the most genuine way.

I want to thank former President Tsai Ing-wen, former Vice President Chen Chien-jen, and the administrative team for their hard work over these past eight years. You have all helped build a solid base for Taiwan's development. Let's give them a big round of applause!

I also want to thank my fellow citizens once again for your support, for refusing to be swayed by external forces, for resolutely defending democracy, for pressing onward without turning back, and for turning a new page in Taiwan's history.

Every day of my term, I will strive to prove myself as someone in whom you can trust and count on, by acting justly, showing mercy, and being humble, and by treating our people as family. The new administration will work tirelessly and to the best of our ability, as all the nation's people put us to the test. We will also pursue continuous reform, shaping a new face for Taiwanese politics.



## **I. Coordination and cooperation between the executive and legislative branches to advance national policy**

In February this year, a new Legislative Yuan was sworn in. This is the first time in 16 years that no party has an absolute majority. In the face of this new political landscape, some are feeling anticipation, while others are anxious.

I want to say to everyone, that this new structure is a result of the people's choice. Looking at it with a different frame of mind, a lack of absolute majority means that the ruling and opposition parties are now all able to share their ideas, and that we will be undertaking the nation's challenges as one.

However, Taiwan's people have high expectations for rational governance among political parties. Apart from competition, parties should also believe in cooperation. Only then can the nation continue down a stable path.

The Legislative Yuan should observe procedural justice. The majority should respect the minority, while the minority accepts majority rule. Only then can we avoid conflict and maintain a stable and harmonious society.

In a democratic society, the interests of the people come first - that is the root of democracy. Likewise, national interests come before the interests of parties - that is the sacred duty of each political party. When ruling or opposition parties put forth legislation that conforms with our Constitution; when we uphold the spirit of "people above all" and "nation above party," national policy will naturally and smoothly progress.

Premier Cho Jung-tai will lead the cabinet, and prioritize solving issues which benefit society and reflect consensus among ruling and opposition parties. He will respond to public opinion and address the issues people care about with proactive efforts and innovative thinking, and thus serve the people of Taiwan.

Today, recovery work following the April 3 earthquake is still underway. I would like to once again express my sympathy and condolences to the victims and their families. I also want to thank all our citizens who have assisted in the earthquake response and reconstruction efforts, as well as the international community for their concern and support.

The central government has already drawn up plans to funnel NT\$28.55 billion into reconstruction and industry stimulus. This will help the people of Hualien return to their normal lives as quickly as possible.

I have high hopes for the future of cooperation between the central and local governments, as well as coordination between the executive and legislative branches. I also hope to work hard alongside all the people of Taiwan to further entrench our democracy, maintain peace in the Indo-Pacific, and boost global prosperity.

## **II. Democratic Taiwan as a global beacon**

My fellow citizens: Democracy, peace, and prosperity form Taiwan's national roadmap. And they are also our links to the world. As an important link in the global chain of democracies, a glorious era of Taiwan's democracy has arrived.

Since Taiwan first held direct presidential elections, we have grown to become one of the world's most vibrant democracies. We have continued to enhance human rights, and show the world our values of democracy and freedom.

Taiwan was the first country in Asia to legalize same-sex marriage. Taiwan showed that democracy outperforms authoritarianism in fighting the pandemic.

Whether in terms of democracy or freedom, Taiwan is consistently highly ranked among Asian nations. Democratic Taiwan is already a global beacon. And this honor belongs to all the people of Taiwan.

As we move forward, my administration will continue using Taiwan's democratic vitality as a force for good, to promote national development and deepen international cooperation.

In terms of internal affairs, I will value meritocracy, and uphold honesty and diligence. I will practice democratic governance, and establish an open government. In the spirit of transparency and rule by the people, I encourage the populace to participate in public policy, and will continue to promote a voting age of 18. Together, we will fulfill our vision for our nation.

As for international affairs, we will continue working with other democratic nations to form a democratic community, and share our experiences across a range of fields. We will work together to combat disinformation, strengthen democratic resilience, address challenges, and allow Taiwan to become the MVP of the democratic world.

