中華民國與亞太安全
The Republic of China (Taiwan) and the Security of the Asia-Pacific Region

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Good morning, Chairman Wolfowitz, President Hammond-Chambers, Mr. England, ADM Blair, LTG Gregson. Let me first express my appreciation for this opportunity to speak to you. I wish to provide a few perspectives on the role of the Republic of China (Taiwan) in the security environment of the Asia-Pacific region.

2012 年是特殊的一年，60 年前的 1952 年《金山和約》正式生效，《中日和約》也在台北正式簽訂，是個標示戰爭結束、民主與共產陣營即將走向對抗的年代。
The 2012 is a year of special meanings. Six decades ago, in 1952, the San Francisco Peace Treaty went into effect, and the Sino-Japanese Peace Treaty was signed in Taipei. The year marked the termination of war and the onset of the standoff between the free and democratic world and the communist world.

回顧這 60 年，韓戰、金門砲戰、越戰、1996 臺海危機，美國始終是確保區域穩定的重要力量，中華民國空軍的建立更與美國有直接的相關，而作為一個身處前線的國家，中華民國始終堅守崗位，維護臺海安全，並與盟邦維持緊密的防衛關係，分擔確保區域穩定的責任。中華民國因為有堅實的國防武力作為基礎，才有繁榮自由的經濟發展、開放多元的社會變遷，以及不受干擾的民主改革。

Looking back over the six decades, through the Korean War, the Kinmen Bombardment, the Vietnam War to the 1996 missile crisis in the Taiwan Strait, we found the United States consistently played a crucial role in maintaining regional stability. The building of the ROC Air Force, for example, could be credited to the United States. The Republic of China, as a frontline country, has been dutifully safeguarding the security of the Taiwan Strait and maintaining strong defense relations with friends and allies to jointly shoulder the responsibility of maintaining regional stability. With the foundation of a solid national defense force, the Republic of China has been able to enjoy unfettered and prosperous economic development, open and diversified social transition, and undisturbed democratization.

中華民國在 1911 年建立，當時是亞洲第一個民主共和國，不
過在邁向民主的道路卻相當漫長，這 100 年的歷程，有奮鬥、有戰爭、有血淚、有分離，民主在艱困的台灣對峙情勢下淬煉萌芽，直到近 30 年，中華民國人民才真正享有安定繁榮的自由民主生活，成就彌足珍貴。今年是中華民國 101 年，我們正往另一個 100 年大步邁進。

The Republic of China was founded in 1911 as the first democratic republic in Asia. However, the road to true democracy had been long and winding. In the past hundred years’ history, there have been hardship, war, bloodshed, tear and separation. Under all the trials of cross-Strait standoff, democracy had taken root. However, it’s only until the past three decades that the people of the Republic of China have been able to truly enjoy a secured, prosperous, free and democratic way of life, which is hard-earned and extremely valuable. This year is the hundred and first year of the Republic of China. We are now making big steps into the second hundred-year history.

經濟衰退與全球安全情勢

Economic Downturn and Global Security

近期全球經濟正處於一個不確定的階段，歐洲深陷債務危機，北美經濟成長力道疲弱，東亞區域貿易出口亦受到影響而持續衰退，全球經濟危機尚難在短時間內復甦。基於經濟發展疲弱的態勢，部分國家在近幾年間開支緊縮，國防預算也受到衝擊，但我們看到各國為因應安全情勢的挑戰，正在透過更為緊密的軍事與安全的合作因應挑戰。

The global economy is fraught with uncertainties. The EU is deep in the debt crisis. North American economic growth is slow. East
Asian trade and export were also adversely affected. It could be a protracted process for the world to recover from this global economic crisis. As a result, countries were forced to tighten government expenditures. Defense budgets have likewise sustained the blow. We have nevertheless seen the countries adapting to security challenges by means of closer military and security cooperation among one another.

回顾过去一年，世界安全情势发展的複雜化，影響數國的「阿拉伯之春」運動，正在改變阿拉伯世界的政經秩序；伊朗、北韓核武問題懸而未決，凸顯出強權對戰略武器擴散缺乏解決的共識；至於西太平洋地區層出不窮的島礁主權紛爭、海事安全與極端氣候變遷等新挑戰，均導致本區域的安全情勢更加不穩定。

This year witnessed further complication of global security environment. The movements of the Arab Spring transcended national borders and changed the political and economic orders in the Arab world. The nuclear programs of Iran and North Korea persisted to be sources of threats and reflected a lack of consensus among major powers regarding the proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction. Emerging challenges including maritime security threats, extreme weather conditions and the sovereignty disputes on island reefs in the West Pacific have all added to the instability of regional security environment.