## **III. Democratic Taiwan as a pilot for global peace**

Peace is priceless, and war has no winners. Next year, we will mark the 80th anniversary of the end of the Second World War. As with other nations, Taiwan walked a difficult path for post-war revitalization, before getting to where we are today. No one wants these achievements to be destroyed by war.

Today, Russia's invasion of Ukraine and conflict between Israel and Hamas continue to shake the whole world. And China's military actions and gray-zone coercion are considered the greatest strategic challenges to global peace and stability.

Taiwan is strategically positioned in the first island chain, and what affects us here affects global geopolitical development. Even as early as 1921, Chiang Wei-shui said that Taiwan is a frontline guardian of world peace. Now, in 2024, Taiwan's role is even more significant.

There is already a strong international consensus, that peace and stability in the Taiwan Strait are indispensable to global security and prosperity.

To adapt to today's complicated international landscape, countries around the world have been actively cooperating to maintain regional peace and stability.

Just last month, the United States made into law the Indo-Pacific Security Supplemental Appropriations Act, 2024. This will provide the Indo-Pacific region with additional security and assistance, thereby supporting the peace and stability of the Taiwan Strait.

We thank nations around the world for their consideration and support for Taiwan. We would also like to declare to all that democracy and freedom are Taiwan's unwavering commitments. Peace is the only option. And prosperity, gained through lasting peace and stability, is our objective.

The future of cross-strait relations will have a decisive impact on the world. This means that we, who have inherited a democratic Taiwan, are pilots for peace. Our government will uphold the Four Commitments, neither yield nor provoke, and maintain the status quo.

I also want to call on China to cease their political and military intimidation against Taiwan, share with Taiwan the global responsibility of maintaining peace and stability in the Taiwan Strait as well as the greater region, and ensure the world is free from the fear of war.

Taiwanese are a peace-loving people who treat others with kindness. I have always believed that if the leader of a country puts the people's welfare above all, then peace in the Taiwan Strait, mutual benefits, and prosperous coexistence would be common goals.

Therefore, I hope that China will face the reality of the Republic of China's existence, respect the choices of the people of Taiwan, and in good faith, choose dialogue over confrontation, exchange over containment, and under the principles of parity and dignity, engage in cooperation with the legal government chosen by Taiwan's people. This can start from the resumption of tourism on a reciprocal basis, and enrollment of degree students in Taiwanese institutions. Let us together pursue peace and mutual prosperity.

My fellow citizens: As we pursue the ideal of peace, we must not harbor any delusions. So long as China refuses to renounce the use of force against Taiwan, all of us in Taiwan ought to understand, that even if we accept the entirety of China's position and give up our sovereignty, China's ambition to annex Taiwan will not simply disappear.

In face of the many threats and attempts of infiltration from China, we must demonstrate our resolution to defend our nation, and we must also raise our defense awareness and strengthen our legal framework for national security. This means actively promoting the Four Pillars of Peace action plan: strengthened national defense; improved economic security; stable and principled cross-strait leadership; and values-based diplomacy. By standing side-by-side with other democratic countries, we can form a peaceful global community that can demonstrate the strength of deterrence and prevent war, achieving our goal of peace through strength.

#### **IV. Democratic Taiwan as a force for global prosperity**

Taiwan needs the world, just as the world needs Taiwan. Taiwan is not just opening a door to the world - Taiwan is already on the world's center stage.

As we look toward our future, we know that semiconductors will be indispensable. And the AI wave has already swept in. Taiwan has already mastered advanced semiconductor manufacturing, and we stand at the center of the AI revolution. We are a key player in supply chains for global democracies. For these reasons, Taiwan has an influence on global economic development, as well as humanity's well-being and prosperity.

My fellow citizens: The future of the Republic of China Taiwan will be decided by its 23 million people. The future we decide is not just the future of our nation, but the future of the world.

We must walk on the right path, and our industries must make every effort, so that we may be a force for global prosperity. With every step forward that Taiwan takes, the world takes a step forward with us.

When I served as premier and vice president, I visited the various industries throughout Taiwan. I know well what our industry needs, and also what it is capable of. So, going forward, the government, working closely with the

private sector, will take a threefold approach to further Taiwan's development.

The first is having a clear view for our future, and making Taiwan smart and sustainable.

As we face the dangers of climate change, we must be resolved in our transition to net-zero emissions by the year 2050. As we meet the global challenges of adopting more and more smart technologies, we in Taiwan, a "silicon island," must do all we can to expedite Taiwan's transformation into an "AI island." We must adapt AI for industry and step up the pace of AI innovation and applications. We must also adapt industry for AI and use AI's computational power to make our nation, our military, our workforce, and our economy stronger.

It is similarly crucial that we develop an economic model driven by innovation. Through our two-pronged approach of promoting digital transformation and net-zero transition, we will assist small- and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) as they upgrade and transform, and we will seek inclusive growth, so as to create a new Taiwan that is smarter and more sustainable - a second Taiwan Miracle.

While we invest in innovation and nurture the next hidden champions, we must also make bold investments in quantum computing, robotics, the metaverse, precision medicine, and other advanced technologies, thus giving our young people the opportunity to pursue their dreams and solidifying Taiwan's leading position in the future global landscape.

The second is setting our sights on the space industry while further developing our strengths as a maritime nation.

Our sights are set on making Taiwan the Asian hub of UAV supply chains for global democracies, and developing the next generation of medium- and low-orbit communications satellites, bringing Taiwan's space and aerospace industries squarely into the international sphere.

At the same time, we will also explore and develop our strengths as a maritime nation, deepen our connections with the ocean, and invest more in marine science and technology research, thereby driving the development of our maritime industries. Altogether, this will make Taiwan a much stronger nation, and it will open up new horizons for the development of Taiwan's economy and industry. The possibilities are truly limitless.

The third is to help our enterprises expand their presence and market internationally.

Taiwan has officially applied to join the Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership (CPTPP), and we will continue to engage actively in regional economic integration. We will endeavor to sign bilateral investment agreements with other democracies around the world and further deepen our trade partnerships. We will also work to resolve the carbon tax issue and thus open the path for further development.

Taiwan must hold firm its key position in the global supply chain and seize the business opportunities that come as a result of geopolitical changes. We aim to develop Five Trusted Industry Sectors, namely semiconductors, AI, military, security and surveillance, and next-generation communications; we also aim to improve the investment environment, welcome Taiwanese businesses abroad to come back and invest in Taiwan, and encourage local firms to expand their investments and set even deeper roots here in Taiwan.

Here today, I want to assure our friends from all different sectors: Just as you all are committed to be the best in your respective areas, the government is also committed to providing assistance so that you can expand your global presence and international markets from a solid base here in Taiwan.

Taiwan is eminently capable of being a thriving global economic powerhouse. Wherever the sun shines around the world, there are Taiwanese companies stimulating local development, while also enriching the livelihoods of the Taiwanese people.

## **V. Sympathizing with the joys and the concerns of the people**

It is my firm belief that the fruits of economic development ought to be enjoyed by all the people of our nation. In the coming days of my presidency, I will launch the National Project of Hope and expand investment in society, through which I aim to shape a Taiwanese society with more love and moral courage. It will be a society in which young people have a vision of hope, people in their prime have the means to realize their dreams, the elderly can enjoy their days in happiness, and the disadvantaged can find the care they need. A society in which all people, at every stage of life, will be able to receive from the government the support they need.

Childcare, long-term care, and social housing services will continue to be expanded.

Prices of commodities and housing, as well as the wealth gap, will be addressed.

The safety and security of our food, our roads, our schools, and our social safety net will all be enhanced.

And our reform efforts in education, the judicial system, and transitional justice will continue.

I understand the concerns and expectations of the people of Taiwan. As to the issues you are concerned with and the reform society needs, the government will do its utmost to achieve solutions.