中華民國安全的鐵三角

The Three Legs of National Security of the Republic of China

曾經是西太平洋潛在衝突區域的臺灣海峽，安全環境在近年
有很大的改變，馬總統在確保兩岸在「不統、不獨、不武」的現狀原則下，以「九二共識」也就是「一個中國各自表述」的基礎之下，開始務實推動兩岸和平發展。透過平等協商，自 2008 年迄今（2012）年 8 月為止，兩岸已舉行八次江陳會談，總計簽署金融、運輸及醫療等 18 項協議，尤以 2010 年正式簽署「經濟合作架構協議」（ECFA），不但使兩岸互蒙其利，更廣獲國際讚賞。

The Taiwan Strait used to be named as one of the flash points in the West Pacific. Its security landscape, however, has gone through a sea change in the past few years. President Ma has implemented the Three-Noes policy—no unification, no independence, and no use of force—to maintain cross-Strait status quo and promote peaceful development of cross-Strait relations based on the 1992 Consensus. Through equal-footing negotiations, the Strait Exchange Foundation and the Association of Relations Across the Taiwan Strait from the two sides of the Strait have held eight rounds of talks from 2008 till August this year and signed a total of 18 agreements for financial, transportation and medical cooperation. The most important landmark is the Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement signed in 2010. Those efforts have enhanced mutual interests of both sides of the Strait and also been widely praised by the international community.

馬總統今（2012）年 5 月 20 日在總統就職演說中，提出「確保中華民國安全的鐵三角」理念，即「以兩岸和解實現台海和平」、「以活路外交拓展國際空間」與「以國防武力赫阻外來威脅」。此鐵三角應同等重視、平衡發展。而為了區域穩定，我們將赓續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
戦略對話合作管道，以捍衛中華民國安全與區域穩定。

In the inauguration speech of May 20th this year, President Ma put forth the concept of the three legs of national security. They are: realizing peace in the Taiwan Strait through cross-Strait rapprochement, broadening Taiwan’s international space through viable diplomacy and deterring external threats with solid defense force. The approach is to give equal weights to each of the three legs in a balanced manner. Also, in order to promote regional stability and safeguard national security, we will continue to strengthen relations with neighboring countries, make contributions to the international community and promote institutionalized strategic dialogues and cooperation mechanism.

民主自由與中華民國核心價值

Democracy and Freedom as the Core Values of the Republic of China

過去，中國大陸是我們最大的軍事威脅，但我們以嶄新的思維，積極而穩健的改善兩岸關係，讓原本緊張對峙的兩岸情勢趨和緩，兩岸關係逐漸朝制度化的方向發展。

Mainland China has always been the major source of military threats for Taiwan. With the adoption of new thinking and proactive but prudent measures to improve cross-Strait relations, the originally confrontational cross-Strait situation has been easing towards institutionalized development.

再者，中華民國不斷藉由經濟與科技的軟實力，善盡國際義務，積極參與國際救災與人道行動，並在國際社會中廣結善緣，
Moreover, the Republic of China has been using its soft powers—the economic and technological advantages—to assume the responsibilities as a member of the international community and proactively partake in humanitarian assistance and disaster relief activities to exhibit our good will. Such effort has won the recognition of countries around the world. We strongly believe that our path into the future will be wider and brighter.

Democracy, freedom and human rights are the core values of the Republic of China and the source of vitality and creativity of the Taiwanese society. Our political institution and open society are positive examples for a mainland China that is going through fast economic growth and social development. I believe that, in the continuous process of cross-Strait interactions, the constitutional democracy and social values of the Republic of China will be critical assets and also strong foundations for us to make the best use of our soft power and smart power.
戰，未來我們將會維持兩岸交往與合作的步調，朝向更實質、互惠的方向邁進。

The increase of mainland China’s comprehensive national power represents challenges and also opportunities for countries in the region. In the future, we will continue to maintain the pace of cross-Strait cooperation in a substantive and mutually beneficial manner.