Everyone is working hard for higher pay. I will work to drive industrial upgrading and create an even better wage environment.

Everyone is hoping for more effective public safety. I will crack down on corruption and organized crime, guns, drugs, and fraud.

Everyone is wanting a stable supply of electricity. I will initiate our second energy transition, push for the development of more forms of green energy and smart grids, and help to make our electrical power generation system more resilient.

Everyone is concerned about the financing of labor insurance. I repeat here today: Labor insurance will not fail under our government.

Everyone is stressing the importance of transportation safety. I will help create a human-friendly transportation environment, putting an end to Taiwan's bad reputation as a "pedestrian hell."

Everyone is hoping that the government can help lighten the load for family caregivers and work to solve the labor shortage issue. I will do my utmost to arrive at solutions.

All of us, as we walk into the future, want a more resilient Taiwan, a Taiwan that can respond adequately to such crises as infectious disease and natural disasters, a Taiwan that can quicken the pace of urban renewal and the repair of dilapidated and dangerous old buildings.

All of us are also hoping for a healthier Taiwan. With my own expertise in medicine, I hope to bring together the strengths of other fields to beat cancer. I will establish a ministry of physical education and sports development to bring sports and athletics more into the lives of the people. I will also ensure that our National Health Insurance system remains sustainable, which will help our people live longer and healthier.

The Taiwan of tomorrow will preserve its diverse ecosystem, its diverse ethnic culture, and achieve sustainability, to create a better nation.

The Taiwan of tomorrow will have a more diverse innovation economy, a more widespread use of digital technology applications; it will be more competitive and bilingual; it will have a stronger public support service system; it will be more respectful of gender equality; it will ensure that the people are guaranteed their rights.

The Taiwan of tomorrow will allow each municipality to develop out of its own unique characteristics and promote revitalization of local industries; we will achieve the goal of a Taiwan with balanced development where all can live and work in peace and happiness.

## **VI. With greater solidarity, we become stronger as a nation**

My dear compatriots, each and every one of you contributes a necessary part to our future development. In this era of globalization and wide-ranging competition, no one country can go it alone; and no society, if it is divided within, can successfully meet these challenges.

If we are united, we can walk with more confident strides. And when we support one another, our steps will take us further. For our nation to endure and progress, I will bring us together through the strength of democracy, for greater solidarity and a stronger nation.

I think it is apparent to us all: We have a nation insofar as we have sovereignty. Right in the first chapter of our Constitution, it says that "The sovereignty of the Republic of China shall reside in the whole body of citizens," and that "Persons possessing the nationality of the Republic of China shall be citizens of the Republic of China." These two articles tell us clearly: The Republic of China and the People's Republic of China are not subordinate to each other. All of the people of Taiwan must come together to safeguard our nation; all our political parties ought to oppose annexation and protect sovereignty; and no one should entertain the idea of giving up our national sovereignty in exchange for political power.

As more countries around the world publicly express their support for Taiwan's meaningful international participation, there is increasing proof that Taiwan is a Taiwan of the world; that Taiwan is a worthy and reliable force for global peace and prosperity.

So long as we identify with Taiwan, Taiwan belongs to us all - all of the peoples of Taiwan, regardless of ethnicity, irrespective of when we arrived. Some call this land the Republic of China, some call it the Republic of China Taiwan, and some, Taiwan; but whichever of these names we ourselves or our international friends choose to call our nation, we will resonate and shine all the same. So let us overcome our differences and stride forward, with our shared aspirations, to meet the world.

## VII. Taiwan greeting a new world, the world greeting a new Taiwan

As Taiwan engages more closely with the rest of the world, we welcome the world to come closer to Taiwan. Many new residents and foreign nationals have come and made Taiwan their home, writing a new chapter in Taiwan's story. To all of you, I give my sincere thanks and respect.

Here today are many friends who have come quite a long way from their countries to join us. And many overseas compatriots are also here showing their support with their presence. So, why don't we let them all know how much we appreciate their support? Please give them a round of applause!

Tonight we will be welcoming our distinguished guests at a state banquet in Tainan, the city where 1624 marked Taiwan's links to globalization. Now, as we stand here 400 years after that historical moment in Tainan, we in Taiwan must all demonstrate confidence and bravely set course for the new world, so that the world may embrace a new Taiwan.

On that note, I want to ask each fellow citizen to praise our mother Taiwan, the land that nurtures and supports us all, and to work together to protect her, honor her, let the world embrace her, and allow her the international respect she deserves as a great nation.

Thank you.

蕭美琴副總統、各位友邦的元首與貴賓、各國駐台使節代表、現場所有的嘉賓，電視機前、還有線上收看直播的好朋友，全體國人同胞，大家好：

我年輕的時候，立志行醫救人。

我從政的時候，立志改變台灣。

現在，站在這裡，我立志壯大國家！

我以無比堅定的心情，接受人民的託付，就職中華民國第十六任總統，我將依據中華民國憲政體制，肩負起帶領國家勇往前進的重責大任。

回想 1949 年的今天，台灣實施戒嚴，全面進入專制的黑暗年代。

1996 年的今天，台灣第一位民選總統宣誓就職，向國際社會傳達，中華民國台灣是一個主權獨立的國家、主權在民。

2024 年的今天，台灣在完成三次政黨輪替之後，第一次同一政黨連續執政，正式展開第三任期！台灣也揚帆進入一個充滿挑戰，又孕育無限希望的新時代。

這段歷程，是這塊土地上的人們，前仆後繼、犧牲奉獻的結果。雖然艱辛，但我們做到了！

此時此刻，我們不只見證新政府的開始，也是再一次迎接得來不易的民主勝利！

許多人將我和蕭美琴副總統的當選，解讀為「打破八年政黨輪替魔咒」。事實上，民主就是人民作主，每一次的選舉，虛幻的魔咒並不存在，只有人民對執政黨最嚴格的檢驗、對國家未來最真實的選擇。

我要感謝，過去八年來，蔡英文前總統、陳建仁前副總統和行政團隊的努力，為台灣的發展，打下堅實的基礎。也請大家一起給他們一個最熱烈的掌聲！

我也要再次感謝國人同胞的支持，不受外來勢力的影響，堅定守護民主，向前走；不回頭，為台灣翻開歷史的新頁！

在未來任期的每一天，我將「行公義，好憐憫，存謙卑的心」，「視民如親」，不愧於每一分信賴與託付。新政府也將兢兢業業，拿出最好的表現，來接受全民的檢驗。我們的施政更要不斷革新，開創台灣政治的新風貌。

### 一、行政立法協調合作，共同推動國政

今年二月上任的新國會，是台灣時隔十六年後，再次出現「三黨不過半」的立法院。面對這個政治新局，有些人抱持期待，也有些人感到憂心。

我要告訴大家，這是全民選擇的新模式，當我們以新思維看待「三黨不過半」，這代表著，朝野政黨都能分享各自的理念，也將共同承擔國家的種種挑戰。

然而，全民對於政黨的理性問政，也有很大的期待。政黨在競爭之外，也應該有合作的信念，國家才能踏出穩健的步伐。

立法院的議事運作，應該遵守程序正義，多數尊重少數，少數服從多數，才能避免衝突，維持社會的安定和諧。

在民主社會，人民的利益至上，這是民主的根本；國家的利益優先於政黨的利益，這是政黨的天職。當朝野政黨推動法案，都能夠合乎憲法，秉持「人民至上」、「國家優先」的精神時，國政自然順利推展。