共軍擴張與兩岸軍力失衡

Chinese Military Expansion and Military Imbalanced Across Strait

觀察中共近期的軍事發展，對其周邊國家仍造成許多疑慮，首艘航空母艦即將成軍、隱形戰機的試飛、反艦彈道飛彈（東風 21 丁）的研發，以及增加部署戰略核子彈道飛彈（東風 31 甲）等發展，均在遂行「反介入／區域拒止」戰略，企圖嚇阻他國介入區域爭端，改變現有區域和平秩序，在此背景下，美國採取「再平衡」（rebalancing）戰略，將關注重心移往亞太地區，強化「前沿部署」（forward deployment），希望透過盟國合作確保區域和平穩定，我們對此表示歡迎。

Recent military developments on mainland China are still raising concerns from the neighboring countries. Those developments include the expected completion of the first PLA aircraft carrier, the test flight of a stealth fighter, the development of the DF-21D ship-attack missiles and the additional deployment of DF-31 A nuclear missiles. These are clearly steps to boost its anti-access/area-denial capabilities to deter potential foreign intervention and alter the current peaceful order of the region. Against the backdrop, the
United States is adopting a rebalancing strategy to strengthen the forward deployment in the Asia-Pacific region and work with regional allies to promote peace and stability. We certainly welcome the development.

近年共軍積極進行軍事現代化發展，並以武力犯臺作為軍事準備的主要想定之一，持續從事兵力部署及演練，至今年為止對台飛彈已增至1,600多枚，1年之內暴增200多枚，對台軍事威脅有增無減，更是區域穩定的主要變數，長此下去實在令人擔憂。

In the course of military modernization, the PLA continues to use military operations against Taiwan as one of the major scenarios driving its training and deployment. Until this year, the PLA has deployed over 1,600 missiles targeting at Taiwan. In the past year alone, the additional deployment numbered at over 200. This is strong evidence that mainland China is still increasing its military threats against Taiwan and has never ceased to be a major source of instability. The continuation of such a trend is indeed worrisome.

中共加速推動軍事現代化進程，致使臺海兩岸軍力優勢向中共傾斜，對區域和平穩定造成威脅，衝擊了華美雙方的共同利益。有鑒於兩岸軍事實力與綜合國力之差距，中華民國強化自身國防力量建設，仍需要美國在關鍵性防衛武器軍售與軍事交流方面之多方協助。

Accelerated PLA modernization is tilting cross-Strait military balance in the favor of mainland China and creating adverse impact on regional peace and stability as well as the common interests shared by the U.S. and Taiwan. Given the wide gap between the two
sides of the Strait in terms of military capabilities and comprehensive national powers, the Republic of China will continue need U.S. support for the provision of critical defensive weapons and opportunities of military cooperation to our consolidate national defense force.

固若磐石與自我國防武力

Hard ROC Defense and Self-Defense Capabilities

我國防戰略是以追求兩岸和平與維持區域穩定為目標，藉由編列合理國防預算、採購必要防衛性武器，以打造一支堅實的國防勁旅，達成「預防戰爭」目標，確保國家安全。去（2011）年9月已獲美方同意，針對F-16A/B戰機進行性能升級，同時美方亦正評估售我F-16 C/D戰機乙案，我將續依實際防禦所需，向美方提出軍售需求；此外，鑑於我國潛艦亟須汰舊換新，我將促請美方助我購得柴電潛艦，以強化我反制共軍登島作戰及海上封鎖的能力。也期待美國依據「臺灣關係法」與對臺「六項保證」之承諾，持續支持與協助我國籌建「自我防衛」之可靠戰力。

ROC defense strategies are aimed to promote cross-Strait peace and regional stability. Proper levels of budgets are allocated to acquire necessary defensive weapons to build a solid defense force under the concept of preventive defense. The U.S. Government decided to release an F-16 A/B retrofit program in September, 2011 and is still considering the sale of F-16 C/Ds. We will continue to make FMS requests to the U.S. Government based on our defense requirements. One urgent requirement is a new diesel submarine fleet to help us replace outdated platforms and enhance counter
landing and counter blockade capabilities. We call on the U.S. Government to honor the commitments under the Taiwan Relations Act and the Six Assurances to Taiwan and continue to support and assist Taiwan's effort to build credible self-defense capabilities.

Given the political and ideological differences across the Strait, there must be full preparation and no reliance on sheer luck when we face mainland China's military threats. We can not afford to be forgetful of the danger of war even though we are enjoying relative peace. The ROC Armed Forces, based on existing foundation, will continue to implement the military strategy of Resolute Defense and Credible Deterrence and develop asymmetric capabilities under the Five Year Force Buildup Program to effectively defend the homeland and deter potential threats.

Regarding the reform on military service system, the current composite system of both voluntary and compulsory service will be gradually transformed into an all-volunteer system of greater
effectiveness, efficiency and professionalism. We are building a small but superb, small but strong, small but smart defensive force to fight and win a David-against-the-Goliath war.

Through those efforts, we believe that the ROC Armed Forces will have sufficient capabilities to safeguard national security and play a critical role in maintaining peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region.