行政院卓榮泰院長率領的內閣團隊，也將優先解決對社會有益、朝野有共識的議題，以積極行動、創新思維，解決民瘼，來回應民意、服務人民。

目前，0403 災後的復原工作，正在進行。我要再次向罹難者表示哀悼、慰問家屬。我也要感謝所有協助救災和重建的國人，以及再次感謝國際社會的關心和支持。

中央政府已經規劃投入 285.5 億元，來協助重建及產業振興，幫助花蓮民眾可以儘早恢復正常生活。

我對未來中央和地方的互相合作、行政和立法的協調運作，寄予厚望，也希望跟所有國人攜手努力，一起深化台灣的民主，維護印太的和平，促進世界的繁榮！

## 二、民主台灣，世界之光

各位國人同胞，民主、和平、繁榮是台灣的國家路線，也是台灣與世界的連結。

台灣是「世界民主鏈」的亮點，民主台灣的光榮時代已經來臨！

台灣自從總統直選以來，已經成為全球最蓬勃發展的民主國家之一。我們持續提升人權，向世界展現民主自由的價值。

台灣是亞洲第一個同性婚姻合法化的國家。

台灣示範了，民主防疫可以優於專制防疫。

台灣不論是民主指數，或是自由度的評比，在亞洲的排名都是數一數二。民主台灣已經是世界之光，這份榮耀屬於全體台灣人民！

未來，新政府將持續善用台灣的民主活力，推動國家發展，也加深國際合作。

對內，我會用人唯才，清廉勤政，並落實民主治理，建立開放政府，以「公開透明」、「人民作主」的精神，鼓勵大眾參與公共政策，繼續推動十八歲公民權，共同實踐國家的願景。

對外，我們將持續與民主國家，形成民主共同體，彼此交流各領域的發展經驗，一起對抗假訊息，強化民主韌性，因應各項挑戰，讓台灣成為民主世界的 MVP！

## 三、民主台灣，世界和平舵手

和平無價，戰爭沒有贏家。明年，第二次世界大戰結束，就滿八十年，台灣和各國都一樣，走過戰後艱辛的復興道路，才有今天的發展成果，沒有人願意讓戰爭摧毀這一切。

如今，俄烏戰爭和以哈戰爭，持續衝擊全世界，中國的軍事行動以及灰色脅迫，也被視為全球和平穩定最大的戰略挑戰。

台灣位居「第一島鏈」的戰略位置，牽動著世界地緣政治的發展。早在 1921 年，蔣渭水先生就指出，台灣是「世界和平第一關的守衛」，在 2024 年的今天，台灣的角色更加重要。

國際間已經有高度共識，認為台海的和平穩定，是全球安全與繁榮不可或缺的要素。

為了因應當前複雜的國際情勢，世界各國已經展開積極的合作，來維持區域的和平穩定。

就在上個月，美國也完成了「印太安全補充撥款法案」的立

法，將提供印太區域額外安全援助，支持台海的和平穩定。

我們感謝世界各國對台灣的重視和支持，我們也要向世界宣告：民主自由，是台灣不可退讓的堅持，和平是唯一的選項，繁榮是長治久安的目標！

由於兩岸的未來，對世界的局勢有決定性的影響，承接民主化台灣的我們，將是和平的舵手，新政府將秉持「四個堅持」，不卑不亢，維持現狀。

我也要呼籲中國，停止對台灣文攻武嚇，一起和台灣承擔全球的責任，致力於維持台海及區域的和平穩定，確保全球免於戰爭的恐懼。

台灣人民熱愛和平，與人為善。我始終認為，如果國家領導人以人民福祉為最高考量，那麼，台海和平、互利互惠、共存共榮，應該是彼此共同的目標。

因此，我希望中國正視中華民國存在的事實，尊重台灣人民的選擇，拿出誠意，和台灣民選合法的政府，在對等、尊嚴的原則下，以對話取代對抗，交流取代圍堵，進行合作，可以先從重啟雙邊對等的觀光旅遊，以及學位生來台就學開始，一起追求和平共榮。

各位國人同胞，我們有追求和平的理想，但不能有幻想。在中國尚未放棄武力犯台之下，國人應該了解：即使全盤接受中國的主張，放棄主權，中國併吞台灣的企圖並不會消失。

面對來自中國的各種威脅滲透，我們必須展現守護國家的決心，提升全民保家衛國的意識，健全國安法制，並且積極落實「和平四大支柱行動方案」，強化國防力量，建構經濟安全，展現穩定而有原則的兩岸關係領導能力，以及推動價值外交，跟全球民主國家肩並肩，形成和平共同體，來發揮威懾力量，避免戰爭發生，靠實力達到和平的目標！

## 四、民主台灣，世界繁榮推手

台灣需要世界，世界也需要台灣！台灣不只是打開世界的大門，台灣已經走到世界舞台的中心！

展望未來的世界，半導體無所不在，AI 浪潮席捲而來。現在的台灣，掌握半導體先進製程技術，站在 AI 革命的中心，是「全球民主供應鏈」的關鍵，影響世界經濟發展，以及人類生活的幸福與繁榮。

各位國人同胞，當我們主張，中華民國台灣的未來，由兩千三百萬人民共同決定。我們決定的未來，不只是我們國家的未來，也是全世界的未來！

我們要走對的路，產業要大展身手，做世界繁榮的推手，讓台灣每前進一步，世界就向前一步！

過去，我擔任行政院長、副總統，到全國各地的產業拜訪，我了解台灣產業的潛力和需求。未來，政府會跟產業界密切合作，把握三大方向，推動台灣的發展。

第一個方向是，「前瞻未來，智慧永續」。

面對氣候危機，我們必須堅定地落實 2050 淨零轉型。面對全球智慧化的挑戰，我們站在半導體晶片矽島的基礎上，將全力推動台灣成為「人工智慧之島」，促成人工智慧產業化，加速人工智慧的創新應用，並讓產業人工智慧化，用人工智慧的算力，來提升國力、軍力、人力和經濟力。

我們也必須發展創新驅動的經濟模式，透過數位轉型，以及淨零轉型的雙軸力量，來協助中小企業升級轉型，追求包容性成長，打造智慧永續新台灣，創造台灣第二次經濟奇蹟。

除了投資新創，培育新世代隱形冠軍之外，無論是量子電腦、機器人、元宇宙，或精準醫療，各領域的前瞻科技，我們也都要大膽投資，讓年輕人可以追逐夢想，也確保台灣在未來世界的領先地位。

第二個方向是，「競逐太空，探索海洋」。

我們立定目標，要讓台灣成為無人機民主供應鏈的亞洲中心，也要發展下一個世代通訊的中低軌道衛星，進軍全球太空產業。

我們更要探索海洋，發揮海洋國家的優勢，豐富人民的海洋生活，並且投入海洋科技研究，推動海洋產業發展，提升國家競爭力。我們要讓台灣的經濟與產業，往更多面向發展，無遠弗屆。

第三個方向是，「布局全球，行銷全世界」。

台灣已經申請加入 CPTPP，我們會積極爭取加入區域經濟整合；跟世界民主國家簽訂雙邊投資保障協定，深化貿易夥伴關係；並解決碳關稅問題，進一步開拓發展空間。

我們也要站穩全球供應鏈的關鍵地位，好好把握地緣政治變化所帶來的商機，發展半導體、人工智慧、軍工、安控，以及次世代通訊等「五大信賴產業」，並且持續改善投資環境，歡迎台商回台投資，鼓勵在地的企業擴大投資，根留台灣。

我要向各行各業的朋友保證：各位有雄心壯志，追求頂尖，政府也有決心鼎力相助，讓台灣的產業能夠立足台灣、布局全球、行銷全世界！

台灣絕對有能力，成為「經濟日不落國」，無論太陽從哪裡升起，都可以照到台灣的企業，造福當地的發展，也讓台灣人民能夠有更富足的生活！

## 五、樂民之樂，憂民之憂

我深信，經濟發展的果實，應該為全民所共享。未來，在推動「國家希望工程」、擴大社會投資之下，我要建立一個有愛和道德勇氣的台灣社會。年輕人可以看見希望，壯年人可以實現夢想，老年人可以擁有幸福，弱勢者可以得到照顧。每一個人在人生的每一個階段，都能夠獲得政府的支持。