和平倡議與亞太區域和平

Peace Initiatives and Regional Peace

環顧當今亞太區域的安全情勢，諸如中共勢力擴張、朝鮮半島衝突、領土主權紛爭，以及其他諸如糧食與資源爭奪、能源安全、傳染疾病、氣候變遷暨重大天然災難等安全因素，已非單一國家可以解決，全球互賴的安全環境，以及安全威脅的跨國界、複雜特性，促使各國應該透過合作，更為積極的化解紛爭。

In an overview of the security environment of the Asia-Pacific region, we see mainland China’s power expansion, the conflicts on the Korean Peninsula, sovereignty disputes and other security challenges including food and resources shortages, energy security, infectious diseases, climate change and major natural disasters. Those problems and issues can no longer be solved by any nation single-handedly. Such interdependency among nations in today’s security environment and the transnational and complicated nature
of threats have compelled all nations to work together for more proactive approaches to dispute settlements.

今年正值多個國家政治權力轉移的關鍵時刻，許多領土紛爭諸如獨島（竹島）、南海、東海情勢均處於高度緊張的態勢，相較於其他國家採取較為強勢、激化緊張情勢的作為，中華民國則採取較為溫和的方式回應釣魚台列嶼領土爭端，總統馬英九先生在今年（2012）年8月提出「東海和平倡議」，建議各方以和平對話、建立「東海行為準則」等方式來化解可能的海上衝突。由於我們深信有關國家對於該海域情勢穩定具有強烈共識，美國與日本對此提案也表達正面立場，中華民國透過這顆「和平種子」，期待各國未來能夠自我克制、理性面對爭議。

This year is seen as a critical juncture in that many countries are undergoing leadership transitions. Those areas of sovereignty disputes, including the Dokdo (or Takashima), the South China Sea and the East China Sea, have witnessed heightened tension. In contrast with the more aggressive and escalatory actions adopted by some nations, the Republic of China is responding to Diaoyutai dispute in a moderate approach. President Ma, in August this year, put forth the “East China Sea Peace Initiative” and called on all dispute nations to resort to peaceful dialogues and create an East China Sea Code of Conduct to resolve maritime conflicts. We believe that all nations have a strong consensus on maintaining regional stability. The U.S. and Japan have also expressed positive views on this Initiative. We hope, by planting this seed of peace, the dispute nations will be encouraged to exercise self-restraint and deal with the disputes in a rational manner.
此外，從南海爭議經驗觀察，各方雖然早在2002年就已共同發布《南海各方行為宣言》，但10年來東協與中共仍在為「南海行為準則」尋求共識中，這說明從紛爭到和平需歷經長時間的折衝過程。面對複雜的海上安全情勢，中華民國主張區域協商機制應納我為論壇與對話之一員，其中建立海上共同行為規範更是必須走的道路，也應該是維持區域穩定最有效的途徑，我們將持續呼籲各國認真思考。

From the observation of the history, we found that, although the Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea was issued a decade ago in 2002, a consensus is still waiting to be forged. This says that it requires a lengthy process of negotiation to move from the state of dispute to peace. In face of such complicated maritime security environment, the Republic of China should be included into the regional negotiation mechanism. Creating a code of conduct is a path that must be taken and a path that will surely leads to regional stability. We will continue to call on all nations to adopt this option.

結語

Final Thoughts

各位貴賓！中華民國的安全與亞太區域和平密不可分。臺灣不但是亞太區域的重要成員，更是臺海和平的締造者，中華民國與美國、其他世界各國共享民主、自由、人權的普世價值，我們期待透過更為緊密的區域安全對話機制，為亞太共同利益做出更大貢獻。

Let me reiterate again that the security of the Republic of China
is closely linked to the security of the Asia-Pacific region. The Republic of China is a critical member of the region and, more importantly, a maker of peace in the Taiwan Strait. We share the common values of democracy, freedom and human rights with the U.S. and other countries. We hope to see ourselves assuming a greater role in the regional security mechanism and making greater contributions to the common interests of Asia-Pacific nations.

The issues waiting to be discussed at this venue, including “ROC defense policies,” “innovation, tactics and capabilities” and “cyber security threats,” are all directly linked to the security in the Asia-Pacific region. I believe there will be many inspirations and thoughts to be had. I will look forward to hearing all the insights and recommendations from you.

再次感謝各位出席貴賓的參與，預祝會議成功、各位貴賓身體健康、萬事如意！謝謝！

Thank you again for your graceful presence here. I wish the conference a great success and offer my warm wishes to all the distinguished guests for the best of health and fortune. Thank you for your attention.