未來，幼托、長照、社會住宅等服務，要延續擴大；

物價、房價、貧富差距等問題，要不斷改善；

食品安全、道路安全、校園安全、社會安全網等保障，要持續強化；

還有，對於教育、司法、轉型正義等改革工作，也都要繼續做下去！

我也了解國人對生活的煩惱和期待，凡是各位關心的議題、社會需要的改革，政府都會積極以對，全力以赴。

大家希望收入更高，我會推動產業升級，創造更好的薪資環境。

大家期待治安更好，我會積極打擊黑金、槍、毒和詐騙。

大家需要供電穩定，我會推動第二次能源轉型，發展多元綠能、智慧電網，強化電力系統的韌性。

大家關心勞保財務，我要再次強調，只要政府在，勞保絕對不會倒。

大家重視交通安全，我會打造符合人本的交通環境，擺脫「行人地獄」的惡名。

大家期待政府能夠幫助家庭照顧者減輕負擔，以及協助產業改善缺工的困境，這些問題，我都會積極解決。

迎向未來，我們都期待一個更強韌的台灣，可以妥善因應傳染病、天災地變等各類型災害，以及加速都市更新，解決危老建築的問題。

我們也期待一個更健康的台灣，我期許自己發揮醫師專業，集結各界的力量，打擊癌症，以及成立「體育暨運動發展部」，推展全民運動，並且確保健保永續經營，讓國人活得長壽又健康。

未來的台灣，要保有多樣性的生態環境，多元族群的文化，以實踐環境永續、文化永續，讓國家更美好。

未來的台灣，會有更多元發展的創新經濟，會有更普及的數位科技應用，會有更好的競爭力和雙語力，會有更強大的公共支持服務體系，也會有更尊重性別平等的環境，讓每一位國民的權利受到保障。

未來的台灣，更要讓每一個縣市，依據特色發展，推動地方創生產業，落實「均衡台灣」的目標，處處可以安居，人人可以樂業！

## 六、團結力量大，繼續壯大國家

親愛的國人同胞，國家的未來發展，需要每一分力量。面對全球化、全面性競爭的時代，沒有一個國家可以單打獨鬥，也沒有一個分裂的社會能夠成功面對。

團結一致，我們的腳步就更穩；相互扶持，我們的足跡就更遠。為了國家的生存發展，我將透過民主的力量，團結所有國人，壯大國家。

我們都知道，有主權才有國家！根據中華民國憲法，中華民國主權屬於國民全體；有中華民國國籍者，為中華民國國民；由此可見，中華民國與中華人民共和國互不隸屬。每一個人，都要團結、愛護國家；任何一個政黨，都要反併吞、護主權，不可為了政權犧牲國家主權。

當世界上有越來越多國家，公開支持台灣的國際參與，在在證明了，台灣是世界的台灣，台灣是全球和平繁榮值得信賴的力量。

全體國人不分族群，也不論先來後到，只要認同台灣，都是這個國家的主人。無論是中華民國、中華民國台灣，或是台灣，皆是我們自己或國際友人稱呼我們國家的名稱，都一樣響亮。就讓我們不分彼此，大家一條心，大步走向世界！

## 七、台灣新世界，世界新台灣

當台灣走進世界，我們也歡迎世界走進台灣。許多新住民朋友、外籍友人，從世界各地來到台灣，寫下屬於台灣的新篇章。我要感謝你們，也要向你們致敬！

今天現場，也有千里來訪的國際友人，有歸國的僑胞朋友，以行動支持台灣。我們是不是用最熱烈的掌聲歡迎、感謝他們！

今晚，我們接待國內外賓客的國宴，選擇在台南舉辦。1624年，台灣從台南出發，開啟台灣全球化的開端。站在「台南400」的歷史時刻，台灣更要展現自信，勇敢航向新世界，讓世界迎接新台灣。

我也要邀請每一位國人，和我一起為孕育你我的母親台灣喝采，我們一起用行動守護她、榮耀她，讓世界擁抱她，讓她成為國際上令人尊敬的偉大國家！

謝謝大家！



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